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Reasons for Promoting the Cultivation of the New Zealand Flax.
By F. Dillon Bell and Frederick Young Jun.
London: Smith, Elder and Co., Cornhill. 1842.
Price One Shilling.
London: Printed by STEWART and MURRAY, Old Bailey.

Reasons,

&c. &c.

IT is surprising, that although so much concurrent testimony has been adduced in proof of the great importance of promoting the cultivation of New Zealand flax, the subject has met with such a small share of encouragement here with a view to practical results. Almost every arrival from the Colony has brought renewed assurances of the settlers' confidence in the success of a systematic attempt to cultivate and prepare for a market its chief indigenous production; but these assurances are always accompanied with expressions of regret that such an attempt has not been made. Many causes, unconnected with the peculiar subject of the cultivation of the *phormium tenax*, have operated to occasion the long delay that has taken place without any experiments being undertaken on a large scale; but the principal cause has been the want of the necessary machinery for properly preparing the fibre. The settlers at Wellington—for New Plymouth and Nelson are not yet old enough to have had much experience on the subject,—although fully alive to its importance, have been unable to devote the time and means which are required to ascertain the best mode of bringing the *phormium tenax* into the market: and while they have clearly seen the prospective advantages, as well individually as to the Colony at large, of a speedy application of such a method, they have been necessitated to look more sharply after their present interests, and have thus neglected future benefit in the engrossing occupations of the moment. It is true that at one time the subject had kindled a kind of enthusiasm in the settlement; and a public meeting was held, and subscriptions to a considerable amount were entered into for the purpose of giving adequate encouragement to persons willing to devote their attention to the question. A premium was offered for the discovery of a machine suited to the preparation of the fibre; and we began to congratulate ourselves in England on the progress of the colonists' feeling. Since that time, however, a "change has come o'er the spirit of their dream;" and the anxious hopes of many, who had looked for a fulfilment of the anticipations excited by these proceedings, were disappointed to find, on each arrival, that the colonists were as far as ever from any advancement in the matter.

Nor does it seem likely—for some length of time at least—that the subject would be taken up in the Colony in the manner which its intrinsic importance and great prospective value deserve. We read that Mr. Francis Molesworth realised no less than 12*l.* per ton for potatoes, of which he had raised twelve tons per acre, thus returning him an amount at the rate of 144*l.* per acre for his produce; and although such instances of good fortune will of course be rare, and may probably not occur again, yet the return which will continue to be obtained from agricultural as well as commercial pursuits, will be too tempting to admit of a speculation, such as an experiment on a large scale for cultivating, preparing, and *disposing of the phormium tenax* would be. It seems, therefore, that on the friends of the Colony in England has devolved the part of stepping in to make that experiment, and of "bringing forward" the New Zealand flax as an available article of commerce, under such circumstances as may ensure it the largest practicable measure of success. The object of these pages is to draw the attention of the "New Zealand public" in England,—and particularly of the large and influential class of persons more immediately connected with the Company's settlements,—to the question, with a view to practical measures being adopted at an early period. We do not profess to lay down the mode for overcoming the acknowledged great difficulty, namely, a proper preparation of the fibre; but in submitting the following facts and opinions,—carefully collected from those given by men whose opportunities of judging entitle them to consideration and credence,—we trust to show sufficient ground for our conviction that the experiment may now be made on an extensive scale and under systematic arrangements, in a manner at once to confer benefit on its supporters, and to call into existence a staple export as inexhaustible as it would be valuable. The attempt, if successful, would not only produce incalculable advantages to the settlements, but would give to all interested in the colonization of New Zealand the strongest assurance of the resources of the Colony, and of its future greatness and stability.

The neglect of which we complain is the more remarkable, because considerable encouragement has at various periods been held out in different ways for promoting the object in view. So early as the year 1819, small and large ropes were manufactured from the *phormium tenax* at the Portsmouth dock-yard: in 1834, the

Society for the encouragement of Arts offered a premium of fifty guineas for a substitute for hemp, to be grown in one of the British Colonies, and directed particular attention to the New Zealand flax:

See Transactions of Society for encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, vol. xlii. p. xl. (preface), also pp. 18 and 185. (1824).

and again, in 1834, Mr. Marsh, chemist at the Royal Woolwich Arsenal, reported favourably of sail cloth, &c. which had been prepared in a particular way. In the year 1831, the Government contracted for 800 tons of New Zealand flax, to be tried in the Navy. The reports of many of the naval officers who had tested rope and canvass made from it, were published in the Appendix to the Report of the Lords' Committee on New Zealand of 1838; and notwithstanding the widest discrepancy exists in their statements, the unequivocal testimony given by several in favour of the flax would go far, even were no other evidence at hand, to convince a careful and impartial examiner, that in a great many (if not the majority) of the cases in which unfavourable reports were made, the failure or disappointment was attributable rather to a defect in the preparation or manufacture of the article, than in the flax itself. This view of the case is forcibly borne out by the evidence of gentlemen examined before the Lords' Committee, who almost unanimously agreed in the opinion that no successful method of preparation had yet been applied; but that *if properly prepared*, the flax would be an article of great value in trade. We call particular attention to the following extracts from the Report referred to:—

Mr. J. G. Nicholas, who was examined before the Committee states—

"The New Zealand flax is exceedingly valuable; it is spread over the country in great quantities, and would form a very valuable article of trade with this country. It thrives exceedingly well; and when properly prepared has been found to produce stronger rope than that made of the hemp of Russia, or any other country; and also the canvass made of it is of a very superior description."

Mr. Charles Enderby, an extensive rope and canvass manufacturer, says—

"It is brought to this country in a very rough state, which is the cause of its never having been generally introduced. It has been manufactured in a variety of ways. . . . There has been a great prejudice against the flax, in consequence of its having been badly prepared. . . . In our firm we prefer it to Russian hemp. It costs us much less than the Russian hemp does; not per ton, but because the same length is lighter—it does not weigh so much per ton. It is more costly, but we can get for the same weight an increased length and an increased strength, . . . It has been manufactured with a species of caoutchouc, or india rubber: but when immersed in water the caoutchouc separates from it and floats at the top, so that the fibre is no longer protected. We have combined a composition of caoutchouc with tar, and find that answer. . . . We worked Captain Harris's patent for some time. At first we were extremely favourable to it: the fibre was extremely soft, and the cordage softer than cordage generally is; but we found the whole of the solution separate from the flax, and it was condemned. . . . Afterwards we introduced tar. But the prejudice was so strong against the flax, that it is a very difficult thing to introduce it again to parties who are so prejudiced against it. . . . We have not tried it with Kyan's patent. We use it for whale lines: we prefer it for whale lines to any other description of rope, and the whale lines are the most important lines we have in our vessels. A whole school of whales may be lost by the parting of a single line. Property to the amount of 2000l. or 3000l. may perhaps depend on a whale line. . . . For whale lines it is preferable to any other. I prefer it on account of its strength and pliability. . . . It is liable to suffer from the way in which it is packed. In doubling it, the part outside, if wet gets to it, is destroyed."

Captain H. FitzRoy, another witness, observes—

"If properly manufactured, the New Zealand flax would make very good rope;—but there has been some defect in the way in which it has been manufactured, for it breaks in the 'nip.' It wears a very long time in a straight line, but whenever it is much bent it gives way. Yet, as the natives use it for nets, three or four fathoms deep and sometimes two or three hundred fathoms in length, and it lasts them for many years, there must surely be some way of preparing it which would make it available for our rope. A net made in that way is kept by a family in the stump of a tree, on a little frame made for it, and it lasts them for many years. . . . It may be very possible, that it may lose some particular quality and become brittle from the defective mode of packing, and its heating, in consequence, on the voyage home."

The following is an extract from Mr. Ward's "Information relative to New Zealand," published in 1839:—

"The flax plant, says Mr. M'Donnell, grows in wild luxuriance throughout the three islands of New Zealand; it is indigenous to the country, and perennial: the leaves averaging from six to ten feet in length. The plant throws an abundance of seed. The hill-flax is of a finer texture, whiter, and stronger, than that grown in the valleys, though the staple may not be quite so long. With attention to the cutting of the flax in the proper season, and common care paid to its cultivation, I feel convinced of its superiority over that of Russia and Manilla; it possesses all the flexibility of the former, and is free from the wiry brittleness of the latter. I can have no hesitation in asserting that thousands of tons of this valuable article of commerce may be shipped off annually from New Zealand to the mother country; nor do I assert this merely from my own observation and knowledge of the country, but I am borne out by the information that I have received from several of the chiefs

and intelligent natives, with whom I have conversed on this subject. Fair play has not generally been given to the flax sent home via Sydney; in many instances the plant has not been cut in the proper season—a very material point, for then the flax is coarse and wiry, the fibres ragged and not easily cleaned, the staple short, and the colour foxey. Another cause that has operated to render the New Zealand flax objectionable at home, is the twisting of the staple in packing, which prevents the flax hackling freely: not packing it thoroughly dry, and allowing the pressure of the screw to be on the bend. Cut the plant at the right season, let the flax be well dried, carefully packed in lengths, and screwed; then the superiority of the New Zealand hemp over that of Europe will be manifest, and those prejudices that once existed will vanish for ever. All the standing and part of the running rigging of the *Sir George Murray*, a ship of 400 tons, belonging to myself, was laid up from New Zealand flax: it had been over the mast-head for nearly three years. I can state, that better rope never crossed a ship's mast-head. I have experienced some severe gales in the *Sir George Murray*, consequently the rigging had been well tried; when lifted and examined it was found (barring being slightly chafed) as good as when first put over: the running rigging wore uncommonly well. Cordage and fishing lines, made from good New Zealand flax, has been proved to be far more durable than any made from European hemp."

Abundant testimony might be adduced in support of these statements, and to prove that the *phormium tenax* has throughout been recognised as an article which, under proper management, would be of large commercial importance. And with regard to the Government contract to which we have before alluded, we believe it is now notorious that although the Government agreed to pay upwards of 40*l.* per ton for the flax, a very considerable portion of the shipments made by the contractor came home to this country in a state utterly unfit for manufacture, no regard having been paid to the proper separation of the fibre from the plant, and no pains whatever having been taken in the packing. Many subsequent attempts at manufacture have been made by persons in England, as well as in New Zealand and Sydney, which have in some cases proved entirely successful, and in others a complete failure. We are assured that in these instances, as in that we have just described, the great cause of failure has been from defective preparation, and not from intrinsic defect. Perhaps no better evidence can be brought forward of this than the fact that there are now many manufacturers who would gladly receive supplies of the flax, provided they could feel confident that the preliminary preparation would be so conducted as to ensure its coming to this country in a proper state. Of this fact we are ourselves personally cognisant, and we have no doubt that many of our readers are equally aware of it.

The experience of the last few years has amply corroborated the opinions we have just quoted; and the closer examination consequent on the establishment of settlements has supplied us with many important details. It may not be uninteresting to give here a short account of the plant itself.

The *phormium tenax* is altogether a different plant from the European flax; it resembles the garden iris, but has a very large leaf, sometimes more than ten feet long and six or seven inches broad. It springs up in large bunches or tufts, and bears a flower of a yellow or reddish colour, which gives place to long pods filled with shining black seeds. The flower resembles honey to the taste, and is most refreshing. The natives universally suck it; and we have ourselves heard persons, who have recently visited New Zealand, say that they have eaten it with great relish. There are several varieties of the plant, and it will be an important object to ascertain which sort will yield the largest return, or whether the different species should be made available for different purposes. Its chief peculiarity consists in the fibre being obtained from the leaf, and not, as is the case with European flax, from the stem: the outside coat of the leaf being stripped, the fibres are perceived running parallel to one another through its whole length. Hitherto the only mode of preparation by the natives has been a rough scraping of the outer coat of the leaf; of course this rude method very imperfectly frees the fibre, and more or less injures it. In addition, however, to this outer covering, there is a thin glutinous substance which must be also removed before the fibre is thoroughly cleaned. This obstacle has been the chief one up to this time; and the imperfect manner in which this second process has invariably been accomplished, accounts at once, in a great measure, for the unsuccessful results which have been obtained.

The flax grows wild in almost every part of New Zealand, in the greatest luxuriance: the two principal varieties being the small-leafed, which is chiefly found on high land, and called "hill flax,"—and the large-leafed, which grows on the banks of the rivers or in swampy places. The latter attains to an enormous size, but does not contain so much of the fibrous substance in proportion to the leaf, as the smaller growth; hence, it has been thought that it will pay better, for a time at least, to cultivate the small species. However, there can be no doubt that the quantity as well as the quality of the fibre, will be greatly improved by proper cultivation. In Europe, flax is considered an exhausting crop for the soil if allowed to run to seed, but not if pulled early; and if due attention should be given in New Zealand to the allotment of space for each plant, and to the seasons at which the crop should be made, the same piece of land would doubtless produce a much larger quantity of fibre than at present, while the quality would be much finer. The leaves can be cut twice a-year, the root remaining in the soil for reproduction.

A given quantity of *phormium tenax* will contain more of the fibrous substance than an equal quantity of

Russian hemp, (and, we believe, European flax either) on account of its lighter intrinsic weight. As is well known, it has been in universal use among the natives from time immemorial; formerly they appear to have cultivated it with some care, but now they take no pains whatever in cultivation, and the whole growth is spontaneous. It has been adapted to every kind of use by them: their huts are thatched with it, their mats and other articles of clothing are made of it, as well as baskets and other domestic utensils, fishing nets, &c.

With this short description of the plant, we proceed to lay before our readers the substance of more recent statements of persons who had personally examined it, and are competent to form a judgment on the means to which it can be applied. We do not apologise for the length of the extracts subjoined, because they will doubtless be read with much interest; and even to those who have met with them before separately, it may be pleasing to compare them together at one view.

We shall commence with the Hon. H. W. Petre.

"An Account of the Settlements of the New Zealand Company:" published by Smith, Elder & Co. This interesting work has been very widely read, having already passed through five editions.

After noticing the other productions of the colony, he proceeds:—

"The production which I think is likely to yield a larger profit than any other, and is therefore better calculated to engage the attention of the colonists, is the phormium tenax. This plant grows in great abundance in every part of New Zealand. No soil seems to be unsuited to it; but as there are several varieties of this indigenous plant, it yet remains to be ascertained which is the best species, and on what soils it may be most beneficially grown. The earlier trials of the New Zealand flax will most likely be made from the wild plant, but as soon as it becomes an article of exportation it will be cultivated. My reason for so thinking is, that the number and great difference of the sorts must cause a considerable mixture of inferior with the superior qualities. Hence it will be necessary to discourage the one, and encourage the other. At present it would require much ground to be travelled over to collect the finest sorts only; by cultivation they would be always at hand, as none other would be worth the labour and expense.

On the 24th of December, an advertisement, signed by several persons of known enterprise, was published in the New Zealand, Gazette, calling a public meeting for January 4th, to form an association to discover the best method of preparing New Zealand flax for exportation, and 'all interested in the future prospects of the colony' were requested to attend. In anticipation of this meeting a statement was drawn up by a gentleman who had made the subject his study for some time, and I believe had been engaged in the growth of flax in Ireland. I have no means of verifying his calculations, as I myself have neither made nor witnessed the making of any experiments, but I believe them to have been conducted with care; and as far as any thing can be relied on in the present imperfect state of our information, I think the statement which follows is entitled to confidence.

'The native hemp, or phormium tenax, is the article of local produce which of all others can, with least delay, and least capital, be rendered fit for export in large quantities. It can be procured in a state fit for making cordage within six months from the present time, if an adequate capital be immediately raised, and proper machinery be erected and set to work. It can be prepared in any required quantity at a price which would command an extensive and ready sale, and, at the same time, leave a large profit to those engaged in the trade of preparing it. As a rough estimate of the nature of this important article, I beg to submit the following calculations for consideration.

'Let it be supposed that in a flax farm of 100 acres in extent, each plant should occupy a space of two square yards, or a square of nearly fifty-one inches in the side, the total number of such plants to an acre, would be 2,420; take as an average each plant to yield 12 lbs. of the fresh-cut green leaves per year, this would give rather more than 2,900,000 lbs., or about 1,296 tons, annually, of fresh-cut leaves off a farm of 100 acres extent.

'I have prepared a small quantity of the fresh-cut leaves, by way of experiment, and the result enables me to state, that about one-fifth of the gross weight of green leaves, prepared according to my plan, can be had of hemp, in a fit state for making good ropes or cordage: besides which, a quantity of coarse tow, equal to about half the weight of the fresh-cut leaves, is obtained in the operation of cleansing the hemp of short fibres and pulp. There would, therefore, be procurable from such a farm, about 250 tons of hemp in a proper state for the ropemaker's use, and about 600 tons of coarse tow, fit for making ropes of inferior quality, and of coarse packing canvass. This coarse tow would, if sold as low as 3l. per ton, almost pay the whole first cost of the prepared hemp, including rent, expense of cultivating and procuring the raw leaves, and the wages of the operatives engaged in the preparation of it. The hemp, if sold even so low as 15l. per ton, would be nearly all profit, as the cost of procuring it would be almost, or altogether, covered by the value of the tow. A capital of no more than 5,000l. would be sufficient to set on foot an establishment capable of turning out from 600 to 700 tons annually, and in any case, would pay full 80 per cent, profit on the value of the hemp sold.

I am of opinion that an establishment of the kind, having extensive rope-walks in connexion with it, would be one of the best paying investments of capital which can possibly be made in this place. I shall send a sample

of the prepared hemp, for your further satisfaction.'

This is certainly a brilliant promise; but although I will not venture to anticipate what profit the future cultivator of New Zealand flax is likely to realize, I have a very strong conviction, that it will be our staple article of export; and that, like the wool of New South Wales, its pro- fitableness will be such as to make it not worth while, for many years to come, to invest capital in any other exportable commodity. I ground my opinion chiefly on the large European demand, and on the great variety of purposes to which our flax may be applied. It combines the qualities of hemp and flax, some samples having the strength of the former, and others having the fineness of the latter. Cordage and coarse sail-cloth are made from the strongest kinds, whilst some samples I have seen, have been of a silky texture, and I believe that in Fiance, cambric has been made from it, of great delicacy and beauty. It has also been manufactured into paper of excellent quality, both in this country and in France.

Soon after the meeting, a select committee was appointed to receive specifications of inventions, and to report upon the same. The committee was bound not to divulge any invention that was made known to them, in order that those who were not fortunate enough to secure the favourable opinion of the committee might not be prejudiced, but might avail themselves of any advantages which their invention should enable them to secure. No report had been made by this committee when I left Port Nicholson; but I understood that several inventions had been submitted to them, which promised to fulfil the desired object—that is, to reduce the flax to such a state as will permit it to be exported without being liable to injury during the voyage. As to the nicer processes necessary to bring it into a state fit for manufacture, it will be probably more advantageous to perform them in this country, where they can be effected much more cheaply. The great object is to separate the fibre from the refuse portions of the leaf. If this be not done, the fibre, that is, the flax itself, will heat in the packing, and become useless; but if the fibre be free from the refuse a little more perfectly than the natives are in the habit of doing, there will be no danger of its heating, as that which is even rudely dressed by the natives very seldom heats, and then not to a great extent.

In Sydney the New Zealand flax is held in great esteem. It is invariably made use of where much strength is required, as, for instance, for whale lines. Before I left Wellington, string was manufactured from flax dressed in a peculiar way—I believe chemically, and not mechanically. This would do for string or twine well enough, but hitherto chemical processes have had the effect of weakening the fibre, and therefore have not been adopted or encouraged. Since my departure I find that cordage, string, and door-mats have been manufactured at Wellington for home consumption.

There is no limit to the extent to which flax may be raised by means of cultivation. It has been shown in the above extract, that the return for a given outlay will probably be large, and the quantity which a given space will yield is inconceivable to those who have not witnessed it. It is not like a plant which merely yields a fruit or a seed; the whole plant itself is crop, every leaf yielding produce."

The following remarks of Mr. Heaphy are worthy of special attention, because his explorations of many districts gave him superior opportunities of judging of the value of the *phormium tenax*. He resided for more than two years in the country, and has lately returned there after completing the business which brought him to England. He says:—

"Of the principal articles which New Zealand does at present, or is shortly likely to export, the flax is certainly the most important. It is found in every part of the country, and flourishes alike in dry or swampy ground. No pains have ever yet been taken in its culture; and indeed but little are necessary, so luxuriant is it in its wild state. The form of the plant is very different to that of the European flax; it resembles the 'flag' or 'iris' in shape, but is much larger in growth. Some which I saw on the river banks in the Nelson country measured fourteen feet in length, with a breadth in the leaf of six inches. Allowing one bush to have about a hundred leaves, it will occupy a square of six feet of superficial area, or 1210 plants will cover an acre. It is not, however, probable that the largest species of flax would be cultivated; as that of smaller growth, which is found on high land, has a greater proportion of the fibre to the vegetable substance which surrounds it, and is more easily dressed. Of the smaller kind, about 2,500 plants would cover the acre. As Mr. Petre's recently published work on the New Zealand settlements contains an able calculation of the produce of flax farms, together with an account of all that had been done in Port Nicholson towards discovering a successful method of preparing the fibre, I shall only mention a few circumstances which have fallen under my notice, relating to its growth and capabilities.

An idea of the quantity of fibre contained in one leaf may be obtained from the mention of the fact, that I have seen a native prepare and twist the hemp of one leaf, of the largest kind, into a cord ten feet in length and of the thickness of a pencil. Since my return to England, I have had an opportunity of trying the strength of a piece of New Zealand cord, brought to England by a gentleman who accompanied Flinders in his voyage of discovery; and which I found to be equal to that of a piece of new English string of the same size.

The best flax districts in the estimation of the natives, are near to the sea-shore; and, according to their

accounts, it grows finest at Taranake, and along the shore of the Strait to Port Nicholson. The most luxuriant growth of the plant which I have seen, was at the head of Tasman's Gulf, in the country now occupied by the Nelson settlement; which in my idea is the finest flax district in New Zealand. At the last mentioned place, on account of the country being of an open nature and abundantly watered, it is met with in very great quantity. The hill flax is met with on the steepest and most exposed part of the coast, where the soil is not of sufficient depth to produce any other kinds of vegetation; and in consequence of this, its culture and exportation will cause a value to become attached to land which would be otherwise worthless.

The manufacture of the flax has already commenced at Wellington; and many vessels have been supplied with cordage, &c. from it. By an Auckland newspaper, lately arrived, I find that two tons of rope of various sizes had been made at Kaipara, and forwarded to the former place for sale. Several country sections have been chosen on the sea-coast near Port Nicholson for flax farms, on land that would not, from its exposed situation, produce grain, or be adapted to general agriculture.

The great want now is, the application of a successful method for preparing and packing the flax; and I cannot suppress my desire to see some attempt made in England to supply this deficiency. If proper attention could be attracted to this subject, it is more than probable that some efficient plan would speedily be devised, by means of which the colony would at once become independent of the success of other branches of agriculture; and by opening an immediate trade between it and the mother country, would make a quicker progress towards that completeness of settlement and substantial prosperity, at which other colonies have been comparatively long in arriving."

We conclude our extracts with the following observations of Mr. Charles Terry:—

"In all previous publications and accounts of New Zealand, two natural indigenous products have been put forth, as certain and inexhaustible sources of wealth to the future colonists;—these are timber and flax. . . . The flax may become, eventually, the staple of the colony, as wool is of New South Wales. It is indigenous, and is found all over the island in inexhaustible supplies; for the leaves can be cut twice a-year, leaving the parent root for re-production; and if the plants were cultivated by off-sets (for it is a bulbous root) at proper distances, and the intervening spaces kept free from fern and other shrubs, there is no doubt but the quality of the fibre would be improved, as well as the quantity very much increased. . . . The fibre is obtained by separating it from the external epidermis of the leaf in a green state, by means of a mussel-shell, and then exposing it to the air for a few days, which bleaches the flax and dries the thin inner epidermis; which the natives, on the flax they sell, very imperfectly remove, and which has tended so much of late years to depreciate its value and diminish its consumption in the Sydney and European markets. In heckling and properly freeing the flax from the particles of this coating and substance, there is a loss in quantity of 25 per cent, exclusive of the trouble and expence."

Speaking of the Government contract, he says—

"It is probable, that the unclean state of the flax when imported into England may have occasioned great trouble to the Government rope-makers, in heckling out the tow and freeing the fibres from the particles of the inner epidermis adhering to them, and which, if not properly and fully done, would operate against the due proportionate tension and wear of the strands, more particularly if they were carelessly or imperfectly laid."

We trust we have shown sufficient ground, on the evidence we have submitted, for our conviction that the *phormium tenax* is capable of being brought into this country in such a state as to ensure it a ready and extensive sale: and we have only to add our belief, that the only way effectually to carry out this object is by supplying the means from England. The thing can be done, we are sure; let us see how.

It appears certain that individual enterprise, even if aided by a considerable capital, would not succeed in accomplishing the object in view,—a systematic importation of the flax. There are now many persons, in different parts of the colony, who have succeeded in manufacturing good rope and other articles: but this has uniformly been on a very limited scale, and has been accomplished, we believe, chiefly by manual labour; so that it may really be said that the flax has not been put to any extensive use by the colonists individually up to this time. It is true that if a person in England should be found willing to make the experiment on a large scale, and should proceed himself to the Colony for that purpose, he would in all probability find it a most profitable investment for his money, and succeed in raising a large quantity of produce for shipment to England:—but, even should he meet with the greatest success, he would not do what is now required. In order to make a market for the *phormium tenax* here, it is indispensable, not only that the supply should be considerable, but that it should be permanent; in short, that a steady and constant importation should be kept up. This, for many obvious reasons, cannot be ensured in cases of individual enterprise; and our opinion therefore is, that the object can best—if not only—be effectually served by establishing a company, which shall itself undertake the culture, preparation, and shipment of the flax, and import it for sale in England. A moderate capital would suffice for carrying out the plan in the fullest manner. It is difficult to come to any precise notion of the amount which would be required, but although the sum named by the gentleman quoted above by Mr. Petre,—namely 5000*l.*, might very probably be ample for conducting the first operations, we think that a much larger capital might be

advantageously employed eventually. We are inclined to think that if it were fixed at 20,000*l.*, of which a moiety or less should be called for at first, it would not be too large.

We have already said that we do not profess to lay down the mode by which a proper cultivation and preparation of the fibre would be secured. The first object of the proposed Company, therefore, would be to ascertain the best mode, by close investigation on the spot, conducted by qualified persons, who should devote their attention exclusively to the subject. It may be objected to the formation of a Company at present, that this very want ought to be supplied before the Company is established, in order that it might then enter at once into the field of production. To this we answer, that the subject has been allowed to sleep on only because it was not energetically taken up here, and that it is as likely to sleep on still, if steps are not now taken to make the required experiment. We venture to urge, moreover, our conviction that the experiment would not fail; and we are therefore anxious that no more time should be lost in waiting to see "what will be done" by others. We present evidence to prove that while the great—perhaps the only—difficulty in establishing the value of the *phormium tenax* has been the want of proper culture and preparation of the plant, no effectual means have ever been attempted to obviate that want: and we cannot but feel persuaded, in the absence of any evidence—we think we may even say any statement—to the contrary, that there does exist a remedy, which would not long remain unknown, were perseverance, skill, and money applied to its discovery. On the presumption that this remedy would be available, there can be no doubt that, in a pecuniary point of view, the proposed Company would open a field for really profitable investment. We have seen that it was estimated at Wellington that if the flax were sold in this country for 15*l.* per ton, that amount would be nearly all profit, as the sale of the tow would cover the expences of production. We have no means of verifying this estimate; but we are not sanguine enough to place implicit confidence in it. At the same time, it is at least an approximation to the truth; and we may safely allow for a great deduction from such a calculation, and yet feel certain of realizing large profit. Besides, while it would doubtless be necessary, or at all events very expedient, to introduce the article into England at a very moderate price in the first instance, we may fairly look for a larger sum than 15*l.* per ton, when the European flax is about 40*l.* per ton in the market. Messrs. Enderby, who made considerable purchases at one time, paid from 17*l.* to 24*l.* per ton;

See Mr. C. Enderby's Evidence before Lords' Committee.

at that period also, a less price than was paid for other flax. From this we are justified in the expectation, that if on the one hand experience should diminish the estimate we allude to of the profit, so on the other hand we may be able to demand a higher price per ton than that contemplated. We have heard it stated as a grave objection, that the expence of freighting the flax home would be a serious drawback to the hope of successful competition with the European hemp and flax. A few words will set such a doubt at rest. The cost of freight from the Baltic is 52*s.* 6*d.* per ton, and we believe more from some other countries; and we cannot anticipate that the freight from New Zealand would exceed about 3*l.* per ton; the difference between the two being thus a point comparatively immaterial. On the whole, and looking at the question in not the most favourable light, it does appear to us that sufficient grounds exist for the anticipation that if the proposed Company should be established, very considerable profits would not fail of being realized. We should not omit noticing a point of some importance in connexion with our subject: the seed of the European flax is crushed for oil after the fibre has been obtained; and we do not recollect that any similar trial has been made with the New Zealand flax. If some varieties would not, others might, yield oil; at any rate the enquiry would be interesting.

It would be needless for us to enlarge on the advantages that would accrue to the mother country as well as to the Colony by the importation, at a cheap rate, of an article like the *phormium tenax*, inexhaustible in supply, and capable of competing successfully with the foreign production now in use. The benefit that would arise to England by being made in a great measure independent of a foreign supply of such an article must be obvious. We print at the end, Tables showing the quantities of hemp and flax imported into the United Kingdom from 1831 to 1840 inclusive. It will be seen that during these ten years, the enormous amount of 561,714 tons of flax and tow, and 339,149 tons of undressed hemp, were imported: of which no less than 557,124 tons of flax and tow, and 330,390 tons of hemp, were retained for home consumption,—being at the rate of 88,750 tons of hemp and flax per annum. It would perhaps be too sanguine to expect that New Zealand flax should displace, at first, any very considerable quantity of this immense importation: there are "vested interests" to be combated, there is prejudice to be removed:—but may we not look forward to the time when so devoutly-to-be-wished a consummation should take place, and England receive from the "Britain of the South" the largest portion of its importation of this staple? The present price of Russian hemp is about 33*l.* and of Riga flax 40*l.* per ton: now, if New Zealand flax can be supplied, equal, for all practical purposes, to the foreign article now used, at somewhere about 15*l.* per ton (after allowing for a large profit) it is impossible not to perceive that it must, in the course of time, force itself on the market, and become eventually the chief article of consumption. We think no one will deny the advantages to England from such a result.

But if this does not admit of a doubt, how much more certainly is it applicable to New Zealand! A new

colony, in order to become really prosperous in the long run, must be possessed of some available resources of its own, by which it may export an equivalent to the value of its imports; otherwise it is clear that the fictitious prosperity engendered by the influx in the first instance of settlers possessed of more or less capital, would break down on a serious and continued interruption of the stream, because the capital would gradually—in a ratio to the balance of trade against the Colony—be consumed in payment of its imports. On the other hand, the creation of a staple export may be so successful as to more than cover the deficiency, and cause the balance to turn in its favour; in that case not only does the capital poured in by immigrants remain in the Colony, but an extraneous accumulation of wealth goes on at the same time, and the prosperity of the Colony is assured. Now, as New Zealand does not possess,—and will not probably for a length of time possess,—the means of exporting manufactures, we must look to its natural and indigenous productions for its actual resources. The flax presents such a resource. Inexhaustible in quantity, easy and inexpensive of cultivation, having the means of transport to England immediately and constantly at hand,—it offers precisely that resource which will be most available to New Zealand. Moreover, the foundation of a permanent and growing importation would go further to strengthen and perpetuate the favourable opinion entertained by the public at home of the advantages of New Zealand as a field for colonization, than perhaps any other circumstance. Even the establishment of a Loan Society, and the promotion of steam navigation, which are objects of the highest importance, and would undoubtedly be of the greatest advantage, to the Colony, would not have so beneficial an effect as success in calling into existence an extensive importation of its produce.

Nor should we omit,—among the gainers by rendering the *phormium tenax* an available article of commerce—the powerful association, to whose untiring exertions the colonization of New Zealand is undoubtedly attributable. The New Zealand Company has the strongest interest in the success of the scheme. It has already founded three great settlements, from which off-shoots are occasionally springing; and is still possessed of a vast territory, which will be gradually apportioned in new settlements. What would give greater value to that land than the establishment of a profitable export of its produce? What would ensure a larger measure of prosperity to the settlements already founded? What would tend more to enhance the value of the land already purchased of the Company and held by individuals? Again, the ships dispatched by the Company, instead of being compelled to make long and sometimes fruitless voyages in search of homeward freights, would at once be laden home: by this means the rates of freight outwards would be reduced, and we should have more frequent communication with the Colony. The increasing prosperity of the Company's settlements would occasion at once an impetus to emigration, and a demand for its land, at the same time that the value of that land would be greatly enhanced by this means a large emigration fund would accrue, and the great question of the "peopling of New Zealand" would advance steadily towards solution. The Company would more fully accomplish the grand object of its incorporation, while it would reap—as it ought—corresponding pecuniary advantage.

On all these grounds, then, we emphatically call on every one interested in the welfare and prosperity of New Zealand to join in making an energetic and decided effort to establish an extensive and systematic cultivation of the *phormium tenax*. Confidently relying on the strength of the case we have made out, we leave to abler hands the task of determining on the measures for effecting an object of such national importance, as regards both the Colony and the mother-country.

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Russia.....	623,256	667,868	776,855	562,815	438,483	1,037,021	682,025	1,089,559	705,708	870,401	Prussia.....	101,729	144,138	147,385
Holland.....	128,237	114,191	45,728	81,157	104,434	155,016	134,916	191,602	160,487	113,108	Belgium.....	89,628	39,426	72,731
France.....	55,324	31,512	27,147	7,904	16,192	26,119	39,557	53,493	78,607	43,295	Germany.....	7,615	8,104	34,221
Italy.....	1,475	697	17	595	693	26	33	46	302	746	Denmark.....	1,055	23	1,011
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Front Cover

The Twelfth Report to the Directors of the New Zealand Company.

Presented to an Adjourned Special Court of Proprietors,

Held on the 26TH APRIL, 1844.

New Zealand Company coat of arms London: Printed By Palmer and Clayton, Crane Court, Fleet Street. 1844.

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Deputy-Governor.

- Hon. Francis Baring.

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- Principal Agent at Wellington—colonel William Wakefield.
- Resident Agent at Nelson—william Fox, Esq. (Acting.)
- Resident Agent at New Plymouth—john Tylston Wicksteed, Esq.

AT AN ADJOURNED SPECIAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS OF THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY, HELD AT THE COMPANY'S HOUSE, IN BROAD STREET BUILDINGS, LONDON, ON FRIDAY, THE 26TH DAY OF APRIL, 1844:—

JOSEPH SOMES, ESQ., THE GOVERNOR, IN THE CHAIR.

Read and confirmed,—The Proceedings of the Adjourned Special Court, held on the 29th of March, ultimo.—

Read,—The Twelfth Report of the Directors, dated this day.

I.—Moved by RUSSELL ELLICE, Esq.:—Seconded by GEORGE ROBINS, Esq.:—

Resolved:—

That the Report now read be adopted.

II.—Moved by ALEXANDER CURRIE, Esq.:—Seconded by JOHN PERCIVAL, Esq.:—

That this Court, continuing to confide in the ability, discretion, and honour of the Directors, approves cordially of their determination to appeal to Parliament for redress of the wrongs inflicted on the Company; assured that the Proprietors may rely on receiving from that Tribunal the justice which has been denied to them by the Colonial Department of the Executive Government.

THE LORD INGESTRE IN THE CHAIR.

III.—Moved by GEORGE ROBINS, Esq.:—Seconded by BENJAMIN HARDING, Esq.:—

That the thanks of this Meeting be especially presented to the Governor, for his conduct in the Chair; and to the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors, for their uniform and valuable attention to the affairs of the Company.

Twelfth Report

Of the Directors of the New Zealand Company.

AFTER our Report of the 29th ultimo, you will not be much surprised to learn that our representations to the Colonial Department therein mentioned, have been entirely without effect. The Secretary of State has rejected all the proposals, which we submitted to his Lordship in the hope that he would afford us the means of continuing to pursue the objects of your incorporation. We have not been favoured with any explanation of the grounds of that refusal. Lord Stanley merely tells us, that he "declines the discussion of any further propositions" for the present. You will find the whole correspondence on the subject in Appendix A. to this

A. Nos. 1 to 9.

Report.

That correspondence will explain to you how it

A. No. 6.

happened, that at your adjourned meeting on the 29th ultimo, we laid before you in our Eleventh Report, a suggestion which was made to us by the Colonial Department, and which, if we had adopted it, would

A. No. 2.

have assumed the form of a new proposal from the Company to the Government. Our reasons for declining that suggestion are fully stated in your Governor's letter

A. No. 3.

to Lord Stanley of the 2nd instant.

In examining the correspondence in question, you will not fail to remark a singular contrast of matter and tone between our representations and Lord Stanley's answer to them. We described without asperity or inculpation the ruinous state of your affairs, and the deplorable condition of the once prosperous Settlements which you founded; we pleaded, not too earnestly we still hope, but at all events in terms of proper respect towards the organ of the Government, for a favourable construction of our views and motives, and for such present assistance and future good will from his Lordship's Department, as we deemed essential to the welfare of both races in New Zealand, and to the restoration of your powers of usefulness as a colonizing body. The

A No. 5.

only answer we receive is severe personal reproach. Excepting as relates to the amount of dividends paid to you, and the Establishments maintained by us, we are not blamed for any misconduct in the direction of your

affairs; and the exception itself forms a personal imputation. For the rest, Lord Stanley's censure is not bestowed upon the Company for any abuse of powers or neglect of duties; it does not belong to any of the matters of a public nature to which we had called his Lordship's attention; it has no tendency to save the colonies and natives of New Zealand from the disasters which threaten them. Our temperate appeal to his Lordship's justice, humanity, and sense of public policy, is only met by reproach, so merely personal as to be confined to charges of indiscretion and bad faith in our conduct of the negotiation. Disapprobation of the hand-writing of our letters would not have been more entirely personal, though, of course, far less offensive. When you shall have further observed, by your Governor's letter to

A. No. 6.

Lord Stanley of the 18th instant, how utterly groundless those personal imputations are, we think you will agree with us in abandoning for the present all hope of placing the Company on a better footing of relations with the Colonial Office.

It would be wrong, however, to conceal from you that an impression prevails amongst us, that Lord Stanley himself does not participate in the constant ill-will of the Colonial Office and its officers in New Zealand towards this Company, which the correspondence in the Appendices discloses. When you shall have seen all the proofs of their jealous hostility, you will understand the practical importance of the distinction here drawn between the Secretary of State and his subordinates.

We have received with much satisfaction, from a considerable number of the proprietors, holding a large amount of stock, a written assurance of their approbation of our conduct in declining to accept a temporary loan of 40,000*l.* from the Government, secured on the whole property of the Company. In addition to the objections to such a proceeding, which are set forth in your Governor's letter to Lord Stanley, Mr. Hope's

A. No. 3.

letter of the 4th instant satisfies us, that if we had

A. No. 5.

adopted the proposal, you would have gained nothing but a very brief respite from pecuniary pressure, and would have been thereby precluded from acquainting the public with the true condition of your affairs as respects the relations of the Company with the Colonial Office. This has been too long concealed, by our unwillingness to believe in its existence, and by our fears lest any public complaint from us should only make bad worse. In our whole management of your affairs, there is nothing with which we can reproach ourselves, save too long a silent endurance of blow after blow to your interests and those of the settlers in Cook's Strait, from quarters where your incorporation by Her Majesty led us to expect sympathy and friendly co-operation; and we assure you that, painful as are the circumstances which now oblige us to tell you the worst, they afford us relief from a less tolerable burden of responsibility and anxiety.

B. Nos. 1 to 8.

The correspondence in Appendix B. contains the Agreement made with Lord Stanley, in the month of May, 1843, and alluded to in your Governor's letter to his

A. No. 1.

Lordship of the 29th February last, together with his Lordship's instructions to Governor Fitzroy, on the

B. No. 8.

26th of June, 1843. We request your particular attention to these documents.

B. No. 1.

Your Governor's letter of the 8th of May, 1843, specifies, in the form of a proposal from the Company to the Government, the terms and conditions of an agreement which had resulted from much private negotiation between the Colonial Department and ourselves at the close of a long and very hostile controversy. You must keep in mind, that the substance and very words of the proposal were determined at interviews between the parties, and by a private correspondence; and that the public correspondence which followed was a mere execution of the previously settled contract. The formal and unqualified acceptance of the proposal by Lord Stanley was conveyed to us by Mr. Hope's letter of the

B. No. 2.

12th May, 1843. The agreement between the parties was, as it were, finally executed on that day.

The only person who could carry that agreement into effect on behalf of the Government, was Captain Fitzroy, just then appointed to succeed the deceased Captain Hobson as Governor of New Zealand. It appears that the two letters which form the Agreement, were very properly placed in Captain Fitzroy's hands without comment from Lord Stanley as to the meaning of their words. Doubts, however, seem to have been

B. No. 8.

expressed to Governor Fitzroy by somebody as to the meaning of very important parts of the Agreement; and he accordingly wrote to Lord Stanley, on the 15th of June, 1843, requesting an interpretation by his Lordship of the passages whose ambiguity had occurred to somebody. On the 26th of the same month,

B. No. 8.

Lord Stanley answers the questions put to him. We beg of you to examine his Lordship's despatch. In our opinion, it had the effect of materially varying the Agreement. That despatch was not communicated to us until the 1st of February last; nearly seven months

B. No. 6

H. No. 10.

after Governor Fitzroy had quitted this country; and when it would have been idle in us to express how much we differed with Lord Stanley as to the true interpretation of the words in the Agreement. We can positively assure you, however, that we should never have entered into an agreement containing such words as those of Lord Stanley's interpretation of the agreement into which we did enter. If that interpretation had been communicated to us at the time, we should have endeavoured to persuade Lord Stanley to recall it, and, failing in that attempt, we should have protested against an important variation of the contract by one of the parties to it without the consent of the other.

That variation, however, took place not merely without our consent, but without our knowledge. We were not even afforded an opportunity of submitting to Governor Fitzroy (with whom we at that time held frequent and most friendly personal communications) our view of the meaning of the Agreement, as opposed to that of the other contracting party. Our local agent, whom we instructed to carry out our part of the Agreement according to its words—to fulfil the engagement which we had contracted according to the terms of the contract—is probably not even aware of the new interpretation of the engagements of the Government, which has been given to Captain Fitzroy, in the shape of instructions. And even if the Governor should communicate those his instructions to our agent, the latter will be wholly ignorant of our views on the subject. We are bound fast to our engagements; while the local Government is set free from the obligation of viewing Lord Stanley's engagements with us in the sense deliberately agreed upon between the parties.

This disregard of good faith by the Colonial Office, may be productive of very serious practical wrong towards you, and the settlers in Cook's Strait. We proceed to an explanation of this danger.

When you shall have read the correspondence in

C. Nos. 1 to 71

Appendix C., you will have no doubt of the accuracy of the common opinion, which traces the present lamentable

C. No. 32.

state of things in New Zealand to the policy of the local authorities in attempting to colonize without means, instead of merely governing the colonists and natives. Hence came the establishment of the seat of Government at Auckland, where there was nobody to be governed, not far from one of the extremities of a

D. No. 30.

narrow country 800 miles long, and practically more distant from the great bulk of the colonist population, than either New South Wales, or Van Diemen's Land: hence also the systematic endeavours of the local Government to discourage settlement in the centre of New Zealand; to encourage, by very unscrupulous

D. No. 59.

means, the re-migration to Auckland, or its neighbourhood, of emigrants from this country, who had been taken out at the Company's expense, and settled on its lands. The success of these endeavours would inevitably have proved ruinous to the Company's settlements. Our duty to those who had purchased land from us, whose money we had spent in conveying population to that land, with a view of giving it value—our duty to all the colonist inhabitants of the shores of Cook's Strait, who had settled there under an assurance that the central parts of New Zealand would be the field of the Company's operations—our duty to you, whose property in land was all there; commanded us to resist—most urgently forbade us to aid in giving effect to—the views of the local Government in this respect. Any neglect of these obligations would have subjected us to severe and deserved reproach from the colonists, whose reliance upon us demanded that we should take a special care of their interests. You will understand, therefore, with what reluctance we consented to that

B. Nos. 1, 2.

part of the Agreement with Lord Stanley, of May, 1843, by which we engaged to take lands at Auckland, and to colonize there.

The suggestion that we should do so, came to us originally from the local Government of New Zealand, in an extract from Governor Hobson's despatch to Lord Stanley of the 26th of March, 1842, which was communicated

D. No. 99.

to us by his Lordship on the 27th of December

D. No. 98.

in the same year. We viewed that suggestion as part and parcel of the system that sought to promote the

colonizing prosperity of Auckland at the expense of Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth. It appeared to us of a piece with Governor Hobson's strenuous efforts to induce the body of colonists who settled at

D. No. 43.

Nelson to plant themselves in the neighbourhood of Auckland. We knew also, that the project, which had not been kept a secret in New Zealand, was regarded with no less favour by members of the local Government, and others having a personal interest in serving Auckland at the expense of Cook's Strait, than with suspicion and alarm in the Company's settlements. You may ask with impatience, what then induced us to consent? Our answer is, we felt that the interests of the settlers and proprietors were so completely at the mercy of the Colonial Office and the local Government, with respect to the vital question of land-titles in the Company's settlements—that the proceedings of the local Government in that respect were leading to such fearful results—that the total ruin of your settlements, and terrible collisions between the settlers and natives, seemed so likely to grow out of the then state of the land-titles question:—on all these grounds we deemed it our duty to obtain some determination of that question by means of almost any sacrifice. Our consent to the engagements with respect to taking land at Auckland was the price which we paid for Lord Stanley's engagements with respect to land-titles. We undoubtedly entertained hopes that the Company might, by colonizing at Auckland, put an end to those feelings of jealous rivalry between the Company's settlements and that of the Government, which had arisen from the efforts of the Government to colonize without means. Even these hopes, however, were chiefly encouraged by the appointment of Captain Fitzroy as successor to Governor Hobson. We felt assured, that Governor Fitzroy would execute Lord Stanley's engagements as to land-titles, according to the letter and spirit of the Agreement. Our reliance on Governor Fitzroy's strict sense of justice and honour remains undiminished; but the letter of the Agreement has been altered by additions

B. No. 8.

which, in our opinion, greatly alter its spirit. These alterations relate only to Lord Stanley's engagements: ours stand as before. We pay the price agreed upon, but are deprived of the engagements in consideration of which we consented to the bargain. Our part of the bargain has probably been fulfilled, for we

D. No. 162.

H. No. 22.

lost no time in desiring our agent to carry it into immediate effect: we look with alarm for news of what may have come of Lord Stanley's engagements, as altered by himself without our consent or knowledge.

But we have not yet made you aware of all the practical importance of the alterations in question; still less of all the grounds on which we should have declined to enter into the Agreement if an opportunity of forming a judgment upon it as now altered had been afforded to us.

By referring to the correspondence in Appendix C.,

C. Nos. 1 to 5

you will learn that, as respects the Company's rights to land in New Zealand, the Agreement with Lord Stanley in May 1843, was substituted for another Agreement into which we entered with Lord John Russell in November 1840, when the latter noble lord was pleased to advise Her Majesty to grant this Company a Charter of Incorporation. By what it will be convenient to term Lord John Russell's Agreement, the

C. No. 4.

Company abandoned all title or pretence of title to any lands purchased or acquired by them in New Zealand, other than the lands to be granted to them by the Crown under that Agreement; and it also undertook to raise a further capital of 200,000*l.* in addition to its original capital of 100,000*l.* Both the surrender of the lands and the additional subscription of capital were clauses of the Agreement insisted on by Lord John Russell. On the other hand, his Lordship engaged that you should receive from Her Majesty a grant of as many acres as the Company had expended crowns in the business of colonization; and it was further agreed between the parties that the quantity of land so to be granted by the Crown should be selected by the Company within a certain district, to the whole of which they had previously laid claim on the ground of purchase from the natives when New Zealand was a foreign country.

The obvious principle of Lord John Russell's Agreement was in harmony with all the dictates of experience and sound policy in such matters. The Government stepped in between private colonizers and the natives; forced the colonizers to abandon their claims to land, founded on contracts between themselves and the natives; forbade the Company to perform a function so exclusively proper to the Government as the extinction of native titles; and itself undertook a task in which none having a private interest should ever be allowed to participate. It was only by a strict observance of this sound principle of Lord John Russell's Agreement, that the colonization of New Zealand could be expected to go on with benefit to the settlers and natives, or without the infliction of terrible evils upon both races. You will find by the correspondence in Appendix C., that this principle was utterly disregarded by the local Government, which seems always to have treated Lord John Russell's Agreement as waste paper.

C. No. 49.

A Court of Claims was established in the midst of

E. No 18 to 26.

the district to which the Company had acquired a claim by native purchase when there was no British authority nor any other government in New Zealand; and into this Court the Company was called as a party, and required to establish the claims which Lord John Russell's Agreement had properly compelled them to abandon. The natives were the party on the other side. Intermediate parties appeared in the form of whites claiming to have purchased from natives before the Company. The Court consisted of a gentleman who did not understand a word of the native language. The Interpreter of the Court held the office of Sub-protector of Aborigines, and in that character

E. No. 9.

not only prepared out of Court the claims of the

E. Nos. 27 to 58.

natives against the Company, but acted as their counsel in Court. There has since been added to his functions that of Arbitrator, to assist in determining the amount of compensation to be paid by the Company to natives under decree of the Court. He had been appointed, moreover, to the office of Sub-Protector of Aborigines by his father, the Chief Protector for New

H. Nos. 6, 8.

Zealand—a lay missionary, personally and largely interested in whatever might affect the value of landed property at and near Auckland. There was no surer method of raising the value of land near Auckland—no more certain means of promoting colonization near Auckland at the expense of the Company's settlements—than by decisions of the Court of Claims adverse to the Company, or by delay in coming to any decision. The Court sat for nearly two years without deciding a single case. When you are informed that the gentleman filling the incompatible offices of Protector and Interpreter, and subsequently of Arbitrator, was under twenty years old at the time of receiving these appointments—when you reflect on the right qualifications for the office of Protector of Aborigines in a country like New Zealand, such as experience, habitual prudence, weight of character, and perfect freedom from even the suspicion of self-interested bias—when you consider how the real value of land, and the ideas of the natives on that subject, had been altered by British colonization—when you think of the utter confusion of ideas which even now prevails among the natives with respect to their own rights to property in land—and when you make allowance for the facility, and the hope of profit for themselves, with which some of the whites might instigate

G. No. 51.

the natives to set up new and extravagant claims for compensation,—you will not be surprised at the failure of the Commissioner's Court to produce any but the most deplorable results. In our opinion, the massacre

H Nos. 18* to 24*.

at Wairoa flowed directly from it.

But it is not to the Court that we object, or have ever objected. A Court of Claims seems to have been necessary, in order that the native title should be extinguished by *the Government*. What we object to is, the making of the Company a party before the Court, instead of only a witness on behalf of the Crown, according to the principle of Lord John Russell's Agreement. That Agreement contained, in fact, a surrender by the Company to the Crown of all the land which you previously claimed in virtue of purchase from the natives. If the Company and other Europeans claiming to have once purchased from the natives, had only been called as witnesses to satisfy the Commissioner that the purchases had really taken place, the follies and calamities of such a litigation as actually occurred, would have been avoided. The spectacle which that litigation presented

E. No. 26.

E. No. 19.

, excited a general ridicule. The claims and counter-claims, direct and intermediate, were as numerous as the considerations alleged to have passed, and the proofs of contract, were various and conflicting. Some of the parties in this strange contention of private

E. No. 25.

interests employed English attorneys and barristers; one or other of the languages used was always unknown to one or more of the parties interested; the very thoughts of the several parties on the subject of property in land were so different, as to be respectively incomprehensible; the parties best informed on the subject in debate—the natives, whose law of real property was to be the guide of the Court—never had any *law* of the sort, but only vague, diversified, conflicting customs; and, to crown all, the Court itself, whose functions were really more important and more delicate than those of the Governor, consisted of a country attorney recently imported from England.

The picture is really shameful. We present It to you in order that you may estimate a sacrifice made by us in

consenting to the substitution of Lord Stanley's Agreement for that of Lord John Russell. When we learnt that the policy of the local Government, which had

C. Nos. 50, 53, 56, 58

placed the natives and Company in conflict as parties before this strange Court, was approved by the Colonial Office, and had probably originated there, we nevertheless believed, that if the subject were publicly examined, Her Majesty's Government, Parliament, and the country would condemn a proceeding which was so unjust towards us, if our Agreement with Lord John Russell had any validity, and so perfectly calculated, at all events, to produce hostility between the settlers and

H. Nos. 1* to 24*.

natives. But time pressed. The mischief was partly done. Even then we had to inform Lord Stanley (in your Governor's letter of 14th February, 1843) of the

D. No. 112.

actual commencement of that series of collisions between whites and natives, which ended in the calamity at Wairoa. In order that no time might be lost in at least mitigating the evils of the land-titles question—in order to obtain immediately some sort of settlement of that matter—we determined to forego such an appeal to Her Majesty's Government and Parliament, as we doubt not would have given effect to the sound principle of Lord John Russell's Agreement. It was under the pressure of time and fear that we entered into the agreement with Lord Stanley of May 1843.

B. Nos. 1, 2.

Considering all that had passed, however, you may be sure that we carefully weighed every word of that Agreement, and that we never should have become a party to it if we had imagined that the other party would virtually alter it without our knowledge. The; addition to the Agreement of Lord Stanley's own interpretation

B. No. 8.

to the meaning of its concerted words, has really deprived us of the particular consideration which induced us to abstain from publishing our correspondence with his Lordship on the subject, and appealing to the justice of Parliament. Lord John Russell's Agreement, which we are sure that public opinion would have sustained, if only for the sake of the natives, has been set aside; and the Agreement which took its place, has been in our opinion, so vitiated by the subsequent instructions to Governor Fitzroy, that we really cannot pretend to anticipate the issue. We purposely abstain from comment on the transaction, trusting that enough has been said to accomplish our sole object, which is that of making the whole matter plain to you with the aid of the Appendices to this Report.

We entreat of you to examine for yourselves all the documents relating to the subject.

When publishing the correspondence in Appendix C., we owe it to ourselves to state, that its suppression hitherto, so far as we are concerned, arose from no engagement or understanding with the Colonial Office, but was determined on spontaneously by ourselves as being required by the amicable sequel of the controversy. We trust, however, that under no circumstances should we have been tempted to publish one side of any part of the controversy without the other. A different view of the obligations of honour seems to have actuated the Colonial Office. In answer to two long letters from your Governor to Lord Stanley, dated the

.Nos. 54, 55

24th and 25th of January, 1843, his Lordship, in Mr.

C. No. 56, page 170, C.

Hope's letter of the subsequent 1st February, gave a summary of what he understood to be the conclusions of the New Zealand Company with respect to native rights to property in land. This summary represents the Company as an unprincipled rapacious body, utterly regardless of the rights and welfare of the natives. This summary, we find, was made public in New Zealand

E. No. 85.

by the local Government on the 19th of September, 1843, but unaccompanied by any portion of the two letters whose conclusions it purports to express. We refer you to those two letters, and especially to that of the 25th

C. No. 55.

of January, which relates exclusively to the natives. When you shall have read those letters,—when you shall have seen how contrary to the truth is the accusation founded on them,—you will perceive all the unfairness of publishing that accusation without a word of the letters. The impolicy of thus, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, proclaiming the Company as foes to the natives is another matter, of which we take no notice here: our present business is with the unfairness of the proceeding. Viewed in this light, we cannot help connecting it with the unfounded reproaches addressed to us by Mr. Hope on the 4th instant,—with the alterations of the Agreement of May last without our knowledge,—and with a portion of the suppressed correspondence of 1843, to which we must now direct your attention.

We here allude, in the first place, to a quotation of certain words from Lord John Russell's Agreement, in Mr. Hope's letter to your Governor of the 10th January, 1843;

C. No. 53.

which words, as quoted by Mr. Hope, have a meaning totally different from that which they bear in the sentence from which he extracts them, and of which they form an essential part. You will find this extreme unfairness exposed in your Governor's letter to Lord

C. No. 54.

Stanley of the 24th January, 1843. We allude also to the manner in which the Colonial Department treated a letter from your Governor to Lord Stanley, bearing date

C. Nos. 32, 65.

24th November, 1841, which we withdrew on the 10th of January, 1842, and sent in again on the 30th January, 1843. You will obtain a knowledge of the whole matter by reading Mr. Hope's letter of the 15th of February, 1843,

C. No. 68.

and your Governor's reply of the 22nd

C. No. 69.

February. And, finally, we allude to a letter from Mr. Stephen, one of the Under-Secretaries of State for the Colonies, to Lord Stanley, dated 1st March, 1843, which his Lordship transmitted to us on the 15th of the

same month. That letter closes the correspondence in Appendix C., and appears unanswered. In fact, it never was answered. It did not reach us till the correspondence preceding it had resulted in amicable negotiation between Lord Stanley and ourselves; and we then deemed it imprudent, on account of those interests of which we were bound to take care without regard to our personal feelings, to send an answer, which must have been so very painful to Mr. Stephen, as a positive re-assertion of the statements which he deliberately contradicts, together with ample proof that some of the minutely circumstantial evidence which he brings in support of the contradiction, cannot be founded in fact.

In pursuance of our main object in framing this Report, which is rather to furnish you with a sort of index to the voluminous documents appended to it, than either to narrate the Company's proceedings, or to argue disputed points, we now refer you once more to your Governor's

C. No. 32.

letter to Lord Stanley of the 24th November, 1841, where you will find a particular account of the difficulties with which we then had to contend. They have gone on increasing from that time to the present, in spite of that full, faithful, and earnest representation of them. We again beg of you to read that letter with attention. You will there observe how our general plan of colonization was deranged by a sudden and very important change in a provision on which we had based the whole course of the Company's future operations;—what the Company's settlements suffered from being left without a Government,—how the very friendly relations between the settlers and natives which had been uninterruptedly preserved by the good sense of two or three individuals possessing no legal authority, gave way to disorders and collisions upon the appointment of a Governor,—how your emigrants were carried off from Wellington to the seat of Government at Auckland,—how, in concert with Lord John Russell, we sent out his Agreement with you, and instructions to Governor Hobson for carrying it into effect by a fast-sailing vessel expressly engaged for the purpose, and how utterly those instructions were disregarded,—how the private interests of a Government officer really placed the seat of Government at Auckland,—how originated the system, which has ever since been steadily pursued, of carrying off to Auckland the great bulk of the public revenue, raised by taxing the settlers in Cook's Strait,—and lastly, how we, the Directors of a Company in London, required by your charter to invest a large capital in the business of colonizing waste lands in New Zealand, were peremptorily subjected to the necessity of using the local Government at Auckland, as the channel of our communications with the Colonial Department respecting matters of a local nature affecting your interests in the centre of the Islands.

For information concerning the manner in which

E. Nos. 29 to 58.

Governor Hobson's fatal policy was pursued after his

E. Nos. 79 to 85.

death by his successor, Lieutenant Shortland, the provisional Administrator of the Government, as well as the

H. Nos. 9* to 24*.

extent to which its evil consequences were aggravated

H. Nos. 1 to 26.

by substituting the monstrous litigation of the Court of Claims for Lord John Russell's Agreement, we refer

you to a number of documents in Appendices E. and H.

Some of these are private letters, which we lay before

H. No. 17.

you as evidence of the aggressive temper of the natives since the massacre at Wairoa, and of the consequent fear and hatred of them, which are growing among the settlers. We hope it is unnecessary for us to disclaim any participation in that feeling of vengeance towards the natives, which some of these letters exhibit. We consider that the native race are, in a great measure unconscious of right or wrong, according to European notions; that their present conduct and ultimate fate depend entirely on their new Government; and therefore, that they ought to be held free from many of the responsibilities attaching to civilized men. But the fact of the present war of races must not be concealed

C. No. 32.

We predicted it in 1841, in a letter to Lord Stanley saying,—“If the collision, which we earnestly deprecate, should occur, it must be attributed, not to us who from the earliest period, have sought to make provision for the future improvement of the natives, and inculcated a scrupulous regard for their present rights, interests, and even prejudices; not to the settlers, who have fulfilled our wishes by exemplary justice and forbearance to them; not to the natives themselves, whose kind reception of our countrymen, and whose desire and capacity of improvement merited the protecting care of Government: the guilt of the disaster will attach to Captain Hobson and his policy.”

Information which we have received since Captain [*unclear*: Hobson] death has convinced us that the malady under which he sunk a last, had so impaired his faculties for a long time before, that [*unclear*: it] would now be unfair to speak of him as responsible for the acts performed in his name.

That policy has been still more mischievously carried out by his successor, At Nelson it left several thousand settlers with no other government than a single police magistrate; it incited

H. Nos. 1 to 8.

H. No. 16.

some warlike natives living on the north side of Cook's Strait, and under the immediate influence of the operation of the Court of Claims, to cross over to the Nelson district, and there to revive and sustain by violence, rights of property in land which they had long before sold to the Company; it left the police magistrate with no means of asserting his authority, except the aid of a posse of emigrants; and it resulted in that fatal affray at Wairoa, the true particulars of which can never be ascertained, because the only Europeans acquainted with them were killed on the spot. One of these was the agent of the Company in the Nelson district, and the founder of that settlement. We need not tell you with what sagacity, prudence, laborious painstaking, and admirable temper he executed that difficult task; but we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of referring you to testimony in his favour, which is beyond the suspicion of our partiality. This you will find in the form of a set of documents in Appendix H.,

H. No. 15,

which give a narrative of his life and services in the navy for twenty-seven years. It is well you should learn, from these, what sort of man Captain Wakefield was, and, from his private letter to his brother, written just

H. No. 14

before starting for Wairoa, with what a conviction of the rectitude of his own purpose he accompanied the magistrate on the occasion of the massacre in which he fell.

Certain proclamations and reports of the officers of Government, relating to that event, are inserted in Appendix H. They all bear marks of an eager disposition

H. Nos. 3 to 8.

to condemn the settlers, and to palliate the conduct of

H. No. 16.

the natives. Mr. Macdonough, police magistrate at Wellington, issued an Address to the "British settlers in Cook's Strait," containing statements most inculpatory of the whites, when he had evidence to the contrary in his possession. One of these, which represented the whites as the aggressors in the affray, he was afterwards compelled to retract as unfounded. Major Richmond, the principal officer of the Government in Cook's Strait, intemperately denounces preparations for defence made by the Wellington settlers after the Wairoa massacre, as being contrary to law, and then allows another person to retract the groundless accusation by taking the blame of it on himself. But you will best judge of the spirit which actuated the local authorities on this

H. No. 6.

occasion, from the Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines to the Administrator of the Government. This gentleman, the father and official superior of the youth already described as acting in the Court of Claims at Wellington, as Protector, Interpreter, and Arbitrator describes the attempt to execute a lawful warrant at

Wairoa, with the tight and dreadful butchery of the whites that ensued, as "the unconstitutional and murderous proceeding of the Police Magistrate and his colleagues, in attacking an inoffensive people killing three, and obliging the remainder in self-defence to turn their assailants." Such a spirit as these documents exhibit in persons vested with authority, could not but aggravate the mutual hostility of whites and natives, which the Court of Claims and

E. No. 58.

H. Nos. 16 to 26.

the event at Wairoa had produced. You will find ample evidence to that effect in Appendices E. and H.

One immediate result of a new sense of superiority to the whites, which the natives appear to have entertained after the Wairoa massacre, was numerous act of intimidation and violence towards settlers, with view of forcing them to remove from their farms. You must remember, that the Company's settlements contained full 10,000 Europeans, whose means of subsistence for the most part depended on the cultivation of land. Many of them had been settled on the land for years, had turned it into farms by their industry, and had enjoyed unquestioned possession until the Court of Claims came into operation. The occupation of land, or the exercise of such acts of ownership as habitation and cultivation, had become an absolute necessity for the colonist population. This necessity was too obvious to have been overlooked by any body. Yet on the 12th July last, a few days after he must have received Mr. Clarke's report of the 8th, which speaks of the whites who fell at Wairoa, as murderers, the Representative of Her Majesty in New Zealand issued a Proclamation in the following words:—"Proclamation. By his Excellency

H. No. 7.

Willoughby Shortland, Esquire, the Officer administering the Government of the Colony of New Zealand and its Dependencies, and Vice-Admiral of the same, &c. &c. &c.: Whereas it is essential to the welfare of this Colony, that confidence and good feeling should continue to exist between the two races of its inhabitants, and that the native owners of the soil should have no reason to doubt the good faith of Her Majesty's solemn assurance that their territorial rights would be recognized and respected: Now, I, the Officer administering the Government, do hereby publicly warn all persons claiming land in this Colony, in all cases where the claim is denied or disputed by the original native owners, from exercising acts of ownership thereon, or otherwise prejudicing the question of title to the same, until the question of ownership shall have been heard and determined by one of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to investigate claims to land in New Zealand. Given under my hand, and issued under the Public Seal of the Colony, at Government House, Auckland, this twelfth day of July, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty-three. Willoughby Shortland, the Officer administering the Government. By His Excellency's command (for the Colonial Secretary), William Connell. God save the Queen!"

This Proclamation, and the publication of Lord Stanley's "summary" before mentioned, were the

E. No. 85.

last blows, of which we have any account, struck by the local Government at the Company's settlements, They have proved as effective as might have been anticipated. The colonist population now holds all property, and life itself, upon no better tenure than the forbearance of tribes of savages, flushed with a bloody triumph over those whose superiority they before acknowledged, incited to rapacity by hopes of being able to exact money in proportion to what must appear to them the enormous value that land acquires in the hands of Europeans, and led to believe that the Queen's authority, which they may still respect, is hostile to the colonists. What the issue may be, we cannot pretend even to conjecture.

The Appendices contain abundant proof of our just dispositions towards the natives, and of the facility with which colonists may establish relations of harmony and mutual benefit with such a people, by means of judicious behaviour towards them. Some documents relating to this subject, which have been published before, reappear

F. Nos. 1 to 12.

in Appendix F. They consist of our original instructions to your Principal Agent, and his letters, showing how thoroughly he adopted their spirit, and what eminent success attended his prudent and skilful execution of them. If any one of you should not have read these papers before, we hope that he will examine them now. No fair judgment on the proceedings of the Company can be formed without perusing them; and Colonel Wakefield's narrative of the expedition with which the British colonization of New Zealand began, is full of interest apart from any question relating to the Company. Our plan of reserving portions of land for the natives, in the midst of the property

G. Nos. 1 to 64.

of the settlers, is too well known to require much

G. No. 44.

notice here. Notwithstanding the disapproval of it by the Colonial Department, our opinion remains

unchanged, that it affords the best, and indeed the only probable means of placing the native race on a footing of social equality with the colonists. Those to whom the subject is not familiar, will find it explained in

F. No. 1.

our original instructions to Colonel Wakefield, Mr. Montague Hawtrey's letter to Lord Stanley, of the 12th March, 1842,

G. No. 43.

and your Governor's letter to Lord

C. No. 55.

Stanley, of the 25th January, 1843.

The course of events in New Zealand which we have here described, has necessarily produced the effects upon the Company which were briefly mentioned in our Report of the 15th ultimo. During the last two years, our usual expenditure has continued, while the resources of the Company have gradually diminished. We have laid out, partly from your subscribed capital and partly from payments made to you for land, no less a sum than half a million of money in colonization; and you are still without a secure title to one acre of that property which Lord John Russell's Agreement awarded to you more than three years ago in consideration of your large expenditure for public purposes. The gradual diminution, ending in a total cessation, of land sales in this country, and the stoppage of all sales in the colony, have necessarily deprived you of income, while your expenditure has been very greatly increased by that insecurity of title which cut off your resources. You will learn from the correspondence in Appendix A., together with a rough statement of receipts

A Nos. 7 to 9.

and expenditure, accompanying your Governor's letter to Lord Stanley, of the 29th February last, how

A. No. 1.

both effects have resulted from the single cause—how reports from the colony of growing uncertainty as to land titles has put a stop to sales here,—and how that insecurity of property in the settlement has deprived

H. Nos. 19, 23, 24.

masses of labourers of employment, and induced the Company's agents to support them rather than see them starve. We have nothing to add to that full exposition of the manner in which the present ruinous condition of your affairs has been brought about.

It was unavoidable, however disagreeable to us, that this Report should principally consist of complaints and crimination directed against a department of the Executive Government; for when you assembled to hear an account of the ruin of the Company, we were bound to state to you without reserve by what means that result had been produced, and we really know of none except the errors and hostility of the Colonial Office and the local Government. In all other respects a remarkable success has attended your proceedings,

H. No. 21.

The most sanguine hopes concerning the natural resources of New Zealand have been realized; your Appendix K.

plan of colonization has found such favour with the public as to supply you amply with the means of carrying it into effect; no difference with natives, no disaster, no loss, no discouraging circumstance, has occurred from accident or from causes over which you had any control: the one all-pervading difficulty with which you have had to contend throughout, is the policy of the Colonial Office and the local Government, including their hostility to the Company.

How carefully we have avoided provoking that ill-will, you may learn from several parts of the Appendices. We refer you in particular to the papers at the

D. No. 162.

end of Appendix D.

What course the Company ought now to adopt is a question not easy to be determined. We have called you together rather for the purpose of making you acquainted with the true state of your affairs, than with the hope that you will be able to suggest any specific means, within our power to employ, which will afford a prospect of restoring your prosperity. Your operations as a colonizing body must necessarily be suspended, perhaps abandoned altogether. It will be our duty to fulfil, to the utmost of our power, any engagements or honourable obligations which we have incurred on your behalf,—to complete any transactions which the parties dealing with us may be capable and desirous of carrying through to the end; but we are sure that you will echo the expression of our opinion, that the entering into any new transaction, the undertaking of any fresh engagements or liabilities, would be an act of folly under present circumstances. The course which we propose to adopt, with your sanction, is that of meeting every liability of the Company with the least possible delay, cutting down expenditure to the minimum, and waiting for events.

The mention of expenditure reminds us of Lord Stanley's notice of the cost of your "Establishments;" a subject on which we are desirous of saying a few words, with the view of removing false impressions not

confined to the Colonial Office. Of the 1500*l.* a year voted to us by your resolution of 31st May, 1842, we have taken 833*l.* 13*s.*, which is the whole cost of the management of your affairs by the Court of Directors, for nearly five years. The servants of the Company in this country have at most times had more work than they could get through during the usual hours of business; and the highest salary paid to any of them has been at the rate of 1000*l.* a year to the Secretary, for two years and a quarter, and 500*l.* a year for the remainder of the five years. The salary of your Principal Agent in New Zealand has been at an average rate of about 880*l.* a year, besides a gratuity of a thousand guineas presented to him

Appendix K.

as some mark of our high estimation of his services; and of the Agents at Nelson and New Plymouth 500*l.* a year each. Your three local agents declined the enjoyment of any "perquisites" or "advantages," contenting themselves with the bare salary, and deliberately abstained from acquiring land, or otherwise engaging in any speculation which might have diverted their attention from your affairs. The assistance afforded to your Principal Agent in the performance of his most arduous duties, is that of a chief clerk and accountant at 300*l.* a year, a land clerk at 200*l.* a year, and another clerk at 100*l.* a year; to your agent at Nelson, one clerk at 150*l.* a year; and to your agent at New Plymouth one clerk at 150*l.* a year. The remainder of your local; "establishments," has consisted of a body of engineers and surveyors (which it may be said in passing, some have reproached us with not making strong enough), engaged for purposes, such as surveys, roads and bridges, which it is the proper business of Government to effect, but with the effecting of which you were specifically charged by Lord John Russell's Agreement, and other contracts with the Government. The rest of your expenditure in New Zealand has been occasioned, as before explained, by the necessity of supporting labourers, whom the state of the land-titles question prevented from obtaining

G. Nos. 1 to 42.

employment. Our contributions here towards religious and educational institutions for the settlers, have indeed been large; but they were made while public confidence in your powers of usefulness, and in the validity of Lord John Russell's Agreement, placed ample funds at your disposal. If any of you should now object to their amount, our reply would be, that the outlay formed an essential part of that general plan of colonization which originated with yourselves, and of which there is no more prominent feature than ample provision for religious and educational endowments.

A severe pressure of business arising from the necessity of hastily preparing this Report, and its voluminous Appendices for the press, induces us to postpone, until your annual meeting next month, more particular information, as to the state of your finances, and some recommendations on that subject.

Although we have felt bound to lay before you the condition of your affairs in their worst aspect, you must not suppose that we consider them irretrievably ruined. We have confessed that to a considerable extent we attribute their present disastrous state to our own too long silence with respect to the causes of their progressive decline. Our reluctance to entertain a belief in the systematic hostility of the Colonial Office has been destroyed at last. You may now appeal for justice to a higher tribunal. Conscious as we are of the great disadvantages under which "individuals" or "private parties" labour in struggling for no more than justice against the policy of any department of the Government, we nevertheless rely on the flagrant character of the wrong which has been done you by Lord Stanley's interpretation of Lord John Russell's Agreement; an interpretation which virtually annuls that deliberate contract between the Crown and a body of Her Majesty's subjects. We cannot suppose that either Parliament or Her Majesty's ministers collectively, will fail to perceive, or decline to remedy, the gross injustice of first requiring you to surrender a large tract of land which you obtained when New Zealand was treated as a foreign country, and to treble your original capital of 100,000*l.*, and then denying you the promised grant of land from the Crown in proportion to your expenditure for public purposes, which formed the consideration for that surrender and for that increased subscription of capital. We also believe that Parliament will make allowance for the undoubted fact, that the formation of

D. Nos. 1 to 3.

this Company was first proposed by the Colonial Office, and pursued by its founders against their own inclination, as the only means then available of securing New Zealand for British colonization. We believe that the sanction by the highest authority of your objects and plans, which is implied by the terms of your Charter under the head of "Objects of Incorporation," will not be overlooked by Her Majesty's Ministers or Parliament.

But an appeal against the Colonial Office for justice is not our sole reliance. Even if the love of fair play, which characterizes our country, should not prefer justice to the indulgence of that Department in its animosity towards the Company, we should still hope for a reversal by Parliament of the policy of the Colonial Office in New Zealand. Ever since you, in reality, snatched those islands from the dominion of France, their colonization by England has been inevitable. That may be impeded, but cannot be prevented. Terrible disasters may befall our countrymen now settled there; the war of races which has begun may continue for years; accounts of shocking scenes of bloodshed and starvation

H. No. 26.

may even now be on their way; but still in the end British colonization will proceed. How it may be controlled and regulated so as to benefit instead of exterminating the native race, is a subject of which all the interest must now revive. A former inquiry into that subject by Parliament, exposed the mischiefs of the irregular colonization which went on under the mockery of a native sovereignty, really but feebly exercised by British missionaries, and steadily upheld by the Colonial Office as preferable to regular colonization. The strange policy which the Colonial Office had till then pursued towards New Zealand, was set aside in favour of more comprehensive, more rational, and really more humane views. But the execution of the new policy has been miserably defective. To say nothing of the lavish expenditure of the local Government, with no result but that of fomenting hatred, and producing collision between the two races—or of its actual bankruptcy, notwithstanding the considerable revenue which it has derived from your colonization, and chiefly expended without benefit to anybody but the recipients of official salary—the state of relations between the colonists and the natives is such as to call for the interference of Parliament. We confidently trust that the whole subject of colonization and government in New Zealand, including the proceedings of this Company, will be strictly investigated by that competent authority. A full and searching inquiry into our own conduct is what we most desire. It cannot take place without tending at least to the removal of the causes of your present ruin, and the restoration of your means of accomplishing the valuable public objects which your Charter of Incorporation has in view.

We owe you some apology for printing such a mass of papers along with this Report. Our first design was to lay before you only those which should upon examination, seem most important; but we soon perceived that the choice could not be attempted without much risk of withholding some information which you ought to possess, and still more of our appearing to have made a partial selection. We therefore abandoned the plan of selection, and resolved to place in one or other of the Appendices, every letter or other document in our possession, which any one desirous of obtaining the fullest information on the subjects mentioned in the Report, could wish to see; including, of course, those which would be excluded by a partial selection for the mere purpose of supporting the allegations of the Report. We cannot doubt that on reflection you will approve of this course. If it should have happened, in the haste with which these papers have been got ready for the press, that any are omitted which anybody may think ought to have appeared, the error will have been unintentional on our part. We hope and believe that room has not been left for such a complaint from any quarter.

In addition to previous references to documents in the Appendices, some account of the order in which they are placed, may assist you in examining them.

Exclusive of the Company's two charters, which are: placed by themselves, the Appendix is divided into, nine parts, arranged in the manner that appeared most; convenient for reference, and distinguished by the first nine letters of the alphabet.

Appendix A. comprises merely the *recent* correspondence with the Colonial Department, commencing; with the letter written to Lord Stanley, on 29th February, 1844, after receiving a copy of the written instructions given to Governor Fitzroy, on 26th June, 1843.

Appendix B. in like manner comprises only the correspondence relating to the agreement entered into with Lord Stanley in May, 1843, and extending from that date to the receipt of the instructions relating thereto on 1st February, 1844.

Appendix C. contains the entire correspondence relating to the agreement entered into with Lord John Russell in November, 1840, and disputed points arising out of it.

In Appendix D. is contained all correspondence with the Colonial Department and the local Government, except those comprised under the two foregoing heads, or relating to the investigation of the Company's land-titles in the colony, which is placed in Appendix E.

In addition to the correspondence of Colonel Wakefield with Mr. Spain, Commissioner of Claims, and Mr. George Clarke, jun., Sub-protector of Aborigines, Appendix E. contains only some supplementary correspondence, elucidatory of the same subject.

Appendix F. shows the instructions given to Colonel Wakefield, and the manner in which he fulfilled them in the first establishment of the Colony, more particularly in the purchase of land from the natives.

Appendix G. consists wholly of the correspondence with the Bishop of New Zealand and others, relating to the provision made by the Company for endowments for the Colonial Church and the natives; with the addition of the instructions issued to Mr. Halswell, when appointed by the Directors Commissioner for the Management of Native Reserves; and the reports and correspondence of that gentleman.

The intelligence from the Colony contained in Appendix H. commences with the first acts of aggression on the part of the natives in the Company's settlements, connects them with the unhappy occurrences at Wairoa, and comprises all matters of interest down to the latest date received. In the anxiety to complete this as soon as

possible, the latter portion was first printed, and in consequence there is a double series of numbers in this Appendix. H. Nos. 1* to 24* are prior and introductory to H. Nos. 1 to 26.

Appendix I. consists merely of public documents affecting the Colony at large.

A few omissions and errors which have been discovered in some of the foregoing Appendices, are collected in a Postscript marked as Appendix K.

It was intended to have added copious extracts from the instructions given to your principal Agent from time to time, and of the Reports received in reply, so as to exhibit a detailed view of the actual policy and proceedings of the Company. But this, the want of time, and the voluminous nature of the Appendices already compiled, have rendered absolutely impracticable.

New Zealand House,

26 April, 1844.

Front Cover

The Eleventh Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company,
Presented to an Adjourned Special Court of Proprietors,
Held on the 29th March, 1844.

New Zealand Company coat of arms London: Printed by Richard Barrett, 13, Mark Lane. 1844.

New Zealand Company.

Governor,

- Joseph Somes, Esq.

Deputy-Governor,

- Hon. Francis Baring.

Directors.

- Henry Aglionby Aglionby, Esq., M.P.
- John Ellerker Boulcott, Esq.
- John William Buckle, Esq.
- Charles Buller, Esq., M.P.
- Viscount Courtenay, M.P.
- Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, Bart.
- James Robert Gowen, Esq.
- Archibald Hastie, Esq., M.P.
- Sir Ralph Howard, Bart., M.P.
- William Hutt, Esq., M.P.
- Viscount Ingestre, M.P.
- William King, Esq.
- Ross Donnelly Mangles, Esq., M.P.
- Stewart Marjoribanks, Esq., M.P.
- Alexander Nairne, Esq.
- The Lord Petre.
- Jeremiah Pilcher, Esq.
- Sir John Pirie, Bart., Alderman.
- John Abel Smith, Esq., M.P.
- William Thompson, Esq., Alderman, M.P.

- Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Esq.
- George Frederick Young, Esq.

Secretary.

- Thomas Cudbert Harington, Esq.

Agents in New Zealand.

- Principal Agent at Wellington—colonel William Wakefield.
- Resident Agent at Nelson—william Fox, Esq., (Acting.)
- Resident Agent at New Plymouth—john Tylston Wicksteed, Esq.

AT AN ADJOURNED SPECIAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS OF THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY, HELD AT THE COMPANY'S HOUSE, IN BROAD STREET BUILDINGS, LONDON, ON FRIDAY, THE 29TH DAY OF MARCH, 1844:—

JOSEPH SOMES, ESQ., THE GOVERNOR, IN THE CHAIR.

Read and confirmed,—The Proceedings of the Special Court, held on the 15th of March, instant.—

I.—Moved by the LORD PROVOST of Glasgow:—Seconded by JOHN HEATH, Esq.:—

Resolved:—

That the Report now read be adopted;—and that this Court be adjourned until Friday, the 19th of April next, to be then held at this House, at One o'Clock precisely.

II.—Moved by GEORGE ROBINS, Esq.:—Seconded by JOHN PERCIVAL, Esq.:—

Resolved:—

That instead of the 19th, this Court be adjourned until Friday, the 26th of April next, to be then held at this House, at One o'Clock precisely.

III.—Moved by GEORGE ROBINS, Esq.:—Seconded by the Honorable FREDERICK TOLLEMACHE, M.P.:—

Resolved:—

That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors, for their constant and valuable attention to the affairs of the Company, together with an expression of the unqualified confidence of the Proprietors in their judgment, and in their solicitude for the interests of the Share-holders and Settlers.

Eleventh Report

Of the Directors of the New Zealand Company.

It was not till yesterday that your Directors received an expression of the views of the Secretary of State for the Colonies with respect to the representations to his Lordship mentioned in their last Report.

They were then honored with some unofficial communications, from which your Directors understand, in the first place, that Her Majesty's Government would be strongly disposed to entertain favorably a proposal for pecuniary assistance, to be afforded by the Government on the following conditions:

1st. That such assistance shall not exceed £40,000 in the whole.

2ndly. That it shall be applied to the payment of the bills now unpaid, which have been drawn from the Colony to provide for the employment of laborers, and to the payment of such other bills as may be drawn for the same purpose, during the interval which must elapse, before a Report can be received from Governor Fitzroy as to the state of the Company's Settlements, and the steps which he may have taken in consequence. And,

3rdly. That the whole of the property of the Company, including that part of the capital which has not been paid up, and which the Company would be required to engage to raise within a limited period, shall be made liable as an available security for the repayment of such advance."

And, further, the Directors have received "assurances of the desire of the Government to maintain the most cordial relations with the Company in carrying on the work of colonization; and that the instructions issued to Captain Fitzroy were intended to have, and, it is believed, will have had, the effect of quieting the titles of those Settlers who have obtained land under the Company, and of facilitating the acquisition by the Company, of a valid title to the remainder of their lands."

There are however various points respecting the relations between the Government and the Company, which are of more importance even than that of pecuniary assistance, and without the satisfactory settlement of

which your Directors think that nothing would be gained by the acceptance of that assistance. The negotiation has not yet advanced to the settlement of these points; and on these, therefore, it would be obviously improper to offer partial information, or to enter into any discussion.

Your Directors consider it indispensable to the establishment of the affairs of the Company on a satisfactory basis, after the crisis that has occurred, that the points at issue should be settled as a whole.

Having therefore, as they considered themselves bound, laid before you thus much of the communications received from the Secretary of State, they abstain from all comment on the subject; and they accordingly recommend that you adjourn the present Meeting until Friday, the 19th of April, assuring you that they should have much preferred an earlier day, were it not that the near approach of the Easter holidays precludes the hope of their being sooner able to lay before you the full information which you must receive before you can prudently determine on any course of future proceedings.

New Zealand House,

29th March, 1844.

RICHARD BARRETT, Printer, 13, Mark Lane.

Front Cover

The Twenty-Second Report of the Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company

Presented to the Annual General Court of Proprietors

Held on the 14TH MAY, 1847.

New Zealand Company coat of arms London: Printed by Stewart and Murray, Old Bailey. 1847.

New Zealand Company.

Incorporated by Royal Charter, A.D. 1841.

Governor

Deputy-Governor.

- Hon. Francis Baring.

Directors.

- Henry Aglionby Aglionby, Esq., M.P.
- John Ellerker Boulcott, Esq.
- Viscount Courtenay, M.P.
- Alexander Currie, Esq.
- The Baron de Goldsmid and da Palmeira.
- James Robert Gowen, Esq.
- Archibald Hastie, Esq., M.P.
- Sir Ralph Howard, Bart., M.P.
- William Hutt, Esq., M.P.
- Viscount Ingestre, M.P.
- George Lyall, Junior, Esq.
- Ross Donnelly Mangles, Esq., M.P.
- Stewart Marjoribanks, Esq., M.P.
- Alexander Nairne, Esq.
- The Lord Petre.
- Jeremiah Pilcher, Esq.
- Sir John Pirie, Bart., Alderman.

- John Abel Smith, Esq., M.P.
- William Thompson, Esq., Alderman, M.P.
- Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Esq.
- George Frederick Young, Esq.

Auditors.

- Richard Edward Arden, Esq.,
- Russell Ellice, Esq.,
- Joseph Dowson, Esq.

Bankers.

- Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smiths.

Secretary.

- Thomas Cudbert Harington, Esq.

Agents in New Zealand.

- Principal Agent at Wellington—colonel William Wakefield.
- Resident Agent at Nelson—william Fox, Esq.
- Resident Agent at New Plymouth—john Tylston Wicksteed, Esq.
- Agent for Otago—william Cargill, Esq.

Office—New Zealand House, 9, Broad Street Buildings, London.

AT AN ANNUAL GENERAL COURT OF THE PROPRIETORS OF THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY, HELD AT THE COMPANY'S HOUSE IN BROAD STREET BUILDINGS, LONDON, ON FRIDAY THE 14TH DAY OF MAY, 1847.

HENRY AGLIONBY AGLIONBY, ESQ., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Read,—The Notice convening the Court, dated 29th April 1847.

Read and confirmed,—The proceedings of the last Court and Special Court.

Read,—The Twenty-Second Report of the Court of Directors, dated this day.

Resolved:—

1st,—That the Report now read be adopted.

2nd,—That this meeting approve the acceptance, by the COURT OF DIRECTORS, of the several proposals contained in the letter addressed by Mr. HAWES, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Secretary of the Company, dated the 10th of May instant, and in the Memorandum thereto annexed; and that the same be ratified and confirmed, and the said proposals accepted by the Company accordingly.

3rd,—That the COURT OF DIRECTORS be hereby empowered to carry into effect the several Arrangements mentioned in the documents referred to in the preceding Resolution, and to take all steps whatever which may be necessary for that purpose.

4th,—That STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq., M.P., be re-elected a Director of the Company.

5th,—That JOHN ABEL SMITH, Esq., M.P., be re-elected a Director of the Company.

6th,—That Sir RALPH HOWARD, Bart., M.P., be re-elected a Director of the Company.

7th,—That WILLIAM HUTT, Esq., M.P., be re-elected a Director of the Company.

8th,—That RICHARD EDWARD ARDEN, Esq., RUSSELL ELLICE, Esq., and Joseph Dowson, Esq., be re-elected Auditors of the Company for the ensuing year.

ALSO;

Moved by JOHN PERCIVAL, Esq., and Seconded by MAJOR CURPHEY:

9th.—That, in testimony of the feeling entertained by the Share-holders, of the invaluable services rendered by Charles Buller, Esq., M.P., in the cause of Colonisation, and of his intimate acquaintance with New Zealand affairs, the Court of Directors be requested to convey to that Gentleman the wish of this Meeting, that he will allow himself to be re-elected a Director of the Company.

Moved by VISCOUNT INGESTRE, M.P., and Seconded by ALDERMAN SIR JOHN PIRIE, Bart.

10th,—That the acknowledgments of this Meeting be presented to EARL GREY, Secretary of State for the Colonies, for the manly, straightforward, and statesmanlike course he has pursued in bringing to a termination the long-pending controversies between Her Majesty's Government and the New Zealand Company.

Moved by GEORGE FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq., and Seconded by STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq., M.P.

11th,—That this Meeting considers it a duty to record the deep sense it entertains of the enlightened principles which have guided the conduct of GOVERNOR GREY in his administration of the affairs of the Colony, and of the energy, judgment, and courage he has exhibited under the peculiar difficulties with which from the commencement of his Government he has had to contend;

And;

12th,—That this Meeting desires also to record its high estimation of the able, zealous, and faithful manner in which the important duties attached to his office have been discharged by COLONEL WAKEFIELD, THE PRINCIPAL AGENT of the Company in New Zealand; and its acknowledgment of the valuable services rendered throughout the difficulties which have attended the administration of the Company's affairs in the Colony by its OTHER AGENTS AND OFFICERS.

13th,—That the cordial thanks of the Meeting be tendered to the SECRETARY of the Company, THOMAS CUDBERT Harington, Esq., for the unwearied zeal and rare ability with which he has seconded the efforts of the Directors to restore the Company to a position of honorable usefulness; and that he be requested to accept the assurance, that his conduct has entitled him to the unqualified respect and esteem of all who are interested in the welfare of the Colony and the prosperity of the Company.

14th,—That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to HENRY AGLIONBY AGLIONBY, Esq., M.P., for his conduct in the Chair; and to the DEPUTY-GOVERNOR AND COURT OF DIRECTORS for their unceasing and indefatigable exertions.

Notice.

NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.

NOTICE is hereby given, that the ANNUAL GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS of the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY, will be holden at this House, on Friday the fourteenth day of May next, at One o'Clock precisely, for the election of Directors and other Officers of the said Company, and for the transaction of other business, especially the consideration and, if approved, the adoption of certain very important arrangements for the future conduct of the Company's affairs.

At the said Meeting, the following Directors will go out of Office, namely:—

- STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq., M.P.
- JOHN ABEL SMITH, Esq., M.P.
- SIR RALPH HOWARD, Bart., M.P., and
- WILLIAM HUTT, Esq., M.P.

But being eligible for re-election, they hereby offer themselves to be re-elected accordingly.

By order of the Court of Directors,
Thomas Cudbert Harington, *Secretary*.

New Zealand Home, Broad Street Buildings,

29th April, 1847.

Contents.

Twenty-Second Report of the Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company.

THE Correspondence with Her Majesty's Government, a Copy of which has been forwarded to each Proprietor of the Company, has put you in possession of the negotiations in which your Directors have been engaged on your behalf, or at least of that portion of them which has led to a practical result.

This Correspondence apprises you so fully of the general nature of the negotiations, and Lord Grey so clearly states the grounds on which he desires to enable the Company to renew its operations, and the means by which he proposes to carry that object into effect, that any comment upon the details is superfluous. In our reply to Lord Grey we have stated that the arrangements proposed appear to us to afford a fair prospect of success, notwithstanding the difficulties by which the later stages of your enterprise have been attended; that in this belief, we are prepared to devote ourselves to the continued exertions indispensable to the realisation of this prospect; and that, subject to your confirmation, we accede accordingly on your behalf to his Lordship's several proposals.

Of this step, knowing the spirit by which you are actuated, and of which we have witnessed such frequent and striking proofs, we look with confidence for your approval and ratification. Upon receiving these, we shall lose no time in adopting all necessary measures for the resumption of active colonisation in its original vigor; especially for the immediate and effective carrying out of the plan which has been so long in contemplation for the Settlement of OTAGO in connection with the Free Church of Scotland. In the qualities displayed, under impediments most disheartening, by the promoters of this undertaking, especially by your future Representative on the spot, CAPTAIN CARGILL, and in their high moral and religious feeling, we recognise a sure pledge that in fixed principle, considerateness, courage, and every other element of progressive prosperity, the Colonists of this Settlement will in no degree fall behind the foremost of those by whom, through your instrumentality, they have been preceded.

The Annual Accounts will now be laid before you, and the usual business be gone through. Since your last Meeting, your constant friend and advocate Mr. CHARLES BULLER has resigned his seat in your Direction on the occasion of his becoming a Member of Her Majesty's Government. We have thought it more conducive to your interests not to fill up the vacancy thus created, or that caused by the decease of your late lamented Governor, until the arrangements now under consideration shall be completed by receiving your approval and the sanction of Parliament. In consequence, four only of your Directors now retire by rotation, namely,

- STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq. M.P.
 - JOHN ABEL SMITH, Esq. M.P.
 - Sir RALPH HOWARD, Bart. M.P. and,
 - WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. M.P.
- All of whom we recommend for re-election.

New Zealand House, Broad Street Buildings,

14th May 1847.

Appendix.

—No. 1.—

THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPANY TO EARL GREY.

New Zealand House,

23rd April, 1847.

MY LORD,

I am instructed by the Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company to submit the following representation for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

The time has come when the Directors feel that it is no longer possible for the Company to defer a decision as to the continuance of its proceedings and existence. The communications which have been held with your Lordship have convinced them that it is your desire that the efforts of the Company shall still be addressed to the objects for which it is instituted; and have, they believe, at the same time, satisfied your Lordship that, in the position in which the Company finds itself placed, it is altogether impossible that this desire can be

accomplished, except by means of the active interposition of the Government. It is unnecessary for them, therefore, on the present occasion, to enter again into the particulars of that position, or to detail the reasons which render an immediate decision, on the part of the Company, indispensable. They think that the circumstances of the case justify them in asking, on public grounds, for such aid as may be required to enable them to continue operations acknowledged to be advantageous to the Community at large. And they also think themselves entitled to prefer a claim for compensation, on the ground of justice to the Company.

That claim they base upon the injury which has been done to the Company, by the acts of the Government at Home and of the Local Government of New Zealand.

The principal acts of the Home Government, for which the Directors consider that compensation ought in justice to be given, are, that it has entered into four distinct agreements with the Company; that in each of these the Company has fulfilled its part; but that, to this day, no one of these agreements has been fulfilled by the Government.

In the *first* (in November 1840), relying on the pledge of Lord John Russell, that a Crown Grant of its lands should be made forthwith, the Company waived its claim to all purchases from the Natives; increased its capital; spent further large sums of money; and incurred heavy liabilities in colonising according to its charter. No Grant under that agreement has ever been made.

In the *second* and *third* (in June 1841, and August 1842), the Company purchased lands from the Government, with the full understanding that it should have the proper Deeds of Grant without delay; and on the strength of this they proceeded to colonise, and again spent money and incurred liabilities. No Deeds under those agreements have ever been made.

In the *fourth* (in May 1843), relying on the distinct promise of Lord Stanley, that Conditional Grants should be made immediately on Captain Fitzroy's arrival in the Colony, the Company resumed its operations, which had been suspended in the preceding January in consequence of the nonfulfilment of the former agreements and the hostility of the Government; spent further sums; and incurred further liabilities. No Grants were made in accordance with that promise. Partial Grants were tendered, but long after the time promised; even then they were rendered useless by the interpolation of unauthorised and vague clauses; and they were consequently refused by the Company.

Thus after four separate agreements, under no one of them has an available Grant ever yet been made.

The principal acts of the Local Government, giving with equal justice, as the Directors conceive, a claim to compensation, are these.

The first Governor, Captain Hobson, withheld the Grant which Lord John Russell had not only engaged for, but ordered; compelled the Company, in violation of the agreement, to appear before the Court of Claims; and threw the whole land-question into such uncertainty and confusion, that to this hour its re-adjustment has been found impracticable. Instead of countenancing the efforts of the Company, and assisting its Settlers to overcome their first difficulties, he established himself at a distance from the main body of the Colonists whom he was appointed to govern; threw obstacles in the way of the Company's operations; enticed away mechanics taken out at its cost; and endeavoured, by unfair methods, to raise the Northern at the expense of the Southern or Company's Districts. With the same views he refused to the Company the site for its Second Settlement permitted by the Secretary of State, and forced on it a selection which in June 1843 led to the massacre of Wairoa.

In July 1843, immediately after that massacre, Captain Hobson's Successor, Lieutenant Shortland, issued a Proclamation, warning the Settlers off all lands where the claim was disputed by the original Native owners. In consequence, the Company's surveys were at once stopped; cultivation in great measure ceased; numerous labourers, previously employed by private persons, were thrown upon the Settlement in a state of destitution; they were of necessity employed upon public works at a time when no funds for this purpose were accruing from land sales; large sums of money were in this way consumed; and the Company, in February 1844, was compelled to suspend acceptance of its Agents' Bills.

The next Governor, Captain Fitzroy, withheld, as already stated, for upwards of a year and a half, the Grants promised immediately by Lord Stanley; clogged them, when at length offered, with unauthorised and vague clauses which rendered them useless; set aside also the award of the Commissioner where favorable to the Company; dispossessed the Company's Settlers; and altogether left the question of its title yet more impossible of adjustment than before his interference. He set aside the Act of Parliament which fixed the price of Waste Land at Twenty Shillings an Acre; by one Proclamation, in March 1844, empowered private persons to obtain such land direct from the Natives at Ten Shillings; by another Proclamation, in the October following, lowered that price to One Penny; and, exclusive of the lands so acquired, issued *Free Grants* for considerable quantities, in excess of the limits imposed by the Local Ordinances and of the awards of the Commissioner;—all to the manifest and utter defeat of the plans of the Company, which require that, in order to provide funds for Public Works and Institutions, it obtain from Thirty to Forty Shillings an Acre; upon which it

is dependent for the means of prosecuting its undertaking; and to the maintenance of which it stands pledged. By sudden and ill considered changes in his financial legislation, he unhinged all commercial enterprise. By his measures equally inconsiderate, with regard to the Aborigines, it is not too much to say that he involved first the Northern, and then the Southern Districts in insurrection and bloodshed.

With the results of these several proceedings, your Lordship is already to a certain extent acquainted. Confidence has been destroyed, and a feeling created of universal insecurity, which the measures of Governor Grey, energetic and judicious as these have been, have as yet been unable wholly to dispel. Upon the Company and its undertaking, the effects have been all but fatal. It has been subjected to a ruinous expenditure. Much of that expenditure has been rendered altogether abortive. Its credit has received so rude a shock, that its shares have been long unmarketable. Its Shareholders have obtained no interest upon their money since October 1843. Sales of its land, its sole source of real income, have absolutely ceased. Colonisation, for the time, has been at an end.

The amount of actual loss which, the Company has in consequence suffered, it is difficult to define with precision. Excluding from the calculation all return whatever to its Shareholders, its expenditure upon colonising objects—a statement of which (A), made up to the 5th instant, the end of the Company's financial year, is enclosed—has to the present time been upwards of 630,000*l.* Of this amount, the sum which it has so expended since January 1843 (when its operations were perforce discontinued, but shortly afterwards resumed, for the reasons already stated) must be considered as absolutely thrown away. By the accompanying statement (B) this sum is shown to be upwards of 190,000*l.* A portion of this has indeed been received by the Company from the purchasers of its land, for the express purpose of being applied to the objects in question; but the amount of such portion the Directors know not how to estimate. Neither do they know how to form any estimate of the further loss which the Company has incurred, by having the operations it had effected, prior to January 1843, in the way of surveys, bridges, stores, and emigration, rendered in the same way valueless; but the amount must form a very large additional item. In like manner, they are unable to state distinctly what amount of profit would have been realised by the Company, had the success which attended its first operations been allowed to remain undisturbed by the interference of the Government. At the rate of five per cent, per annum, the loss of interest upon its paid-up capital, in the three and a half years during which all interest has been suspended, has been 35,000*l.* At ten per cent., the rate obtained for a time, and the more correct rate for a property like Waste Land upon which profit is realised only by parting with the property itself, it is 70,000*l.*

It appears, then, taking even the lower sum, that the damage which can be ascertained is not less than 225,000*l.* (of expenditure, 190,000*l.*; of interest, 35,000*l.*); and that to this an addition has to be made, of a large unascertained amount, upon the grounds before stated.

Such an estimate, however, is of necessity to a certain degree inexact, and therefore unsatisfactory. If Her Majesty's Government is prepared, as the Directors cannot doubt that it is, to admit the general justice of their claim, and to remedy the wrong by granting compensation, it appears to them that the correct and only really fair arrangement will be, that the Government relieve them of the enterprise which it has marred, and take to itself both their liabilities and their assets.

These liabilities consist of the sum which the Company owes to the purchasers of its lands; of other sums owed by it to the Government and other parties; and of the paid-up capital of the Shareholders, with interest thereon as above computed. The sum which the Company owes to its land-purchasers in the Settlement of Nelson has not yet been definitively ascertained; but, as at present calculated, it is shown by the accompanying Statement (C) to be about 25,000*l.*;—that is to say, the sum of 31,000*l.* (C), being 6,000*l.* in addition to the 25,000*l.* above mentioned, has in reality been spent by the Company on public objects within the Settlement, but not in the proportions or on the whole of the objects specifically defined in the original terms of purchase; in order strictly to carry out those terms, the sum of 25,000*l.* must still be applied to the prescribed objects; and this sum the Company is required to make good. The sums borrowed by the Company from other parties, applied by it to colonising purposes, and still owing to those parties, amount, as shown in the enclosed Statement (D), after deducting the investments and securities on hand, to about 134,000*l.* The paid-up capital of the Shareholders is 200,000*l.*, and the interest due thereon, as stated above, 35,000*l.*

The total of the Company's liabilities may therefore be estimated at 394,000*l.* (Nelson, 25,000*l.*; other parties, 134,000*l.*; Shareholders, 235,000*l.*)

The present assets of the Company, exclusive of the investments and securities for which allowance has been made above, consist of 1,049,000 acres of land (or a right thereto), which it has not yet disposed of, out of the 1,300,000 acres to which its claim has been admitted; and a further quantity of 24,000 acres, for which it has paid the same prices that it charged to its earlier Settlers, namely, twenty and thirty shillings an acre;—in all, 1,073,000 acres (E).

This then is the alternative which the Directors consider themselves entitled to submit for the election of Her Majesty's Government:—*Either* the payment of a sum of 225,000*l.*, together with the addition which may

be decided on, as the amount of the loss alluded to above as not yet estimated; leaving the Company's engagements to be satisfied out of these sums and the proceeds of its land: *Or*, the transfer to the Government of the 1,073,000 acres of land to which the Company has at present a right, together with an obligation to satisfy the engagements of the Company as above stated, in this country and in New Zealand.

Your Lordship is aware, from the various communications that have been made by the Company, that it has not been its wish to abandon the enterprise which it has so long prosecuted. But if its operations are deemed no longer likely to be conducive to the public advantage, the only remaining duty of the Directors is to bring the preceding claim in a precise form under your Lordship's notice, and request the justice which they confidently expect at your hands.

I have the honor to be, &c.

T. C. HARINGTON.

The Right Honorable the Earl Grey,

&c. &c. &c.

(Enclosure 1 in No. 1.) A. New Zealand Company.

EXPENDITURE FROM THE 2nd of May 1839, TO THE 5th of April 1847, EXCLUSIVE OF 44,890L. PAID TO THE COMPANY'S SHAREHOLDERS, AS INTEREST UPON ITS CAPITAL TO THE 5th of October, 1843. Dates. Home Establishment and Expenses. Emigration Service. Colonial Expenses. Miscellaneous Expenses. Totals. £ s. d. 2ND MAY 1839, TO 5TH APRIL 1845 50,106 13 6 211,754 16 2 172,704 14 9 133,435 2 0 568,001 6 5 6TH APRIL 1845, TO 5TH APRIL 1846 4,025 9 2 635 3 10 29,686 19 11 3,183 1 5 37,530 14 4 6TH APRIL 1846, TO 5TH APRIL 1847 3,652 5 2 108 13 6 *20,163 18 8 6,674 2 0 30,598 19 4 TOTALS 57,784 7 10 212,498 13 6 222,555 13 4 143,292 5 5 636,131 0 1 * INCLUDING 15,000L. DEPOSITED WITH MESSRS. OVEREND, GURNEY, AND CO., TO COVER THE GUARANTEE GIVEN BY THE COMPANY'S BANKERS UPON BILLS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE COLONY BY THE PRINCIPAL AGENT. GEORGE BAILEY, Accountant. New Zealand House, 23rd April 1847.

(Enclosure 2 in No. 1.) B. New Zealand Company.

EXPENDITURE FROM THE 1ST OF JANUARY 1843, TO THE 5TH OF APRIL 1847, EXCLUSIVE OF 10,574L. 7S. 6d. PAID TO THE COMPANY'S SHAREHOLDERS AS INTEREST UPON ITS CAPITAL FOR A PORTION OF THAT PERIOD. Dates. Home Establishment and Expenses. Emigration Service. Colonial Expenses. Miscellaneous Expenses. Totals. £ s. d. 1ST JAN. 1843, TO 5TH APRIL 1843 1,845 14 0 1,830 16 4 8,931 18 1———12,608 8 5 6TH APRIL 1843, TO 5TH APRIL 1844 6,902 1 5 14,454 6 10 52,653 4 3 1,288 5 8 75,297 18 2 6TH APRIL 1844, TO 5TH APRIL 1845 4,651 18 5 832 4 9 25,311 10 8 4,193 15 9 34,989 9 7 6TH APRIL 1845, TO 5TH APRIL 1846 4,025 9 2 635 3 10 29,686 19 11 3,183 1 5 37,530 14 4 6TH APRIL 1846, TO 5TH APRIL 1847 3,652 5 2 108 13 6 *20,163 18 8 6,674 2 0 30,598 19 4 TOTALS 21,077 8 2 17,861 5 3 136,747 11 7 15,339 4 10 191,025 9 10 * INCLUDING 15,000L. DEPOSITED WITH MESSRS. OVEREND, GURNEY, AND CO., TO COVER THE GUARANTEE GIVEN BY THE COMPANY'S BANKERS UPON BILLS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE COLONY BY THE PRINCIPAL AGENT. GEORGE BAILEY, Accountant. New Zealand House, 23rd April 1847.

(Enclosure 3 in No. 1.) C. New Zealand Company.

SALES OF LAND IN THE SETTLEMENT OF NELSON—THEIR AMOUNT AND APPROPRIATION. AMOUNT RECEIVED FOR SALES OF LAND AT NELSON £162,240 AMOUNT TO BE RECEIVED FOR SALES OF LAND AT NELSON 1,460 TOTAL RECEIVABLE FOR SALES OF LAND AT NELSON, 108,840 ACRES . . . £163,700 GEORGE BAILEY, Accountant. APPROPRIATION. FUNDS. Appropriated. Expended. Unexpended. Over-expended. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. EMIGRATION, 30-60THS 81,850 0 0 79,441 6 8 2,408 13 4——— ESTABLISHING THE SETTLEMENT, . 10-60THS 27,283 6 8 58,698 2 8———31,414 16 0 RELIGIOUS USES, . . . 3-60THS 8,185 0 0 5,070 18 0 3,114 2 0——— ESTABLISHING A COLLEGE, . . . 3-60THS 8,185 0 0———8,185 0 0——— STEAM NAVIGATION, . . . 4-60THS 10,913 6 8———10,913 6 8——— FOR THE COMPANY, . . . 10-60THS 27,283 6 8 27,283 6 8——— TOTALS 163,700 0 0 170,493 14 0 24,621 2 0 31,414 16 0 New Zealand House, 23rd April 1847.

(Enclosure 4 in No. 1.) D. New Zealand Company.

OBLIGATIONS AND ENGAGEMENTS exclusive of those to the Purchasers of the Company's Lands and its Shareholders, and of Open Accounts in New Zealand.

GEORGE BAILEY, *Accountant.*

New Zealand House,

23rd April 1847.

(Enclosure 5 in No. 1.) E. New Zealand Company.

GENERAL STATEMENT OF LANDS.

The Private Estate consists of Lands for which the Company has [*unclear: paid*] the same prices as it charged to its earlier Settlers, namely, 20s. and 30s. an Acre.

GEORGE BAILEY, *Accountant,*

New Zealand House,

23rd April 1847.

—No. 2.—

MR. HAWES TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPANY.

Downing Street,

10th May, 1847.

Sir,

I AM directed by Lord Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd ultimo.

Lord Grey has given an attentive consideration to the New Zealand Company's statement of its claims on Her Majesty's Government, and to its suggestions for terminating the discussions so long pending between the Company and Her Majesty's Government.

Lord Grey is ready at once to admit that the Company has established a claim against Her Majesty's Government.

He is, however, very averse to discussing how far the claim in question gives the Company a right to pecuniary indemnification, or to attempting to calculate its amount. He could not do so without disputing many of the arguments, and much of the claim urged by the Company, and he thinks that he can best consult his own sense of the public interest, and what he understands to be the wishes of the Company, without entering into discussions and investigations which would needlessly prolong a prejudicial controversy. Far higher objects even than that of justice to the New Zealand Company are involved in the consideration of its claim. The proceedings out of which that claim has grown, together with the serious errors committed in the general Administration of the Colony, have inflicted on the great body of enterprising Settlers, injuries more to be deplored even than those to which the Company has been subjected.

Those proceedings have so affected the prosperity of the Colony, that though Lord Grey hopes that the efficacy of free institutions, the admirable policy of Governor Grey, and the instructions which have been given to him, will prove a sufficient security to the Colony against future misgovernment, he is obliged to confess that more must be done [*unclear: ere*] the Settlers themselves and the Public in England can be expected to feel such revived confidence, as can alone give the requisite impulse to the colonisation of New Zealand. Lord Grey is sincerely of opinion that the energetic co-operation of the Company which originally laid the foundation of the Colony, would be materially conducive if it be not absolutely essential to the realisation of this great object. He is, therefore, very unwilling to enter upon the claim ail one to be settled as a matter of account between the

Government and the Company. He is disposed to regard the maintenance of the New Zealand Company, and the renewal of its operations, as ends to be promoted even more on large views of public policy than on considerations of strict right. And he is inclined, before resorting to any less satisfactory course, to see whether it may not be possible to put the Company itself in a position by renewing its operations to repair its losses, and at the same time to restore the prosperity of the existing Settlements, and make New Zealand the seat of an extensive and thriving Colony.

From the communications which he has had with the Company, Lord Grey does not apprehend that the present cessation of its operations arises from any doubt on the part of the Company, as to the soundness of the general principles on which it has acted in the formation of its present Settlements. He understands it to be the conviction of the Company that the disposition to colonise New Zealand, though checked by recent disasters, would speedily revive with the belief that the Colonist might rely on security for his person and property; that the renewal of the Company's operations would, in all probability, be followed by the immediate execution of the long proposed scheme of a Scotch Settlement at Otago; and that the impulse thus once again being given, no long time would in all likelihood pass without the formation and even the partial realisation of yet more extensive plans of settlement. The difficulties which alone prevent the resumption of the Company's operations appear to be, first, the exhaustion of its funds and its consequent inability to meet existing liabilities and defray the preliminary expenses of a new undertaking; and, secondly, the doubt which after recent events the Public entertain as to the degree of countenance from Her Majesty's Government on which the Company may hereafter rely.

When Lord Grey considers of what great importance to imperial interests it is that the colonisation of New Zealand should go on steadily and rapidly, and that the ancient disposition to plant Settlements of Englishmen in Her Majesty's distant possessions should be revived and established, he is not disposed to allow such great objects to be frustrated by difficulties which it is in the power of Government to surmount. At the present moment, he sees no means whereby the settlement of New Zealand is likely to be so vigorously and securely effected as by the operations of the New Zealand Company. He feels convinced that the extinction or failure of a Company whose first efforts were so successful, would operate most fatally in deterring others from embarking in similar associations. It appears to him, therefore, that it is matter of the greatest public concern to enable the New Zealand Company to renew its operations; and that if a state of feeling, in producing which the past conduct of the Government and its officers has unhappily had a share, and the want of the necessary funds, be the only obstacles that prevent the Company from renewing its operations, it is the duty of the Government to take care that an object of great permanent importance is not compromised for want of encouragement and temporary assistance.

Lord Grey is therefore willing to make the Government a party to the fair trial of the experiment, whether the Company can be placed in a position that will enable it after a certain period to continue its operations without further assistance, and with reasonable prospects of success. He is willing, for this purpose, to give the Company the amplest means that can be afforded, by the exclusive use of the Crown lands in the Southern Government of New Zealand. He is willing to stipulate for the advance, during a limited period, of considerable sums, for the purpose of enabling the Company to meet its present liabilities and the outlay necessary for the vigorous prosecution of its operations. At the same time, in order to give the Public complete security for the right application of the lands and funds thus placed at the disposal of the Company, he must require that a Commissioner, appointed on behalf of the Crown, shall be present at all the Meetings of the Directors, and have an absolute veto on all their proceedings. While he makes this stipulation on behalf of the Public, Lord Grey cannot apprehend that the Company will regard it as at all likely to prove injurious to its own character, or to the freedom of its operations. The Commissioner will be selected with the assent of the Company, and his instructions will direct him to give full effect to the Company's principles of colonisation. The Company will find that that participation of Her Majesty's Government in its acts, which will be implied by the Commissioner's presence at its Board, will give it additional claims to the confidence and respect of the Public.

Of that part of the arrangement which relates to the advance of money for the purposes of the Company, Lord Grey proposes to limit the duration to three years. A much less period would hardly give the experiment a fair trial; and if, after such a period, the Company should not find itself in a condition to carry on its operations without external aid, there would be little room to expect that a continuance of pecuniary assistance would bring it into a better state. But Lord Grey is sanguine in his anticipation of a more favourable result. On the supposition that the Company will find itself in a position to carry on its operations on its own resources, he proposes, at the end of that period, on obtaining the Company's assent to such restrictions on its profits and disposal of land as may be requisite on public grounds, to leave the Crown Lands in the Southern Government of New Zealand at the Company's disposal, still keeping the Commissioner at the Company's Board, with his previous powers. The Company would accept this vast grant of land as a full compensation of any claims that it may have had; and it might fairly be expected that the advances which had been made by the Government to

place the Company in a position to turn so large a property to account, should thenceforth be regarded as a debt, of which the Company should be bound to reimburse the principal by an annual payment of not less than one-fourth of its clear profits.

In Lord Grey's opinion it is also necessary to provide for the unfavourable, and as he hopes, improbable contingency of the Company's finding itself, at the end of three years, unable to carry on its operations without a continuance of pecuniary aid from the Government. It would appear from the statements furnished in your letter, that the liabilities of the Company will then consist of its debt to Her Majesty's Government, and of certain possible liabilities to third parties. The debt will comprise the 100,000*l.* which has been, or may be advanced to the Company under the Act of 1846, and such further advances as may be made during the ensuing three years, which are not to exceed 136,000*l.*, but will probably be reduced considerably below that amount by the clear profits of the sales of land which the Company may reasonably be expected to make during that period. The liabilities to third parties will be none but those to which the Company shall, with the assent of the Government, have subjected itself during the same period, together with what Lord Grey is assured can only be some small amount of debt, which may possibly be found due to the Nelson Settlers, on a settlement of some accounts, of which the balance cannot at present be exactly ascertained. Assuming the correctness of the Company's statements of its affairs, Lord Grey is prepared at once to undertake, that in the event of the Company's finding itself unable to continue its operations, Her Majesty's Government will meet the Company's present claims by remitting this debt, which would be entirely due to the Government itself, and by taking on itself the liabilities specified above. In order to reimburse the Shareholders for the capital actually sacrificed by them, the Government will further consent to take the land at present belonging to the Company, acknowledging in consideration thereof a debt to the Company of five shillings an acre for such land. This debt shall be a mortgage charge on all the Crown Lands of New Zealand, of which the interest, and a certain proportion of the principal, shall be the first payment out of any land fund accruing to the Crown in New Zealand.

The various provisions of the proposed arrangement are stated more in detail, and with more precision, in the accompanying Memorandum. If the Company shall accede to the arrangement, it will be necessary that that part of it, by which the Crown Lands of the Southern Government are to be placed at the disposal of the Company, should be carried into effect by issuing Royal Instructions, limiting the Instructions of last December, as far as they relate to the disposal of Waste Lands, to the Northern Government of New Zealand. The late Instructions will still secure the Company against any obstruction of their plans by the sale of the Crown Lands of the Northern Government at an unduly low price. Those Instructions in fact re-establish in that Government the provisions of the 5th and 6th Victoria, and are not more liable to change than the Act of Parliament itself.

Lord Grey is fully sensible of the importance of guarding Her Majesty's Government and the Company, from the injury to which their combined operations, under the proposed arrangements, would be subjected by the competition of low priced lands in the hands of such individuals as have obtained them through the profuse grants made by Governor Fitzroy, in absolute violation of his instructions. It appears from recent despatches from Governor Grey, that the total amount of land claimed under Governor Fitzroy's Proclamations, amounts to somewhat less than 100,000 acres. Lord Grey feels little doubt that the instructions which he has sent out, will prevent grants being made for any but an inconsiderable portion of this quantity.

There is another amount of about 77,000 acres granted by Governor Fitzroy, in excess of the amounts awarded by the Commissioners of Land-Claims and the maximum of grants fixed by the Instructions and Local Ordinances. With these it is more difficult to deal, as the grants have actually been issued; and though, apparently, this has been done illegally, they can only be set aside in due course of law. Lord Grey has instructed the Governor, whenever he sees a chance of success, to institute proceedings for setting aside such grants.

Should the Company accede to the proposed arrangement, it will be advisable without delay to proceed to the appointment of a Commissioner; and Lord Grey will at once submit to the Directors the name of the person whom, if approved by them, he would appoint. The Instructions of this Commissioner will direct him generally to concert with the Company such measures as may best carry out that Scheme of Colonisation on which the Company proposes to act. Without now entering into various important details of these Instructions, it is enough to state that the Commissioner will generally be directed to sanction no measure whereby any land is to be granted without sale, or sold for less than twenty shillings an acre, or whereby less than ten shillings an acre out of the produce of any sale shall be applied to emigration. He will also be instructed not to assent to any dividend being made during the next three years, without the previous sanction of Her Majesty's Government.

Having now gone through the principal points which it is necessary to consider in forming the arrangement proposed, the various details of which will be found stated with more precision and fulness in the accompanying Memorandum, Lord Grey has only to hope that the New Zealand Company will find his

suggestions such as they can accept; and that Her Majesty's Government may, henceforth, be enabled effectually to co-operate with the Company in re-establishing its affairs, and effecting the great public objects which Lord Grey and the Directors have sincerely at heart.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
B. HAWES.

T. C. Harington, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

(Enclosure in No. 2.)

Memorandum.

I. It is proposed that a Commissioner be appointed by Her Majesty to be a Commissioner for the New Zealand Company.

That the name of the person selected by Her Majesty be submitted to the Directors of the New Zealand Company, and the appointment take place on their signifying their approval.

That this Commissioner attend all Meetings of the Directors, and have access to all books, papers, and accounts of the Company, and that the Company shall agree that no Resolution shall ever be adopted at any Meeting of the Directors without the assent of the Commissioner.

That the Commissioner be paid a salary of Fifteen Hundred Pounds a year out of the funds of the Company.

II. That during the period for which the present arrangement shall last, the Government shall give up to the Company the entire and exclusive disposal of all Crown Lands, and the exercise of the Crown's right of pre-emption of lands belonging to the Natives, in the Southern Government of New Zealand; and undertake during such period to execute any grants, leases, or mortgages, for which the Court of Directors and Commissioner shall engage.

III. That during three years commencing the 6th of April ultimo, the Government shall engage to place at the disposal of the Company,—during the first year such sum of not more than Twenty-eight Thousand Pounds over and above any sum now payable to the Company under any former loan,—during the second year such sum not exceeding Seventy-two Thousand Pounds,—and during the third year such sum not exceeding Thirty-six Thousand Pounds,—as shall be required by the Company and the Commissioner from time to time, for the purpose of discharging the existing liabilities of the Company to an extent not exceeding Seventy-nine Thousand Pounds, and of conducting its colonising operations.

That all sums accruing to the Company in each year, beyond those which it is bound to expend for the benefit of the purchasers of its lands, shall be expended in furtherance of the general objects of the Company, with the view of diminishing the amount of advances which may be required from Her Majesty's Government.

That during that period no interest shall accrue from any debt to the Government, nor for any claim to compensation on the part of the Company.

That during the first year no dividend shall be paid to the proprietors of the Company's stock; nor any in either of the two following years, without the express sanction of Her Majesty's Government.

That the Company shall at once give up all claim to lands in the neighbourhood of Auckland, and take the whole amount awarded to it elsewhere.

IV. That if the Company shall be in a condition, at the end of the three years, to continue its operations, the present arrangement with respect to Heads I and II shall continue, and be made permanent either by a new Charter or by Act of Parliament, upon the Company agreeing to such restriction on its disposal of land, dividends, and application of funds, as shall then be agreed upon between the Company and Her Majesty's Government.

That the Company shall, in that case, abandon all claim to compensation from the Government.

That all advances already made, or within the period of three years to be made to the Company by the Government shall, in that case, be constituted as the Company's debt, the principal of which the Company shall be bound to repay by an annual payment of not less than one-fourth of its clear profits after payment of all expenses.

V. That if, at the end of the three years, the Company shall be unable to continue its operations, Her Majesty's Government shall take the Company's assets, together with the liabilities contracted by it to third parties during that period with the assent of the Commissioner, and any debt which may still be due from it to the Nelson Settlers.

That all debts due from the Company to the Government shall be remitted, in consideration of the

Company's admitted claim on the Government.

That the lands now belonging to the Company, consisting of 1,048,991 ½ acres awarded to it and as yet unsold, together with 24,491 ½ acres held by it in virtue of purchase within its Settlements, shall be taken by the Government at the rate of five shillings an acre.

That the Company shall be entitled to payment of the sum so due to it, together with interest at the rate of three-and-a-half per cent, thereon, out of the proceeds of all returns over and above the outlay for surveys and emigration, accruing from the sale of Crown Lands in New Zealand, but not from any other source.

That the New Zealand Company shall thereupon be forthwith dissolved, except for the purpose of receiving such annual payment.

VI. That neither the Crown nor the New Zealand Company shall, in any part of New Zealand, sell any lands not previously sold by them, for any sum less than twenty shillings an acre, nor expend less than ten shillings an acre of the proceeds of such sale in carrying out emigrants.

—No. 3.—

THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPANY TO EARL GREY.

New Zealand House,

12th May, 1847.

MY LORD,

THE Directors of the New Zealand Company have perused with attention the important letter which they have had the honor to receive from Mr. Hawes, dated the 10th instant, communicating by your Lordship's desire the arrangements into which Her Majesty's Government is willing to enter, for the purpose of enabling the Company, first, to resume and carry on its colonising operations during the ensuing three years; and, secondly, to decide, at the end of that period, as to the continuance or discontinuance of those operations, upon the terms stated.

It has been gratifying to the Directors to receive an intimation of your Lordship's readiness to admit that the Company has established a claim against Her Majesty's Government, and your acknowledgment of the importance of the objects to which it has devoted itself, and of the services which it has heretofore rendered; and they appreciate fully the reasons which induce your Lordship on public grounds to desire that, in lieu of regarding the losses of the Company as a mere matter of account between it and the Government, it shall itself be placed in a position in which it may at the same time both repair those losses and promote the future welfare of the Colony, by means of its own exertions.

Viewing the several arrangements now proposed, as one entire measure, and coupling therewith the sentiments which your Lordship has avowed on more than one public occasion, and the principles which are laid down with such clearness in your despatch of the 23rd of December last, on the all-important subject of Crown Lands, the Directors are willing to believe that these arrangements afford at length a fair prospect of success, notwithstanding the difficulties by which the later stages of their enterprise have been attended; and in this belief, they are prepared to take upon themselves the continued anxiety and exertion, by which alone, they are fully aware, the realisation of this prospect is yet to be ensured.

Avoiding, therefore, the discussion of all particular details, and subject to the requisite approval of the General Court of Proprietors, summoned for Friday next, the Court of Directors, I am instructed to state, accedes on behalf of the Company to the several proposals contained in Mr. Hawes' letter of the 10th instant, and in the Memorandum which is thereto annexed.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

T. C. HAMINGTON.

The Right Honorable the Earl Grey, &c. &c. &c.

—No. 4.—

THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPANY TO EARL GREY.

New Zealand House,

14th May, 1847.

MY LORD,

WITH, reference to the letter which I had the honor to address to your Lordship on the 12th instant, I am now instructed to transmit for the information of Her Majesty's Government the accompanying copy, signed by the Chairman, of the Resolutions adopted this day by a General Court of the Proprietors of the New Zealand Company, accepting the several proposals contained in Mr. Hawes' letter of the 10th of May, and the Memorandum thereto annexed, and empowering the Court of Directors to take all steps whatever which may be necessary for carrying the same into effect.

As this completes the whole of the preliminary steps which can be taken on the part of the Company, the Directors beg to call the attention of your Lordship to the great importance of their being placed in a position to resume colonising operations at the earliest practicable moment.

I have the honor to be, &c.

T. C. HARINGTON.

The Right Honorable the Earl Grey, &c. &c. &c.

—No. 5.—

MR. HAWES TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPANY.

Downing Street,

22nd May, 1847.

SIR,

I AM directed by Earl Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, notifying the concurrence of the Proprietors of the New Zealand Company in the arrangement proposed in my letter of the 10th instant; and I am to acquaint you that, in order to enable the Company to act upon that agreement, his Lordship will immediately take measures for preparing and submitting to the Queen Instructions to the Governor of New Zealand, altering, to the extent which will be necessary, the Royal Instructions on the subject of the disposal of Waste Lands, which were issued in December last. Her Majesty's Government will also cause an Estimate to be prepared and submitted to Parliament, authorising the advance during the present year of a sum not exceeding twenty-eight thousand pounds, for carrying on the operations of the Company.

I am further directed to state that Lord Grey is prepared, with the assent of the Directors, to appoint Mr. Cowell to sit at their Board, as the Commissioner for the Government.

I am, &c.,

B. HAWES.

T. C. Harington, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

—No. 6.—

THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPANY TO EARL GREY.

New Zealand House,

25th May, 1847.

MY LORD,

I HAVE had the honor to receive and lay before the Directors of the New Zealand Company Mr. Hawes' letter of last Saturday, communicating the measures which Her Majesty's Government is about to adopt for the purpose of enabling the Company to act upon the agreement recently concluded; and stating that your Lordship is prepared, with the assent of the Directors, to appoint Mr. Cowell to sit at their Board as the Commissioner for the Government.

In reply, I am instructed to express the acknowledgments of the Directors for the promptitude with which this communication has been made; and to state that they have much pleasure in approving the proposed appointment of Mr. Cowell, and will be happy to receive the co-operation of that Gentleman in carrying out the important undertaking in which they are engaged.

I have the honor to be, &c.

T. C. HARINGTON.

The Right Honorable the Earl Grey, &c. &c. &c.

—No 7.—

THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPANY TO EARL GREY,

New Zealand House,

14th May, 1847.

MY LORD,

WITH reference to my former letter of this date, I now do myself the honor to enclose a separate extract from the Proceedings of the Court of Proprietors, exhibiting the sentiments entertained personally towards your Lordship by the Shareholders of the New Zealand Company, for having, by the measures this day acceded to, brought at length to a termination the controversies which have been so long pending between the Company and Her Majesty's Government.

The Directors have instructed me to transmit in this separate form the Resolution embodying these sentiments, that they may avail themselves of the opportunity to express their own appreciation of what they feel persuaded will be looked back to as an era, not only in the prosperity of New Zealand, but in the Colonial Policy of the Empire.

I have the honor to be, &c.

T. C. HARINGTON.

The Right Honorable the Earl Grey, &c. &c. &c.

—No. 8.—

MR. HAWES TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPANY.

Downing Street,

27th May, 1847.

SIR,

I AM directed by Earl Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, and to request that you will convey to the Directors his Lordship's thanks for the sentiments expressed by the Proprietors of the New Zealand Company, in the extract from their Proceedings which that letter enclosed.

I am, &c.

B. HAWES.

T. C. Harington, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

—No. 9.—

THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPANY TO MR. BULLER.

New Zealand House,

14th May, 1847.

SIR,

BY desire of the Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company, I have the honor to enclose an extract from the Proceedings of the General Court of Proprietors, held this day, expressing the spontaneous and unanimous wish of the Meeting, that, "in testimony of the feeling entertained by the Shareholders, of the invaluable services rendered by you in the cause of Colonisation, and of your intimate acquaintance with New Zealand affairs," you be requested to allow yourself to be re-elected a Director of the Company.

In conveying to you this request, the Directors trust that, without any further assurance on their part, you are already aware how cordially and entirely it has their concurrence.

I have the honor to be, &c.

T. C. HARRINGTON.

Charles Buller, Esq., M.P., &c. &c. &c.

—No. 10.—

MR. BULLER TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPANY.

2, Chester Place,

May 20, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE to acknowledge, with great satisfaction and gratitude, the receipt of the Resolution passed by the New Zealand Company at the Meeting of the Proprietors on Friday last. I am deeply sensible of their too kind appreciation of the exertions which my interest in their cause has induced me to make; and I beg you will convey to the Directors my very sincere thanks for their kindness, and that of the Proprietors.

I wish it were in my power to comply with the very flattering request of the Proprietors, that I should still continue in the Direction of the Company. The only reason that compels me to decline the offer is the pressure of my occupation, which really leaves me no time to do justice to the task confided to a Director of your Company. Indeed, for the last two or three years, I have found that my professional avocations have prevented my attending to the general business of the Company; and now that official duties are superadded to the other, I feel that my power of attending to the Company's business would not be such as to justify my assuming the responsibilities attaching to a Director.

It was with great regret that I came originally to the conclusion that my acceptance of office would compel me to withdraw from your Direction. It is with additional regret that I find that I cannot avail myself of the opportunity of re-consideration given me by the kindness of the Company.

I am, &c.

CHAS. BULLER,

Jun.

T. C. Harrington, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

—No. 11.—

Otago.

Arrangements for the Establishment of a Settlement and for the Disposal of the Lands of the New Zealand Company, at Otago.

1. All arrangements with regard to the Settlement, formerly intended, of New Edinburgh, to be considered as at an end.

2. The Association of Lay Members of the Free Church of Scotland, as reported by the General Assembly

of May, 1845, to be recognised as the party to promote the Settlement now contemplated.

3. The Lands to be sold under the following arrangements to persons brought forward or approved by the Association; and the Association (including those parties) to carry out the enterprise on their own principles, and, so far as possible, in their own name, looking only to the Company for such assistance and acts of trusteeship in the matter of Surveys, Emigration, and general process of founding the Settlement, as may be requisite.

Amendments which experience may from time to time show to be desirable, to be made by the Company and the Association, concurrently, in those parts of the following arrangements in which they are not already provided for.

4. The Site of the Settlement to be at Otago, in the Middle Island of New Zealand, on the land granted to the Company by a Deed under the seal of the Territory, bearing date the 13th day of April, 1846.

5. The Settlement to comprise one hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred acres of land, divided into two thousand four hundred Properties; and each Property to consist of sixty acres and a quarter, divided into three Allotments; namely, a Town Allotment of a quarter of an acre, a Suburban Allotment of ten acres, and a Rural Allotment of fifty acres, be the measurements more or less.

6. The 2,400 Properties to be appropriated as follows, namely:—

- 2,000 Properties, or 120,500 acres, for Sale to private individuals;
- 100 Properties, or 6,025 acres, for the Estate to be purchased by the Local Municipal Government;
- 100 Properties, or 6,025 acres, for the Estate to be purchased by the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses; and,
- 200 Properties, or 12,050 acres, for the Estate to be purchased by the New Zealand Company.

7. The Price of the land to be fixed in the first instance at forty shillings an acre, or 120*l.* 10*s.* a Property; to be charged on the Estates of the Municipal Government, of the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses, and of the New Zealand Company, in the same manner as on the 2,000 Properties intended for sale to private individuals; and the purchase-money, 289,200*l.*, to be appropriated as follows, namely:—

It is to be observed that from the sum of 36,150*l.* to be assigned to the Trustees of Religious and Educational Uses, will be defrayed 12,050*l.*, the price of the 6,025 acres to be purchased as the Estate of that Trust.

In like manner, out of the sum of 72,300*l.* to be assigned to the New Zealand Company, will be defrayed 24,100*l.*, the price of the 12,050 acres to be purchased by the Company as its Estate.

But the 6,025 acres, constituting the Estate to be purchased by the Local Municipal Government, must be separately paid for by that Government; and until payment therefore of the price, 12,050*l.*, together with Colonial interest thereon, the land will be held by the Administrators of the Fund for Civil Uses, with power to dispose of the same, if such payment be not made within one year after the completion of the sales of the remainder of the two thousand four hundred Properties.

8. The Company to reserve to itself the power of increasing the price above mentioned after the first Ballot, and from time to time, as may be arranged after consultation with the Association.

9. In consideration of the consent given by the Directors to contribute to the Emigration and other Special Funds, in the same proportions as private purchasers, on account of the two hundred Properties to be reserved as the Company's Estate, in lieu of those Properties being free of charge or deduction, as was originally intended; and in consideration of the expenses to which the Company is subjected in its general superintendence of the interests of the several Settlements, and which ought to be borne in due proportions by the several Settlements, respectively; the Company to be entitled to charge Commission, at the rate of five per cent, on the gross amount of the Funds appropriated to Emigration and to Civil Uses; and such charge to be debited to those Funds, respectively.

10. The purchase of the surface, under the present arrangements, to include in every case Coal and all other Minerals whatever, granted to the Company by the Crown and lying underneath the Allotment purchased; but the Company to have power to exclude lands containing, in considerable quantities, Coal or other Minerals, from the Allotments intended for sale or appropriation, and to reserve them for the purpose of being disposed of in the manner undermentioned.

Lands so reserved and containing *Coal* to be disposed of, by Lease or otherwise, in such way as may from time to time be agreed on between the Company and the Association, with a view both to prevent the Coal-field from falling into the hands of private individuals, so as to form a monopoly injurious to the public interests, and to ensure to the Community a due supply of Fuel at the cheapest possible rate.

Lands reserved as above and containing *other Minerals* to be disposed of in such way as the Company, after consultation with the Association, may from time to time consider most expedient.

11. Reservations to be made, so far as may be practicable, of the Sites of Villages and Towns, with Suburban Allotments adjacent, in the several Parishes and Hundreds, to be laid out in accordance with the

Government Regulations on this head.

12. In laying out the Chief Town of the Settlement,—to be named "DUNEDIN,"—due provision to be made for public Purposes, as Fortifications, Public Buildings, Sites for Places of Public Worship and Instruction, Baths, Wharfs, Quays, Cemeteries, Squares, a Park, and other places for health and recreation; for all which, instructions have already been given to the Company's Principal Agent.

13. The first party of Colonists, including free passengers, to be of sufficient numbers to entitle them to an Act of Municipality; but to be despatched by one or more embarkations, and to be based upon the sale to private individuals, of not fewer than four hundred Properties.

14. Two years from the date of the first embarkation to be allowed for the despatch of the second Party, and one year for the despatch of each successive Party afterwards; each Party being based, like the first, upon the sale to private individuals of not fewer than four hundred Properties. The term of five years, therefore, to be thus allowed to the Association for completing the sales in the proportions above mentioned; but on their failing in any of these proportions, the Company to have the option of disposing of the whole of the remaining lands to other parties.

In the event, however, of the whole 2,000 Properties being sold to private individuals within the said period, the Association to have further the refusal, on such terms as shall then be agreed upon, of the entire remainder of the Block of 400,000 acres, or such portion of the same as the Company shall not have returned to the Crown under the terms of Mr. Hope's letter of 7th August, 1845.

15. A deposit of 12*l.* 10*s.* on each Property to be paid to the Commercial Bank of Scotland, in Scotland, or to Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smiths, Bankers, in London, on the New Zealand Company's Account; and the Bankers' Receipt to be produced and filed, previous to any application being registered at the Company's House. Public notice to be given of the day on which the residue of the purchase-money will be required. In case of default in payment of such residue by the day appointed, the deposit to become thereupon forfeited to the Company, together with all claim of the applicant to the land applied for.

16. On payment of his purchase-money, each purchaser to receive, for each sum of 120*l.* 10*s.* so paid, three separate Land-Orders, namely, for the Town quarter-acre, the ten acres of Suburban Land, and the fifty acres of Rural Land, respectively. These lands to be severally selected, according to priority of choice, to be determined by Ballot, as hereinafter mentioned.

17. Three several Ballots for priority of choice of the Town Allotments, the Suburban Allotments, and the Rural Allotments, in manner to be arranged by the Court of Directors, to take place at the Company's House in London, in the presence of the Directors, and of such purchasers or their agents as may attend after public notice given.

The priority of choice, with regard to the Estates of the Local Municipal Government, the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses, and the New Zealand Company, to be determined by Ballot in the same manner, and at the same time, as for the Properties sold to private individuals.

18. An arrangement to be made in the first Ballot, so that any party purchasing two or more properties may, with respect to Rural Allotments only, take them in contiguity; provided that notice in writing of his wish to that effect be given to the Company three clear days previous to the drawing; and provided that such right of choice shall not extend to land on both sides of any river or main road.

Every practicable facility to be given for the like purpose in succeeding Ballots.

19. The choice of Allotments, according to the right of priority determined as above mentioned, to take place in the Settlement as soon after the arrival of the first body of Colonists as shall be appointed, and under such regulations as shall be prescribed by the Company's Agent, or other Officer duly authorised in that behalf. Neglect or refusal to comply with such regulations in regard to any Allotment, to occasion a forfeiture of the purchaser's right of choice, and to vest it in the Company's Officer on behalf of such purchaser.

20. The first Ballot not to be held until at least four hundred Properties have been sold to private individuals, as before mentioned.

The parties to that Ballot to be allowed to select out of the whole of the Town and Suburban Allotments, but (if their number do not much exceed four hundred) out of only half the intended number of Rural Allotments.

Upon four hundred Properties being sold as above mentioned, the Municipality, the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses, and the New Zealand Company, to be respectively entitled *to select one-half* of their whole Estates, and to be included accordingly in the Ballot; but to be required *to pay* for those Estates, *rateably only* according to the number of Properties actually sold to private individuals.

21. After the first Ballot, fifty Properties to be placed at the disposal of the Company's Agent, for sale in the Colony, at the following increased prices, each kind of Allotment being sold separately if so desired by the purchaser; namely,

- Town Land 40*l.* per Allotment;

- Suburban Land 40*l.* per Allotment; and,
- Rural Land 100*l.* per Allotment.

22. Individuals desirous of proceeding to the Colony, in the intervals between the first and second Ballots, and approved by the Association, to be allowed to become purchasers at such increased prices as may be decided on after consultation with the Association, as provided for in Paragraph 8, above.

23. The whole Proceeds of such increased prices, and also of Coals and other Minerals disposed of specially, under the provisions of Paragraph 10, and of the Sites of Villages and Towns with Suburban Allotments adjacent, as provided for in Paragraph 11, to be in all cases appropriated (*by eighths*) in the same proportions and manner as the Proceeds of the first Ballot.

24. The Association (including the purchasers and Co- lonists whom they may bring forward) to prepare a Deed of Constitution for Church and Schools; to the Trustees appointed by this Deed, the Funds for Religious and Educational Uses to be handed over, as collected, on the completion of each party; all Officers connected with these Uses to be appointed by the said Trustees or Association; and in this and in all other matters, the Association to have respect to the full exoneration of the Company from responsibility, at the earliest possible period.

25. The Emigration Fund to be applied as maybe decided on from time to time, after consultation with the Association, and the selection of free passengers to be entirely confided to them.

Two-thirds of the amount to be applied in accordance with the Government Regulations; and the remainder, subject to the concurrence of the Company, to the passages of persons who, under those Regulations, are not strictly eligible; such as—the Parents of grown-up Children;—Children under seven years of age, in excess of the authorised number;—and, to a limited extent, such Cabin Passengers, and others, as may be found expedient.

26. The expenses of the Association to be met in the first instance by the Company, to the extent of five hundred pounds; it being understood that, with the exception of a paid Secretary at the rate of one hundred and fifty pounds a year, the Members of the Association are to act gratuitously. Travelling and other necessary expenses to be covered by the sum stated, which, in the event of success, will be charged, together with the expenses already incurred under the former arrangements, to the Fund for founding the Settlement.

27. Subject to the modifications mentioned in the foregoing Paragraphs, and to the exception of Officers and Funds relating to Religious and Educational Uses, the appointment of Officers, and the management and expenditure of the several Funds, to be vested altogether in the Company; but all reasonable attention to be paid by the Court of Directors to the recommendations of the Association.

28. In case of any difference arising between the Company and any purchaser, with respect to the construction of these presents, or the execution of any contract founded thereon, such difference to be decided by two Arbitrators, one to be named by each party, or by an Umpire to be named by the Arbitrators.

In the event, also, of any difference or question arising, either between private parties, or between such parties and the Company or other Public Body, or between such Public Bodies only, and relating to Water connected with any Land referred to in these presents, or to the possession or use of such Water, or to the Erection of Mills or Machinery to be moved thereby, or to any other right or privilege connected therewith, such difference or question to be decided in like manner, either by Arbitrators, or by an Umpire, the whole to be named respectively as above mentioned.

29. The Register of Applications to be opened on such day as may hereafter be decided on.

30. WILLIAM CARGILL, Esq., to be recognised as the Company's Agent for the Settlement of Otago; the sentiments of the Directors of the Company, with regard to that Gentleman, being in entire unison with those expressed by the Association in its Seventh Resolution of the 16th of May, 1845.

Their high opinion of MR. CARGILL has been formed upon a personal observation, for a course of years, of his integrity, energy, efficiency, and perseverance; and their confidence in his fitness for organising the first Party of Colonists, upon the constitution of which must depend so materially the future character of the Settlement, is confirmed by the able and judicious manner in which, during that period and in the recent negotiations with Her Majesty's Government, he has represented in London the views and wishes of the Association and other parties in Scotland.

By Order of the Court of Directors,
THOMAS CUDBERT HARINGTON, SECRETARY.

New Zealand House,
9, Broad Street Buildings, London,

14th May, 1847.

Crown Grant for Lands at Otago.

VICTORIA, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, and so forth;

TO ALL TO WHOM these presents shall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS it hath been made to appear to us, that the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY hath, by virtue of Our license and authority to it given, acquired from certain Aboriginal Natives in New Munster, entitled in that behalf, a full and valid cession of all the rights of such Aboriginal Natives to the lands hereinafter particularly described (subject to the reservations hereinafter made for the benefit of the said Aboriginal Natives):—NOW KNOW YE, that We of Our special grace, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, Do hereby grant unto the said NEW ZEALAND COMPANY, their Successors and Assigns, All that piece or parcel of land situate on the East coast of New Munster, and comprising the lands known as Otakou, Kaikarae, Taieri, Mataau, and Te Karoro, and which piece or parcel of land is bounded on the North by the sea-coast from a point at Purehurehu, half a mile distant from the Western Head of the Harbour of Otakou to Otupa, and thence to the Poatiri; on the East, by the sea-shore from Poatiri aforesaid to Tokata; on the South and South-West, by the ridge of hills known as Taukohu to Pohuroa; on the West, by a line running along the summit of the Kaihiku range; then by a right line drawn from the Northern extremity of the said line, along the summit of the Kaihiku range, known as Munga Atua; thence by a line running North North-Easterly along the summit of the said Munga Atua range to Wakari; thence by a line running along the summit of the hills, to the mountain known as Mihiwaka, and thence by a line along the summit of the hills till it joins the said Northern boundary at Purehurehu, and which piece or parcel of land is estimated to contain FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND ACRES, or thereabouts, and is, with the boundaries thereof, more particularly delineated in the plan thereof, endorsed upon these presents, together with all Islands, Minerals, and Forests next adjoining thereto or thereupon being, and together with all appurtenances to the said piece of land, or any part thereof, belonging or in anywise appertaining: Excepting, and always reserved out of this present grant to Us, Our heirs, and Successors, a certain piece of land on the Western Head of the said Harbour of Otakou, comprising one hundred and twenty acres, or thereabouts, and a certain other piece of land, situate on the Eastern Head of the same Harbour, comprising two hundred and fifty acres, or thereabouts, and the Islands of Kakariri and Kamautaurua, and which last-mentioned Reserves are coloured blue upon the said plan: And also excepting, and always reserved out of the said grant, for the sole and exclusive benefit of the said Aboriginal Natives, and their heirs for ever, all that piece of land called Ornate, situate on the Eastern Shore of the Harbour of Otakou, bounded on the West by the said Harbour, on the South by a line drawn from Moepuka, on the Shores of the said Harbour, to Poatiri aforesaid, thence along the Coast to Waiwakaheke, thence round to Pukekura, and runs along the side of the Harbour to Moepuka, on the East and North by the Sea, and which piece of ground comprises the whole of the land on the Eastern shores of the said Harbour lying to the Northward of the said line, from Moepuka to Poatiri, excepting the said Reserve on the Eastern Head of such Harbour hereinbefore made for Ourselves, Our Heirs, and Successors: And also excepting that piece of land situate at Taieri aforesaid, bounded on the North by a line drawn from Onumia on the sea shore, in a West North-West direction, till it strikes the Taieri River at Maitapapa, on the West and South, by the Taieri River, and on the East, by the sea shore: And also excepting all that piece of land at Karoro, bounded on the South by the River Karoro, on the East, by the sea shore, on the North, by a line drawn so as to include the kainga or village at that place, and prolonged Westerly one mile inland, and on the West, by a line drawn due South from the termination of such last-mentioned line till it meets the said Karoro River, and which last mentioned piece of ground includes the kainga of Karoro: And all which Reserves, for the benefit of the said Aboriginal Natives, with their boundaries and abutments, are more particularly delineated and described in the said plan endorsed hereupon, and coloured yellow: To Hold the said piece or parcel of ground, and islands, and premises, with their and every of their appurtenances, except as aforesaid, unto the said NEW ZEALAND COMPANY, their Successors and Assigns, for ever. IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have caused this Our Grant to be sealed with the Seal of Our said Territory.

Witness, Our trusty and well-beloved GEORGE GREY, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Our said Territory and its Dependencies, at Wellington in New Zealand aforesaid, this thirteenth day of April, in the ninth year of Our reign, and in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

Seal of the Territory

G. GREY, *Governor and Commander-in-Chief.*

Accounts, 5TH APRIL 1847.

—No. 13.—

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY, from the 6th of April 1846 to the 5th of April 1847.

Receipts.

[RECEIPT AND EXPENDITURE.]

Expenditure.

N.B. Of the Guarantee given by the Company's Bankers to meet Colonial Bills, there remains an unexhausted Balance of £15,938. 7s. 0d.

GEORGE BAILEY, *Accountant.*

We hereby Certify that we have carefully examined the foregoing Accounts, and we declare the same to be correct.

RICHARD EDWARD ARDEN,
JOSEPH DOWSON, *Auditors.*

—No. 14.—

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES of the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY on the 5th of April 1847.

Assets.

Liabilities.

GEORGE BAILEY, *Accountant.*

We hereby Certify that we have carefully examined the foregoing Accounts, and we do declare the same to be correct.

RICHARD EDWARD ARDEN,
JOSEPH DOWSON, *Auditors.*

—No. 15.—

LAND ACCOUNT of the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY on the 5th of April 1847.

Deduct, Land Sold in the several Settlements, viz.:—

Add, Land purchased by the Company as its Private Estate, viz.:—

GEORGE BAILEY, *Accountant.*

Supplement.

Supplement to Twenty-Second Report.

—No. 16.—

MR. STEPHEN TO MR. TREVELYAN.

Downing Street,

May 6, 1847.

SIR,

I AM directed by Earl Grey to request the attention of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to the accompanying letter from the Secretary of the New Zealand Company, together with the draft of the answer which Lord Grey proposes to return. I have to request that the particular attention of their Lordships may be given to the Memorandum appended to the draft letter, and the terms of the Arrangement with the Company which is proposed therein.

The object, of the letter from the Secretary of the Company is to urge on Her Majesty's Government the claims of the Company, on account of certain wrongs alleged to have been done to it by various officers of Her Majesty's Government, both at home and in New Zealand. The subject is one which has for a long time occupied Lord Grey's attention, and the result of his best consideration of it is a conclusion that the Company has established a claim to redress for various acts which have, in Lord Grey's opinion, impeded the Company's enterprise, and rendered its operations unproductive. For reasons, however, which are fully stated in the draft letter, Lord Grey is of opinion that the interests of the Public will best be promoted by an arrangement which shall, in the first place, have the object of placing the Company in as good a position as it could have attained had it been allowed to pursue its original plans without undue interference; and which, in the event of that attempt proving unsuccessful, shall provide for relieving the Company from its undertaking.

It will be seen from the Company's statement of the present posture of its affairs, that it is indebted to Her Majesty's Government for advances under the Act of last year to the amount of 80,000*l.* It is further indebted to Private Parties to the extent of 54,000*l.* for debentures, which must be paid off within the next two years. In addition to this, it is liable to the Settlers at Nelson for an acknowledged liability of about 25,000*l.*, the means of paying which must be forthwith placed at its disposal. To meet these demands, the Company has a power of calling on a portion of its Shareholders for the remainder of their Subscribed Capital to the extent of 100,000*l.*, and it has, in addition, an extent of Land awarded to or purchased by it in New Zealand, of not less than 1,073,583 acres. The proceeds of the latter can of course only be rendered available gradually, by the continuation of the Company's operations; and Lord Grey entirely concurs with the Directors in regarding the Unpaid Capital as a Reserve Fund not to be called for (at least until the Company shall be in a situation of prosperity) except with a view of paying off the debts, and winding up its affairs.

It appears clear, therefore, that if the Company is to be enabled, by the assistance of Her Majesty's Government, to have an opportunity of restoring its affairs, that assistance must go to the extent of an advance of the entire amount requisite for paying off the demands which will press on it, as well as for conducting its colonising operations during that period. It appears to Lord Grey that the experiment could not fairly be tried for a less period than one of three years. During that period the Company will be called upon to pay the whole of its existing liabilities, except the debt to Her Majesty's Government. The amount of these liabilities, as specified above, is 79,000*l.* In addition to this, it appears that the Company cannot carry on its colonising operations for three years, unless it can reckon on having at its disposal during that period a sum of 77,000*l.* These two items give a total of 156,000*l.*; but as the Company is entitled, under the Act of last session, to an advance of 20,000*l.* which it has not yet received out of the 100,000*l.* provided by that Act, the further advance required for the purposes of the present arrangement will be only 136,000*l.* This sum Lord Grey proposes to advance during each of the three next years, in such portions as may be required for the year. That is, during the first year, 28,000*l.* in addition to the 20,000*l.* remaining from the loan of last year; during the second year, 72,000*l.*; and during the third year, 36,000*l.*

This is the utmost extent that it is proposed under any circumstances to advance to the Company. It is hardly possible, however, to conceive that such an amount can be expended in conducting the colonising operations of the Company without producing some clear return; and on considering the principle on which the Company's sales of land are conducted, it is not probable, even under unfavorable circumstances, that out of an effective expenditure of 77,000*l.* less than 48,000*l.* will be returned to the Company. Such returns it will always be in the power of Her Majesty's Government to apply in reduction of the amount which it may agree to advance; and the powers which it is proposed to vest in the Commissioner will give Her Majesty's Government the most complete control over the expenditure of the Company, and also over the application of any returns produced by its operations.

At the close, therefore, of the three years fixed for the experiment, the Company will be under advances from Her Majesty's Government to the extent of the 100,000*l.* provided under the Act of last year, and of any portion of the 136,000*l.* which may be actually advanced under the present Arrangement. Its whole debt to Her Majesty's Government will then amount at the utmost to 236,000*l.*

Supposing the Company's operations to be successful, it will at the end of the three years be enabled to

continue them without further aid. As, in that contingency, it is proposed that the Company shall continue in possession, not merely of its own property, but of the entire rights of the Crown to the Waste Lands in the Southern part of New Zealand, the experiment will have succeeded in securing to the Company, by means of a temporary advance, full redress for whatever injury it has sustained from the past acts of the Government, and in placing it in a position incomparably more favorable than it could have attained without the proposed Arrangement. It would, therefore, be just that the Company should in such case repay Her Majesty's Government the whole advance, which will have been productive of so much benefit to itself. But as that advance will, after all, have been made as much for the benefit of the Public as of the Company, it would not appear fair that this debt should bear interest. And as it is most desirable that the experiment should end in the Company's being enabled to continue its operations, it does not appear advisable to subject the Company to a heavy fixed charge for interest on so large a debt.

On these grounds, Lord Grey proposes, that in the event of the Company's continuing its operations at the end of three years, it shall be held to be indebted to Her Majesty's Government in the sum of 236,000*l.*, or of any less sum to which the actual advances may amount; that this debt shall not bear interest; but that its speedy and punctual payment, according to the means of the Company, shall be secured by appropriating to the payment of the principal, until the whole shall be discharged, one-fourth of the clear annual profits of the Company.

The proposed Arrangement contemplates also the contingency of the Company's finding itself, at the end of the three years, unable to continue its operations on its own resources. In such case, it is clear that the experiment of enabling the Company by temporary advance to repair the damage done to it by past proceedings of the Government, will have altogether failed; and it will then not be just to call upon the Company to repay any part of the advances made during that period for the purpose of providing what will have proved to be an utterly inadequate redress for past injuries. It will also then be clear, that the loss sustained by the Company during the suspension of its operations since 1843 has been of a most serious extent. Under such circumstances, Lord Grey sees no course open to Her Majesty's Government, with a due regard to justice, except to remit to the Company the whole of the advances made to it, in order to relieve it from the difficulties in which the acts of the Government will have greatly contributed to place it.

If the proposed Arrangement were to terminate here, the result would be, that in this contingency the Company would remain in possession of about a million of acres of land, with no liabilities worth mentioning, with no funds to apply to its colonising operations, and (from the very nature of the case supposed) with no hope of carrying on such operations to a profit on its present scheme. It is impossible that the result of such a state of things could be anything but most prejudicial to the colonisation of New Zealand. The Shareholders of the Company, deprived of every higher motive in the extinction of all hope of continuing a large System of Colonisation, would have no object but that of replacing their lost capital by selling their land for as much as would reimburse them. They might effect this if they got a price for it of about 4*s.* an acre; and it can hardly be doubted that, under the circumstances supposed, almost the whole of their land would be brought into the market at such a price, and possibly even at a less one. In the face of such a competition of a vast mass of low-priced land, all sales of Crown Land in any part of New Zealand at the rate of 20*s.* an acre would be impossible. Even if any such sales were for a while effected, the Emigrants carried out by the fund accruing from them would go off to the cheap land of the Company. The whole of the plan for the management of the Crown Lands laid down in Lord Grey's Instructions to the Governor would be frustrated, and the Systematic Colonisation of New Zealand postponed until the Company should have disposed of the whole amount of land in its possession.

Impressed with the evils consequent on such a state of things, Lord Grey has had no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that, in the event of the Company's finding itself at the end of three years unable to continue its operations, the only safe course for the Colony is to make provision at once for putting an end to the Company's existence. As the Company will then be avowedly unable to accomplish any of the public objects for which it was incorporated, it will have no right to complain if it is deprived of the great privileges secured to it by its Charter; and if the property granted to it for public objects is resumed on payment of its fair market value, the Shareholders will probably be satisfied with any arrangement that shall give them a fair chance of replacing, without further risk or trouble, their outlay on their public-spirited but unsuccessful enterprise. Lord Grey proposes, therefore, that, in the contingency contemplated, Her Majesty's Government shall take the Company's property at a value now to be fixed, together with all its liabilities. It is necessary to make such a provision with respect to the liabilities of the Company in the event of its ceasing to exist; but it is hardly possible that at that time there could be any onerous liabilities. The present liabilities of the Company will then be entirely discharged, with the exception of a very small balance which may, on a settlement of some disputed accounts, be found due to the Nelson Settlers, over and above the 25,000*l.* hereby proposed to be provided for that purpose. The only other liabilities to which the Company can then be subject, will be such as may be contracted

during the next three years with the assent of the Government itself, through its Commissioner; and it is hardly conceivable, according to the Company's scheme of colonisation, that such liabilities should be incurred without a fund sufficient to meet them being in the hands of the Company. The assets of the Company, besides its land, will consist of such dead stock as it may then possess in the Colony; and though the amount of such stock will be inconsiderable, it will be a sufficient set-off against the still more inconsiderable amount of its liabilities.

The land to which the Company is now entitled in New Zealand, consists of 1,073,583 acres; and as, during the next three years it is to have the disposal of the whole of the Crown Lands of the Southern Government, it is clear that it could and would carry on its operations during that period without materially diminishing the amount of what may be regarded its Private Property. The land therefore must be taken at its present amount: the Government could not offer less for it than the price at which it originally sold the same land to the Company, namely, 5s. an acre; and this is nearly half the net price which it now demands for its own lands. Lord Grey proposes, therefore, that the Company's whole present property should, in the event contemplated, be taken by Her Majesty's Government at the rate of 5s. an acre. This would comprise more than 24,000 acres, held by the Company in its Settlements, having been actually purchased by it at from 20s. to 30s. an acre, and likely at once to realise an equal price. The advantage thus secured to the Government would fully compensate it for any possible surplus of such liabilities as are mentioned above.

The debt of 268,000*l.* thus due to the Company would not, however, be a charge upon the Imperial Treasury. As the value of the Company's land must always have been contingent on the general success of the colonisation of New Zealand, the Company cannot reasonably expect that the price should be charged on other than the Crown Lands in New Zealand. On the other hand, the price thus due for the lands acquired from the Company by the Crown must be a charge on the whole of the Crown Lands of New Zealand. The purchase of the Company's lands is, for the reasons stated above, essential for securing a proper value to the whole of the Crown Lands throughout the entire extent of New Zealand. The cost of a purchase beneficial to the whole estate, must in justice be charged on the whole estate, and if the Crown Lands of New Zealand are worth 5s. an acre, the Crown, as Trustee for the Colonists, will get the full value for its money in the lands to be taken from the Company. It is on these grounds that it is provided in the proposed Arrangement that the principal and interest of the price thus agreed to be paid for the Company's land shall be charged on the whole of the proceeds of the sale of the Crown Lands in New Zealand. It is a necessary part of the present Arrangement that the Crown should remit all claim to interest for the advances made under the Act of last Session. The principle of the present Arrangement being that these advances should be regarded as a set-off against the claim urged by the Company, the interest which would be due on those advances is set off by the counter-claim to interest which the Company would advance in respect of the postponement of its claims.

I have, &c.

J. STEPHEN.

C. E. Trevelyan. Esq. &c. &c.

London: Printed by STEWART and MURRAY, Old Bailey.

Front Cover

The Twenty-Fourth Report of the Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company

Presented to the Annual General Court of Proprietors

Held on the 31ST OF MAY 1848.

New Zealand Company coat of arms London: Printed by Stewart and Murray, Old Bailey 1848.

New Zealand Company.

Incorporated by Royal Charter, A.D. 1841.

Court of Directors.

Governor.

Deputy-Governor.

- The Hon. Francis Baring, M.P.

Directors.

- Henry Aglionby Aglionby, Esq., M.P.
- John Ellerker Boulcott, Esq.
- The Lord Courtenay, M.P.
- Alexander Currie, Esq.
- John Robert Godley, Esq.
- The Baron de Goldsmid and da Palmeira.
- James Robert Gowen, Esq.
- Archibald Hastie, Esq., M.P.
- Sir Ralph Howard, Bart., M.P.
- William Hutt, Esq., M.P.
- The Viscount Ingestre, M.P.
- George Lyall, Junior, Esq.
- Ross Donnelly Mangles, Esq., M.P.
- Alexander Nairne, Esq.
- The Right Hon. the Lord Petre.
- Jeremiah Pilcher, Esq.
- Alderman Sir John Pirie, Bart.
- John Abel Smith, Esq., M.P.
- Alderman William Thompson, Esq., M.P.
- Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Esq.
- George Frederick Young, Esq.

Her Majesty's Commissioner.

- John Welsford Cowell, Esq.

Committee of Management.

Chairman.

- Henry Aglionby Aglionby, Esq., M.P.

Members.

- Alexander Currie, Esq.
- John Robert Godley, Esq.
- James Robert Gowen, Esq.
- George Lyall, Junior, Esq.
- Alexander Nairne, Esq.
- Jeremiah Pilcher, Esq.
- Alderman Sir John Pirie, Bart.
- George Frederick Young, Esq.

Bankers.

- Messrs. Smith Payne and Smiths.

Secretary.

- Thomas Cudbert Harington, Esq.

Agents for the Settlements.

- Principal Agent at Wellington—colonel William Wakefield.
- Resident Agent at Nelson—francis Dillon Bell, Esq.
- Resident Agent at New Plymouth—
- Resident Agent at Otago—captain William Cargill.

Clerk of the Colonists' Room—Mr. William Bowler.

Office—New Zealand House, 9, Broad-Street Buildings, London.

AT AN ANNUAL GENERAL COURT OF THE PROPRIETORS OF THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY, HELD AT THE COMPANY'S HOUSE IN BROAD-STREET BUILDINGS, LONDON, ON WEDNESDAY THE 31ST DAY OF MAY, 1848.

HENRY AGLIONBY AGLIONBY, ESQ., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Read,—The Notice convening this Court, dated 12th May 1848.

Read and Confirmed,—The Proceedings of the last Court and Special Court.

Read,—The Twenty-Fourth Report of the Court of Directors dated this day, and the Annual Accounts thereto annexed.

Resolved:—

1st,—That the Report now read be adopted.

2nd,—That THE HONORABLE FRANCIS BARING be re-elected a Director of the Company.

3rd,—That JAMES ROBERT GOWEN, Esq., be re-elected a Director of the Company.

4th,—That THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD PETRE be reelected a Director of the Company.

5th,—That JEREMIAH PILCHER, Esq., be re-elected a Director of the Company.

6th,—That THE LORD COURTENAY be re-elected a Director of the Company.

7th,—That THE BARON DE GOLDSMID AND DA PALMEIRA be re-elected a Director of the Company.

8th,—That the thanks of the Company be presented to the Auditors,

- RICHARD EDWARD ARDEN, Esq.,
- RUSSELL ELLICE, Esq., and
- JOSEPH DOWSON, Esq.,

for their attention to the interests of the Shareholders in the Examination and Audit of the Accounts; and that the Audit for the ensuing year be entrusted to Her Majesty's Commissioner.

9th,—That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to HENRY AGLIONBY AGLIONBY, Esq., M.P., for his conduct in the Chair; and to the DEPUTY-GOVERNOR and COURT OF DIRECTORS for their constant attention to the affairs of the Company.

Notice.

New Zealand Company.

NOTICE is hereby given, that the ANNUAL GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS of the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY will be holden at this House, on Wednesday the 31st day of May instant, at One o'Clock precisely, for the election of Directors and other Officers of the said Company, and for the transaction of other business.

At the said Meeting the following Directors will go out of Office, namely:—

- The Honorable Francis Baring;
- James Robert Gowen, Esq.;
- The Right Honorable the Lord Petre;

- Jeremiah Pilcher, Esq.
- The Viscount Courtenay, M.P.; and
- The Baron de Goldsmid and da Palmeira.

But being eligible for re-election, they hereby offer themselves to be re-elected accordingly.

By order of the Court of Directors,
THOMAS CUDBERT HARINGTON, *Secretary*.

*New Zealand House, 9, Broad-Street Buildings,
London,*

12th May 1848.

Contents.

Twenty-Fourth Report of the Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company.

DURING the interval which has elapsed since the Agreement was entered into with Her Majesty's Government, which received your assent on the 14th of May and your ratification on the 15th of October in the past year, questions have been frequently asked, to the effect of "What is the New Zealand Company now doing? What fruit is about to be reaped from the assistance and co-operation imparted to it by a friendly Government? How is it that the quietness of its proceedings under such circumstances affords a contrast so marked, to the activity which characterised its first unaided and independent efforts?"

In these questions and this contrast your Directors have found the truest and most sure eulogium of the measures which they formerly undertook on your behalf, and the best refutation of that condemnation which those measures have on various occasions, and in various quarters, from time to time called forth. But we have not found in them any sufficient grounds for continuing a course which, however necessary at the time, is no longer applicable to the altered circumstances in which the Company is now placed. When risk was to be encountered, and the acquisition of New Zealand was the stake, we braved the risk and won the prize. Now that the Colony is secured to the Crown, and that the Company, as the Agent of the Crown, is entrusted with the promotion of the welfare of the Southern Portion, a quieter and less prominent mode of procedure is at once both befitting and incumbent. As we then became the instruments of saving the Country from the grasp of a rival Foreign Power, so now it is our task to become the instruments of developing its resources, and laying it open to the tranquil operations of unassuming industry. In the one case energy was all-important; in the other, certainty.

It is with a view to such development that the powers have been conferred and the assistance imparted, that are comprised in the Agreement to which allusion has been already made. That Agreement may be described briefly as consisting of two parts, viz. 1st—An investiture of the rights of the Crown over all lands that are or may become Crown Property and available for Colonisation, in the Southern Province; and 2nd—An advance of a certain Loan, to be applied to Colonising purposes, till such time as sufficient funds shall be duly realised from the proceeds of those lands. In order to such realisation, it is evident that the extent and position of the available lands must be first ascertained. Upon the subject of this ascertainment we are at present in correspondence with the Noble Lord at the head of the Colonial Department; and when the correspondence is brought to a conclusion, its result will either be immediately made public, or if necessary we shall invite you to meet us again in this place for the purpose of taking such steps as may be then deemed expedient. Until such conclusion, it does not seem advisable, either to allude more directly to its tenor, or, notwithstanding your natural impatience at what must doubtless appear to be our comparative inactivity, to commit you to the adoption of specific measures. In the course of a very short time, however, we hope to be able to announce that defined tracts of country to a large extent have been positively placed at our disposal, and that the Sale of Land in the older Settlements of the Company has been actually recommenced.

In the meanwhile, without waiting for such recommencement, we have had the satisfaction of opening a way for the adjustment of those complicated and perplexing questions, which have so long tried the fortitude

and retarded the efforts of the Colonists, more especially in the Settlement of NELSON. Although conscious that these trials are not justly ascribable to the acts of this Company, or to causes over which it was possible that the Company should exercise control, we have not hesitated, with the view of remedying the lamentable results of those causes, substantially to adopt the measures proposed for that end by the Colonists themselves; to select as sole Arbitrator, in such cases as may yet require arbitration, the individual whose position and character give the surest pledge of impartiality and justice, His Excellency GOVERNOR GREY; and to place at his disposal the Company's entire landed property, out of which the necessary equitable adjustment may be made. In so doing, we have felt assured that we are only acting in a manner not more consonant with sound policy than it is coincident with your wishes. In the same spirit, we are now engaged in a re-examination of the Accounts of the Nelson Trust-Funds, to which, as you are aware, our attention has been called by the Settlers, and we doubt not, that, in this case as in the former, the same process of fairness and reason will produce the same satisfactory results; that that confidence and harmony will be perfectly restored, which the disastrous events before alluded to have, for a while, appeared to interrupt; and that henceforward the Settlement will advance in a course of uninterrupted prosperity and vigor.

In WELLINGTON and NEW PLYMOUTH, the application of this remedial process has not happily been rendered necessary to so great an extent as at Nelson. Wherever required, however, the same principles will be exerted, in the same manner. For Wellington we have at length a hope of receiving the long-expected Deed of Grant by an early opportunity. On the 6th of December last, it was reported by Colonel Wakefield to be then in course of preparation.

The Founders of the Settlement of OTAGO, connected more immediately with the Presbyterian Church, (and announced, as you doubtless remember, in the Report presented to you on the 21st of August 1843) sailed for their future home in the month of November last; one band under the guidance of CAPTAIN CARGILL, the original promoter and, under all discouragements, the unyielding upholder of the plan; the other, in the fulfilment of the characteristic feature of that plan, under care of the Reverend THOMAS BURNS; from both of whom letters have been received, stating the health and contentment of those on board, after having accomplished a considerable portion of the voyage. On receipt of accounts of their arrival in safety, and actual location in the Country of their choice, we doubt not that their example will be quickly followed by a large and continually increasing number.

Another extensive and important undertaking, which deserves as it has received our fullest support, has been set on foot in connection with the Church of England. We allude to the intended Settlement of CANTERBURY, which is brought forward by the Association instituted for that purpose, under the auspices of some of the highest and most venerable Names that England can boast. Its site will be fixed in the Territory confided to your Administration; its strength be sustained by aid of your funds, till such time as the lands (purchased from you) shall be laid out and resales effected to some considerable extent; and while, in all probability, it will obtain, by means of a Royal moral atmosphere. Believing that the most important and beneficial of all the institutions of this country is the Established Church, they intend to require from every purchaser of land in their Settlement a contribution to ecclesiastical purposes, and (as the only effectual mode of securing the blessings of religious and educational unity) they have determined that no person shall emigrate under their auspices who shall not be a *bonâ fide* member of the English Church. Believing, further, that education is imperfect, if not valueless, when disconnected from religion, they require a further contribution from land-purchasers for the purposes of a religious education. In order to secure a constant supply of efficient laborers for their Settlement, a further contribution will be required from land-purchasers for promoting immigration. Lastly, a contribution will be required for repaying the sums which must be expended in surveys, roads and bridges, temporary buildings, and other preparatory arrangements which the experience of former Colonies has shown to be indispensable to the welfare of the First Settlers. But among these are included Churches sufficient in number for the reception of the first bodies of Emigrants; a provision of which the necessity cannot similarly be said to be deduced from former Colonial experience, as it has been too generally neglected, but which is clearly essential, according to the principles which have been laid down. The Churches may be at first of an imperfect and temporary description; but so will be the other buildings which will have to be provided against the arrival of the First Settlers. The important point is this, that the spiritual provision will proceed concurrently and analogously with the temporal establishments. Something also will be needed for defraying the small but necessary expenses of the Association in England.

"These various contributions will render the price of the land nominally high; but, as they will be applied with careful economy to the purposes above mentioned, it is manifest that they will only constitute an investment, which even in a pecuniary point of view will be profitable because it will serve to increase indefinitely the attractiveness of the Settlement, and which will ensure, besides, the enjoyment of moral and social advantages which are in fact beyond price. Without the appliances and means of civilisation, land is valueless to the civilised man; without a certain provision for religion and education, the Gentry of England,

who are religious and educated men, cannot be expected to colonise; without due preparation being made in the new country before the First Colonists arrive, they find themselves to be only a forlorn hope, upon whose wasted capital and blasted hopes the foundation of future prosperity for others may perhaps be laid; but who themselves will only buy experience at the expense of ruin.

"Such are the evils which the Association has had in view in forming its plan of Colonisation, and they confidently hope that by a careful application of the means now devised, even if nothing further were done, those evils may be in a very great measure avoided.

"It is, indeed, probable that, in the opinions of many persons of reflection and sound judgment, much more than this is requisite for a real reform of our Colonial System; much relating to the organic structure of Colonial Society, and still more with reference to the frame and the course of Colonial Government. But it will not be denied that such points as these are beyond the scope of the operations of such an Association as the present. The Association, as it is now formed, has no power to do more than to plant a particular Settlement within the limits and subject to the constitution of an existing Dependency; and this condition determines the extent of the peculiar advantages which can therein be attained. Without, therefore, entering upon, still less questioning, the alleged imperfections of our general Colonial System, and the remedies for them which are at the command of an authority superior to their own, and not venturing at present to consider whether the promoters of this design may at any future time hope to be armed with more adequate powers for the complete realisation of their object than they now possess,—the Association still are confident that a great and permanent good may be accomplished by the scheme of which the outline has been presented. Men of all ranks will, they doubt not, be found to take a part in the work of Colonisation; the most valuable and influential of our institutions will be transferred and perpetuated; and those careful arrangements will be made in the Colony for the reception and distribution of the Emigrants, from the want of which so many of our later Colonies have so lamentably suffered.

"As the Site of their projected Settlement, the Association have fixed upon New Zealand, as possessing the best soil and climate, combined with the greatest amount of available and unoccupied land of all the British Colonies. Having obtained the sanction and co-operation of Her Majesty's Government, and of the New Zealand Company, who have been made Trustees for the disposal of Crown Lands in that country, it is about to despatch, in a few weeks, an Agent who will be empowered to select and purchase a District suited to the purposes of the Settlement, and immediately to commence the necessary preparations for receiving the Colonists. As the due performance of this operation will necessarily require a considerable period of time, the First Body of Settlers will not leave this country until next year, after intelligence shall have been received that the Agent has obtained possession of the land from the Representative of Government, and has actually commenced his work of preparation.

"In the meantime, the business of the Association will be to diffuse information on the subject, to invite public support, and to collect a Body of intending Colonists, who may be ready to sail when the necessary communications from the Agent in the Colony shall have been received. The names of the Gentlemen composing the Association are subjoined:—

"The Archbishop of Canterbury, President.

- "THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
- THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH.
- THE MARQUIS OF CHOLMONDELEY.
- THE EARL OF ELLESMERE.
- THE EARL OF HAREWOOD.
- THE EARL OF LINCOLN, M.P.
- VISCOUNT MANDEVILLE, M.P.
- THE BISHOP OF LONDON.
- THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
- THE BISHOP OF EXETER.
- THE BISHOP OF RIPON.
- THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.
- "Committee of Management."
- THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.
- BISHOP COLERIDGE.
- LORD ASHBURTON.
- LORD LYTTTELTON.

- LORD ASHLEY, M.P.
- LORD COURTENAY, M.P.
- LORD A. HERVEY, M.P.
- LORD J. MANNERS.
- SIR WALTER FARQUHAR, BART.
- SIR W. HEATHCOTE, BART. M.P.
- SIR W. JAMES, BART.
- SIR WILLOUGHBY JONES, BART.
- RIGHT HON. H. GOULBURN, M.P.
- RIGHT HON. SIDNEY HERBERT, M.P.
- HON. SIR EDWARD CUST, K. C. H.
- THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY.
- C. B. ADDERLEY, ESQ. M.P.
- W. POLE CAREW, ESQ. M.P.
- HON. R. CAVENDISH.
- HON. F. CHARTERIS, M.P.
- T. SOMERS COCKS, ESQ. M.P.
- REV. E. COLERIDGE.
- W. FORSYTH, ESQ.
- REV. G. R. GLEIG.
- J. R. GODLEY, ESQ.
- E. S. HALSWELL, ESQ.
- VEN. ARCHDEACON HARE.
- REV. E. HAWKINS.
- REV. DR. HINDS.
- REV. DR. HOOK.
- JOHN HUTT, ESQ.
- G. K. RICKARDS, ESQ.
- J. SIMEON, ESQ. M.P.
- A. STAFFORD, ESQ. M.P.
- HON. J. TALBOT.
- REV. C. M. TORLESSE.
- REV. R. C. TRENCH.
- E. JERNINGHAM WAKEFIELD, ESQ.
- VEN. ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE.

Subordinate to the foundation and maintenance of such Settlements, but auxiliary thereto, we have taken steps for despatching a regular succession of *Passenger-Ships*, upon a system which, while it combines economy with efficiency, makes provision also for an attention to the habits of domestic privacy and feelings of personal self-respect, as well as to the health and ordinary comfort, of the several classes of Passengers. With no one circumstance, we believe, is the moral tone of the Colonial Communities more intimately connected than with the observance or neglect of due arrangements for this purpose; and we have been gratified to find that, in the discussions on this subject which have recently occupied the attention of Parliament and of the Public, and even in the arrangements adopted by Her Majesty's Government, nothing has been suggested of any practical value that has not long ago been put in force by your able and indefatigable Inspector of Shipping, CAPTAIN REEVES.

It will, no doubt, have occurred to you that, in the foregoing statements, two subjects of great importance have been omitted; namely, the inducements to Colonisation which are supplied by the present position of Public Affairs; and the changes which have been made recently in the Constitution of the Colony. We have purposely abstained from both. When we are enabled to enter actively upon our real Colonising work will be the fitting time, we conceive, for laying open the advantages which that work offers to others. When it has been proceeded in for a sufficient period, the class of Colonists which it will be the means of introducing, will show themselves qualified to administer, and will therefore secure, we feel confident, a Constitution far in advance of any that have yet been proposed.

In fulfilment of the purpose for which this Meeting is assembled, the Annual Accounts will now be laid before you.

It is our duty to announce, which we do with a regret in which we are sure that every Shareholder in the Company will participate, that STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq. has retired from the Direction.

We have much pleasure in stating that JOHN ROBERT GODLEY, Esq. has taken his seat as a Member of our

Board, elected in room of CHARLES BULLER, Esq.

The Directors who, this year, go out of office by rotation, and whom we recommend for reelection, are—

- THE HONORABLE FRANCIS BARING,
- JAMES ROBERT GOWEN, ESQ.,
- THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD PETRE,
- JEREMIAH PILCHER, ESQ.,
- THE VISCOUNT COURTENAY, M. P., and
- THE BARON DE GOLDSMID AND DA PALMEIRA.

The duty of auditing the Accounts of your Expenditure being laid, by the Act 10 and 11 Victoria, Chapter 112, upon Her Majesty's Commissioner, it has been suggested that the appointment of other Auditors, heretofore made annually, has been thereby rendered unnecessary. Instead, therefore, of the usual proposal for re-election, a Resolution has been prepared, tendering the thanks of the Company to the Gentlemen who have hitherto discharged this unattractive duty, namely,

- RICHARD EDWARD ARDEN, ESQ.,
- RUSSELL ELLICE, ESQ., and
- JOSEPH DOWSON, ESQ.

But if you are of opinion that, notwithstanding the appointment of the Commissioner, it will be either advantageous or satisfactory to the Shareholders at large, that any or all of these Gentlemen shall be reinstated in their office, you will, perhaps, originate a proposal to that effect; and we need scarcely add that in such case it will receive our unanimous and cordial concurrence.

*New Zealand House, 9, Broad-Street Buildings,
London,*

31st May 1848.

Appendix.

Accounts, 5TH APRIL 1848.

—No. 1.—

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE of the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY, from the 6th of April 1847 to the 5th of April 1848.

Receipts.

Expenditure.

GEORGE POCOCK IRVING, *Accountant.*

We hereby certify that we have carefully examined the foregoing Accounts, and we do declare the same to be correct.

RICHARD EDWARD ARDEN,
JOSEPH DOWSON,
RUSSELL ELLICE, *Auditors.*

New Zealand House,

25th May 1848.

—No. 2.—

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES of the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY on the 5th of April 1848.

Assets.

Liabilities.

N. B.—The Balance of Bills to be drawn by the Principal Agent (if necessary) under the Guarantee of £20,000 given by the Company's Bankers, is £1,550 9s. 11d.

GEORGE POCOCK IRVING, *Accountant*.

We hereby certify that we have carefully examined the foregoing Accounts, and we do declare the same to be correct.

RICHARD EDWARD ARDEN
JOSEPH DOWSON,
RUSSELL ELLICE, *Auditors*.

New Zealand House,

25th May 1848.

—No. 3.—

LAND ACCOUNT of the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY on the 5th of April 1848.

George Pocock Irving, *Accountant*.

New Zealand House,

25th May 1848.

Documents and Correspondence.

—No. 4.—

PORIRUA PURCHASE.

Translation by Lieutenant Servantes, 6th Foot.

Porirua,

April 1, 1847.

THESE are the lands that are given up by us to the Governor, beginning at the boundary formerly laid down to us by Mr. Spain at the Kinapuru, running to the Porirua, Pauhatahanui, Horokiwi, extending as far as Wainui, then the boundary takes a straight course inland to Pouawa, running quite as far as Pawakataka.

There are three places kept in reserve for us, of the land that is given up by us to the Governor; one of them beginning at Araitawa, running in a straight line inland, then it crosses and comes out at the house belonging to Mr. Jackson, running along the water edge; the other boundary comes as far as Waitawa, and runs straight along the water side, until it reaches Te Araitawa.

We have likewise this again in reserve, the boundary of which runs from Jackson's House until it reaches the creek on the side of the cultivated garden of Te Heko, then it runs straight along that river, running straight along at the back of the ridge, then breaking out again to the water side at Papatohi, a little outside the Settlement at Oahu.

We have this again in reserve, the boundary of which begins at Tawitikuri, running along the ridge until it reaches the mountains above the Paripari, then it runs along the ridge to Wainui, and it there descends into Wainui river; it then runs straight along that river to Pouawa, running to Pawakataka; the part outside of this boundary we still retain as ours.

If any of our cultivations that are above Taupo should fall within the boundary of the Governor's Land, they are to be returned to us. The payment for these Lands are these,—2,000*l.* in money; 1,000*l.* to be given us on the first day of April, 1847; 500*l.* on the first-day of April, 1848; 500*l.* on the first day of April, 1849; which,

being added together, makes 2,000*l.* which concludes the arrangement.

Ten Chiefs signed to this.

Witnesses to Signatures:—

W. A. M'CLEVERTY, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*

J. ARMSTRONG, *Captain 99th Regiment.*

L. R. ELLIOTT, *Lieutenant 99th Regiment.*

W. F. G. SERVANTES, *Lieutenant 6th Regt. Interpreter to the Forces.*

A true Copy.

W. A. M'CLEVERTY, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Pawakataka is on the Upper Hutt, above the Mungarooa.—Sect. No. 3, Company's 14th Report, page 60, for its site.

W. A. M'CLEVERTY, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*

—No. 5.—

PORT NICHOLSON DEED OF GRANT.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas, it hath been made to appear to Us, that the New Zealand Company hath acquired from certain Aboriginal Natives, in the Province of New Munster, in the Colony of New Zealand, entitled in that behalf, a full and valid cession of all the rights of such Aboriginal Natives to the lands hereinafter particularly described (subject to the reservations hereinafter made):

Now know ye, that We of Our certain knowledge and special grace, for Us Our Heirs and Successors, do hereby grant unto the said New Zealand Company their Successors and Assigns, all that piece or parcel of land situate in the District of Port Nicholson or Wanganui Atera, in the Province of New Munster, in the Colony of New Zealand, and extending along the sea-coast from Cape Turakirai to a point about a mile North of the Kia Kia, thence along a dotted line running irregularly to and along the River Hutt, thence to the Turakirai Range, and along the crest of that Range to Cape Turakirai; and which piece or parcel of land is estimated to contain Two Hundred and Nine Thousand Two Hundred and Forty-Seven Acres or thereabouts, and is with the boundaries thereof more particularly delineated in the plan thereof attached to these presents; Together with all minerals and forests thereupon being; And together with all appurtenances to the said piece of land or any part thereof belonging or in anywise appertaining: Excepting, and always reserved out of this present Grant, the Reserves and Exceptions, all of which Reserves and Exceptions with their boundaries and abuttals are particularly delineated and described in the said plan, and in the plan of the Town of Wellington, and in the schedules of the said plans attached hereto: To hold the said piece or parcel of ground and premises with their and every of their appurtenances, except as aforesaid, unto the said New Zealand Company their Successors and Assigns for ever.

In testimony whereof, We have caused this Our Grant to be sealed with the Seal of Our said Territory.

Witness Our trusty and well-beloved George Grey, Esquire, Governor-in-Chief of Our said Territory and its Dependencies, at Wellington in New Zealand aforesaid, this Twenty- Seventh day of January, in the Eleventh year of Our reign, and in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-Eight.

Seal of the Territory

G. GREY, *Governor-in-Chief.*

—No. 6.—

Porirua Deed of Grant.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas, it hath been made to appear to Us, that the New Zealand Company hath acquired from certain Aboriginal Natives, in the Province of New Munster, in the Colony of New Zealand, entitled in that behalf, a full and valid cession of all the rights of such Aboriginal Natives to the lands hereinafter particularly described (subject to the reservations hereinafter made):

Now know ye, that We of Our certain knowledge and special grace, for Us Our Heirs and Successors, do hereby grant unto the said New Zealand Company, their Successors and Assigns, all that piece or parcel of land situate in the District of Porirua, and which is bounded on the West by the sea; on the South and East by the Port Nicholson District denoted by a red dotted line; on the North by a green dotted line, running over Pawaha mountain to Pawakataka, and which piece or parcel of land is estimated to contain Sixty-Eight Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-Six Acres, or thereabouts, and is with the boundaries thereof more particularly delineated in the plan thereof attached to these presents: Together with all minerals and forests thereupon being; And together with all appurtenances to the said piece of land or any part thereof belonging or in any wise appertaining; Always excepting out of this present Grant the Portions or Allotments, which with their boundaries and abuttals are particularly delineated and coloured green and red on the said plan, and described in the schedule thereof: To hold the said piece or parcel of ground and premises, with their and every of their appurtenances, except as aforesaid, unto the said New Zealand Company their Successors and Assigns for ever.

In testimony whereof, We have caused this Our grant to be sealed with the Seal of Our said territory.

Witness Our trusty and well-beloved George Grey, Esquire, Governor-in-Chief of Our said territory and its Dependencies, at Wellington in New Zealand aforesaid, this Twenty-Seventh day of January, in the Eleventh year of Our reign, and in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-Eight.

Seal of the Territory

G. GREY, *Governor-in-Chief.*

—No. 7.—

COLONEL WAKEFIELD TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPANY.

Wellington. No. 12/48. Wellington, New Zealand,

29th February 1848.

Sir,

IN reference to the subject of the Paragraph in your Despatch marked Wellington, No. 35/47, in which you express the wish of the Directors to receive from me "such particulars as are in my possession, as to the several localities in which Colonisation may be in my opinion extended with the greatest advantage," in the Southern Province of this Colony, I beg to report to you for their information, some particulars of a voyage lately made by me in H. M. Steamer *Inflexible*, upon the invitation of her Commander Captain Hoseason and His Excellency Governor Grey, whom it was conveying on a tour of inspection of the Southern Island.

Before doing so, I would remark, that the observations contained in my Journal on board the *Tory* during its stay in Cook's Strait in 1839, Captain Daniell's and Mr. George Duppa's record of their visit to Port Cooper and its adjoining Plains in 1840, Mr. Tuckett's and Dr. Monro's descriptions of the Districts seen by them in Foveaux's Straits before deciding on Otakou as the Site of the Scotch Settlement now in progress of formation, and my lengthy Report on the latter place and Akaroa in 1846, together with sundry descriptions of portions of the West Coast of the Southern Island, by Mr. Fox and other Nelson Tourists, leave me but little to add on the subject.

The Steamer took her departure from this Port on the evening of the 28th ultimo. The next morning we were off Nelson, and such was the placidity of Cook's Strait, that those on board scarcely perceived that they had traversed it. During a stay of a week at Nelson, His Excellency appointed Mr. Dillon Extra Colonial Secretary at Auckland; Mr. Domett Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Fox Attorney-General of the Southern Division—both to be resident at Wellington.

Two days' voyage took us to Banks' Peninsula, where we anchored in Pigeon Bay for the night, and the next afternoon reached Akaroa. During our stay, we visited some of the French and German families settled there, but found the residence of the French Agent, M. de Belligny, who has returned home, unoccupied and almost in ruins. Governor Grey received all the Native Men of Ports Cooper and Levi and the neighbouring Plains, and they all proposed to sell the Block of Land between that lately purchased by the Government from Puaha and the other Kafia Chiefs, and Otakou, including the portion of the Akaroa Peninsula not sold to the French, and the country as far South as Otakou, embracing the ninety-miles' beach and the level country back to the central range of mountains. The interview concluded by His Excellency informing the Meeting that he would on his return to Wellington send some one to treat with them for the purchase of the Block of Land in question.

Soon after, we again proceeded to sea and reached Otakou in twenty-four hours. A pilot, whom we received on board outside the heads of the Harbour, conducted the ship to a safe anchorage inside the bar, on which there were nearly three fathoms of water when we crossed it at dead low water. The Steamer was anchored opposite the Native Settlement, owing to an useless precaution taken by the inexperienced pilot; but it was ascertained afterwards by Captain Hoseason himself, that it might have been safely taken six miles higher up the Harbour to the Site formerly determined on by the Company's Surveyors, and now entirely approved of by Governor Grey, as the Port Town and scat of the Custom House.

The day after our arrival, the Governor and Mrs. Grey, and Mr. Rough the Auckland Harbour-Master, accompanied by Mr. Kettle and myself, proceeded in one of the Steamer's boats to the head of the Upper Harbour, where accommodation had been provided for the party. During a stay of two days at this spot, we visited the surrounding country as far as the Taieri Plain; and Governor Grey expressed himself in the highest terms of praise of the Harbour and District. In a sub-sequent conversation, His Excellency was pleased to express to me his willingness to support a recommendation of the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor at Otakou, and to dwell on the advantage to be derived by the future Colonists from an expenditure by the Government on roads and education in the Settlement.

On returning to the *Inflexible*, the Governor attended a Meeting of the few Natives who live near the Anchorage, on the subject of purchasing their Claims to the before-mentioned Block of Land, and gave them the same assurances that he had given at Akaroa. For the extensive District in question, His Excellency gave it as his opinion that 2,000*l.* would be an ample payment, and recommended its division into four yearly payments of 500*l.* each. He has since directed Lieutenant-Governor Eyre to take steps, without delay, for treating with the Claimants of the above-named extensive District upon those terms.

Upon leaving Otakou we visited Waikowaiti, near where Mr.——has a farm, on which have been built an excellent residence and farm buildings of the best description. The owner is entitled to a Crown Grant of 2,500 Acres of Land, divided into four blocks or thereabouts, which he does not consider equivalent to the very large expenditure made by him. His live-stock consists of 3,000 sheep, 100 head of cattle, and a numerous stud of horses. The owner is now resident here, but intends to return to reside in the South, upon the arrival of the Settlers who are now on their passage thither. The country about Waikowaiti is undulating, abounding in good forage, and unencumbered by forests. Some sheep we had on board from the District weighed 80 lbs. each.

The time allowed to the Steamer before proceeding to Bombay for repairs, having nearly expired, it was found necessary to return to the North without visiting Foveaux's Straits or the Auckland Islands, as had been intended. An attempt was made to reach Molyneux, with a view of inspecting its valuable Plains and abundant veins of Coal; but a strong South-Easterly wind springing up, it was decided to return hither, which we did on the 21st instant.

During the trip, the party on board were highly indebted to Captain Hoseason for his great attention to their comforts; and struck, as I have frequently had the good fortune to be, with the maintenance of discipline by him and his Officers under the difficulties of an almost unknown navigation.

The Governor has expressed his determination of revisiting the South when the Settlers have been located there, and of pursuing his examination of the country South of the Otakou Block: in which expedition I hope to be allowed to join him.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
W. WAKEFIELD, *Principal Agent*.

The Secretary of the New Zealand Company.

—No. 8.—

MR. FOX TO COLONEL WAKEFIELD.

Nelson.

No. 6,48. Nelson,

SIR,

19th January 1848.

I BEG to refer you to that portion of the Proposal of the Landowners of this Settlement for its remodification adopted by you in September last, which relates to the creation of a Town in connection with the Wairau.

It has long been ascertained that the mouth of the Wairau River is altogether unsuitable for that purpose; for though there is sufficient water inside for vessels of considerable tonnage, it is crossed exactly at its junction with the sea by a bar which can only be passed by whale-boats or very small vessels, and that when the wind happens to blow off the land, which is not its most usual direction. Nor, if the entrance of the river were at any time available for vessels of considerable size, could they lie off it in safety at such times as it is not available. It is, in fact, altogether unfitted for a Port.

Two other Harbours in the neighbourhood of the District are known to possess greater advantages; Port Underwood, long frequented by whaling vessels as a harbour of refuge or refreshment; and the Waitoi at the Western entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound, which was explored by some Settlers and myself in 1844, and found to have a short and easy connection with the Wairau.

Very little being known by the Settlers here of either locality, the Landowners determined to send a Deputation to examine both; which consisted of Messrs. Domett, Stafford, Greenwood, Cautley and Fell (the two last representing a large proportion of the Absentees), and was accompanied by the Honorable Mr. Dillon and Mr. F. Moore, Mr. Budge who is executing the surveys of the Wairau, and myself as Agent of the New Zealand Company. A very careful examination of both Harbours and much communication with the European residents on points which we could not ascertain by observation, led the whole of the party to the conclusion that the Waitohi affords much greater advantages on the whole, as a Harbour and Site of a Town, than Port Underwood.

Port Underwood appears upon the map, and at first sight on the spot, to be the most obvious and natural harbour for the Wairau. Its entrance appears to be almost close to that district, free from all impediments, and with great depth of water. Inside, it presents an equally enticing appearance; extending inland six or seven miles by a width of about one, surrounded on three sides by lofty hills, the spurs of which, running down to the water's edge, form a succession of small coves having ample depth and excellent anchorage in every part. It also possesses the advantage of being well known to the nautical world, and has, at times, been as much resorted to by whaling vessels as any harbour in New Zealand, besides having long been the site of several of the most successful Shore Fisheries.

The disadvantages which appear to counterbalance these prominent advantages, and which are at first sight not so obvious, though in practice they would be found very serious, are these:—1st, The prevailing winds in Cook's Strait are well known to be North-West and South-East. The first of these blows directly out of Port Underwood, the other directly into it. In the first case, the testimony of all the residents assured us that if the wind is fresh, which it generally is during at least half the year, vessels would find great difficulty in entering the Harbour, and much danger of going ashore on the Wairau beach must exist in such case. If the wind is fresh the other way, they cannot get out. The South-East wind also blowing straight into the Harbour, creates a sufficient sea to prevent vessels from discharging, and there is not room for above one or two vessels of 500 tons to lie sheltered in the only Cove where it could be pretended to place a Town.—2nd. As to the Site of a Town, the greatest quantity of Land available for this purpose, in any of the Coves, does not exceed 150 Acres at the outside. This is in Ocean Bay. At the head of the Harbour there is a somewhat larger flat, but it is six or seven miles from the entrance; and in consequence of the numerous spurs between it and the Wairau, could only be connected with it at an enormous cost, and by a very bad road.—3rd. This objection applies also to Ocean Bay, which I have already observed is the only place in Port Underwood where it could be pretended to lay out a Town for the Wairau. For though the Harbour appears at first sight, and on the map, so nearly connected with the Wairau, there is in reality a distance of from four to five miles between its entrance and that District, and at least a mile more from Ocean Bay. This space is occupied by coves and spurs, the latter rocky and of great abruptness, rendering it impossible to connect the Wairau, except either by a series of terraces cut along the face of the hills and rocks, which would be an exceedingly expensive work; or by following the spurs up to the main ridge at a great elevation, forming a most circuitous and very bad road when effected. To connect even this part of Port Underwood with the Wairau would, I should say, cost very many times the amount requisite to connect the Waitohi; and the road when made would be an exceedingly narrow and bad one; while in the other case it would be as nearly level the whole way as possible, and of any width that might be chosen.

Now as regards the Waitohi, the only disadvantages which it seems to possess when compared with Port Underwood, are, 1st, that it is farther from the Wairau, being distant about 10 miles; 2nd, that it is farther from the open sea, being as much as 25 miles from the main entrance of the Sound.—1st, As regards its distance from the Wairau, I think that it is merely nominal, and that it ought rather to be considered as a part of the Wairau itself. The connection between the two consists of a Valley about 10 miles long, by an average, as far as

could be judged in a wooded District, of three quarters of a mile wide; perfectly level, with the exception of about half a mile, which merely presents slight undulations; the quality of the soil in most parts apparently very good, covered with first-rate timber, and which it is proposed to lay out as 50-Acre Suburban Sections, in conformity with the new scheme. I cannot myself consider, therefore, that the Waitohi is disconnected from the Wairau, but look upon it rather as a part of it. A road could, I believe, be made at a very slight cost; the Natives have already made one for about eight miles, along which, with the exception of about half a mile, a cart could now be easily driven. The remainder presents no difficulty of any consequence, and the Native Guide who accompanied us told us that even such difficulties as there are may be obviated by a digression from the present line.—2nd, The distance from the entrance of the Sound. This, in my opinion, is the only objection to the Waitohi, and I think that it is less than it seems. We do not look to the making of a Town by the accidental dropping in of vessels running through the Straits, nor by their resort to it as a Harbour of Refuge. If we have produce grown in the Wairau to exchange for what they import, I see nothing in the distance from the Straits to prevent their coming up. The principal entrance to the Sound, according to Cook, is nine miles wide. It gradually narrows as it approaches Waitohi, but is nowhere less, I believe, than one and a half to two miles wide. It is perfectly smooth water in all weathers; it has a strong tide to help vessels up and down; excellent anchorage within the heads of a hundred Bays and Coves, elsewhere the depth being twenty and thirty fathoms to within a cable's length of the shore. The Sound itself is one of the best harbours known, constantly used as one of refuge by ships in the Straits; and the Waitohi can always, I believe, be reached in less time, and with much less risk, than any other Port could from the Straits, at or about the entrance of the Sound. Nor do I imagine that there are any dangers which a vessel would encounter in making the Sound, which it would not encounter in making other harbours in the Straits; while that from some it would escape is evident from the fact, that the Sound is so much used for a place of refuge by vessels seeking those harbours, and caught in foul weather in the Straits.

As to the advantages of the Waitohi, they are very great. I have already described its easy connection with the Wairau. It offers a site for a Town of from 1,000 to 1,200 Acres of level land, though it is not proposed to lay out one of that extent at present. The Harbour, lying at right angles to the Sound, is about a mile deep by about half a mile to three quarters wide, presenting soundings which decrease most gradually and evenly from sixteen or seventeen fathoms, at a mile from the beach, to four and a half at less than 100 yards from it. An Englishman who has resided thirty years in New Zealand, and two years at Waitohi, assured us that in the worst weather a 500 ton ship could be held with a whale line; and from the land-locked nature of the harbour it cannot be otherwise. A second Harbour, Wai Kawa, almost as good, is connected with it by a level peninsula three miles long, both together affording almost too many facilities for town speculation, against which it will be necessary to take some precautions.

It is impossible not to foresee that at a future period a rival Town may spring up in Port Underwood; but the same objection would apply to the Waitohi, if the Town now contemplated were laid out at the former place. Either may rival the other; though, while the Company is possessed of both, it can of course prevent any rivalry springing up, by prohibiting the location of a Town in that which is now rejected.

The Waitohi is at present occupied by a considerable number of Natives of the Nga Tiawa Tribe. They have a pah situated in the best part of the water frontage, and about fifty to seventy Acres of land in cultivation. But they profess great anxiety to have the White Men residing there; and are, as far as I could gather from themselves, and from the European resident before-mentioned, quite willing to leave the place for some other part of the Sound. In fact, they are under the impression, as I was told, that it was included in the Government purchase of the Wairau, and all they expect is to be paid for their cultivations and good-will. There is no Chief of eminence residing there, but four or five, whose names I have, who may be considered the principal residents; but the Chief of the Tribe, William King, who I believe is at Waikanae, would have to be treated with. Having, while at the Wairau, seen a copy of Lord Grey's instructions to the Governor, directing him to retain in his own hands all negotiations for the purchase of Land from the Natives, I did not think it proper to enter into any treaty with them, or to do more than ascertain their views; indeed, from the absence of William King, nothing conclusive could have been effected. As His Excellency is expected in Nelson every day, I hope to be able to induce him to take immediate steps towards procuring the District for us; but if this should reach you before he leaves Wellington, and you should concur in my views on the subject, I trust you will anticipate me in so doing. If I can facilitate the matter by coming over to Wellington, or by meeting the Governor or yourself at the Sound or elsewhere, of course I am ready to start at a moment's notice, there being nothing at present to detain me in Nelson.

The Committee of Landowners have reported to that Body in favor of Waitohi, but they are desirous that it should not be publicly known that they have so decided, lest it should create any obstacle to the acquisition of the District. I believe it is no secret either here or at Wellington; but it is perhaps prudent to keep back their Report till the acquisition is made, and I am not therefore able to forward a copy of it. It is, however,

substantially to the same effect as I have written above.

I have the honor to be, &c.
WILLIAM FOX, *Resident Agent*.

Colonel William Wakefield,
Principal Agent of the New Zealand Company,
Wellington.

—No. 9.—

(From the "NELSON EXAMINER," of Saturday, February 12, 1848.)

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CHOOSE THE SITE OF A SHIPPING-TOWN FOR THE WAIRAU DISTRICT.

To the Resident Land-Purchasers of Nelson.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Committee appointed by you to proceed to the Wairau, with the view of enquiring into the means of carrying into effect the Seventh Clause of the Resolutions agreed upon by yourselves and the Agents of the New Zealand Company, in July last, may, in presenting their Report, congratulate you at the outset on the very satisfactory result of their enquiries, and of the facilities afforded by the character of the Districts they have been visiting, for the immediate realisation of the views of the Resident Purchasers, as expressed in the Clause of the Resolutions referred to.

The particular object of the mission was, by personal inspection and examination, to discover and decide upon the best Site for a Seaport Town in connection with the valuable Districts of the Wairau and the country immediately to the Southward.

There were two Harbours known to the Settlers—one tolerably well, the other very imperfectly—which were supposed to possess, in a greater or less degree, the requisites for the Site of a Shipping-Town for the Districts in question. The first of these was Port Underwood; the second a Harbour in Queen Charlotte's Sound, called, in common with the surrounding land and adjoining pass, by the native name of Waitohi. The attention of your Committee was accordingly directed to these two Harbours, and the task before them was to collate, compare, and report upon their respective advantages and disadvantages, with reference to the following particulars; namely, First, general position as regards the Ocean, New Zealand, and Foreign Countries; facilities of ingress and egress; shelter and accommodation for shipping; and convenience for putting on board and landing merchandise; all which may be comprised in the term "goodness of harbour;" Secondly, the means of communication between these Ports and the different parts of the Wairau District, and such other tracts of country for the produce of which one or other of them might be found to afford the natural outlet; and, lastly, the quantity of contiguous land, level or otherwise, fit for the location and laying out of a Town, and, if possible, a certain number of Suburban Sections.

With these objects before them, your Committee, in conjunction with the Company's Agent, proceeded to a Survey Station at the lower part of the Wairau Plain. There they divided into two parties, one of which crossed the bar at the mouth of the Wairau River, and sailed to Port Underwood along the coast and under the cliffs which separate it from the Plain, with the view of ascertaining the feasibility of a road along the sea coast; while the other party followed the beach of Cloudy Bay, and took the path over the dividing ranges just alluded to, so as to get an opportunity of deciding upon the practicability of an inland route between the Plain and the Harbour in question. Meeting in Port Underwood, they examined the nearest Coves on the Wairau side of the Harbour, and then, dividing again, part of them took the route by sea round into Tory Channel, and the rest sailed up the Eastern arm of Port Underwood, and gained the Channel by crossing the hills at its head. There reuniting, both parties sailed up Queen Charlotte's Sound to the Waitohi. After examining this and the adjoining Bay, and crossing from the head of the Sound overland to the Pelorus, they returned through the Tua Marina Pass into the Wairau Plain, so as to inspect the communication between the latter and the Waitohi, and finished their journey at the point whence they started. This route, it will be seen, embraced every locality which the purport of the mission rendered it necessary to examine.

To enable you to form an opinion upon the decision your Committee have come to upon the subject before them, and to put you in possession of the facts and considerations upon which that decision has been founded, the best way appears to be, to describe to you the two Harbours so often alluded to; to direct your notice to the advantages and defects of both in the various particulars enumerated above, and to state the principles which

your Committee think ought to be adhered to, in weighing estimating and pronouncing upon them. And though the description they are about to attempt will be, as they cannot but feel, a far less complete one than they might have been able to offer had their visit to the localities in question not been so necessarily a hurried one, still they entertain a confident expectation that *data* will be furnished sufficient to satisfy yourselves and the Settlers of the correctness of the conclusion arrived at, and to set your minds at rest upon the point in agitation.

The immediate vicinity of Port Underwood to the ocean is the first and obvious advantage of its position, on which it is unnecessary to dilate. The next is its being situated to the Southward of Cook's Strait, on which account it may perhaps be looked upon at first sight, as far as position alone is concerned, as the natural outlet for the produce of the Wairau Plain, and the probably much more extensive Districts still further to the South. As no Harbour exists between Port Underwood and Banks' Peninsula, the Northern half of the whole country lying between these two localities may fairly be considered as the natural appendage of the former; and its accessibility, without the necessity of entering the Straits, would be a circumstance, if not counterbalanced by others, greatly in its favor with reference to communication with the part of the country last mentioned. Another advantage, arising from the position of Port Underwood, on which some stress has occasionally been laid, is that which Colonel Wakefield, in his Journal, describes as "the only one it offers over the "neighbouring harbours," viz., "its vicinity to the whaling-grounds, for the shore-parties to run to." This circumstance probably also made it in former years a favorite harbour for the whale-ships themselves. In either case, the advantage presented is a very temporary and precarious one, as long-continued fishing is well known to cause the whales to abandon, sometimes for many years, the grounds on which it has been carried on. Of late years, each season has been getting worse than the preceding ones in Port Underwood; and last year, not one whale was caught within its boundaries.

The entrance to Port Underwood is wide, and unobstructed by rocks, or reefs, or shoals. But it is to be feared that this advantage, as well as those we have just been considering, are greatly reduced in importance by the difficulties of ingress and egress, reused by the winds that generally blow on all this part of the coast. "The prevailing winds in Cook's Strait," says Captain Chaffers, "are North-West nine months out of the twelve; in the winter months, June July and August, blowing in heavy gales, and shifting round suddenly to the opposite point." All the reports of the residents in Port Underwood tended to show that this description is equally applicable to the winds in Cloudy Bay. The North-West winds blow nearly directly out of Port Underwood, and, whenever violent, prevent all ingress; while the opposite winds, the South-Easters, which divide the year with the North-Westers, whenever they are heavy, make it equally difficult for vessels to get out. As a sample of the violence with which the South-East wind blows up this Harbour, it may not be out of place to state, that the Missionary who lives at the very head of the Eastern arm of the Harbour—the part of it described, perhaps correctly, by Dr. Dieffenbach, as "by far the most sheltered,"—pointed out to us a peach tree in his garden, which a late gale had completely stripped of its leaves.

Port Underwood divides itself into two arms at the upper or Northern part. The shores of the main harbour, and of both of these arms, may be described as consisting of a succession of coves, formed by spurs from the mountains, descending into the harbour and its branches, at nearly right angles to the direction of the latter. As the prevalent winds are nearly up and down the harbour, these spurs, of course, afford on one side or the other shelter from each wind in turn. But these coves are all of them of small extent, and no one of them could apparently afford shelter for a considerable amount of shipping. The inconvenience arising from vessels being obliged to lie in different coves, or on the opposite side of the harbour to that on which the Town would necessarily have to be placed, need hardly be remarked upon. In other particulars of accommodation for shipping and convenience for trade, Port Underwood is a satisfactory harbour enough; the holding-ground in the coves being good, the beach sufficiently shelving for the erection of wharfs at moderate expense, and wood and water to be had in plenty.

The consideration next in importance to the communication of a Port with the outer seas, and its general goodness as a Harbour, is that of its communication with the interior of the country. Between Port Underwood and the Wairau Districts there is one such communication by water, and one by land. You may send produce down the Wairau River to Cloudy Bay, and so to Port Underwood, the distance being ten miles; but the river has a bar across its mouth, which makes this an operation not to be risked with any wind but one off shore. The North-Westerly wind is such a wind. It generally prevails—and then the bar is crossed with safety. But whenever this wind is violent, there is the impossibility, for small vessels certainly, to get into Port Underwood; while nothing but boats, or decked vessels of very small draught, could cross the bar at all. The depth of water on the bar was said by some persons to be eight feet, by others fifteen. What is certain is, that it varies according to the previous weather—a continuance of South-Easterly winds raising the bar considerably, while North-Westerly gales, or large floods in the Wairau River, probably lower it as much. The delays and risks to be created by this obstacle in the export or import of any goods will, it is evident, be great and expensive.

The communication by land presents nearly equal difficulties. The hills which bound the Wairau Plain on

the North, turning off almost at right angles, are continued till they form the Western side of Port Underwood, leaving a space of six miles between the Plain and the Port, where their bases are washed by the sea. Along the whole of this distance, with the exception of two places, where they recede and form two small Coves, open to the South-East, their declivities are abruptly cut off seaward into craggy cliffs and broken rocks, hanging over and jutting out into the sea, and split and shattered into every variety of ruggedness. A road by the sea-coast may be, therefore, considered as out of the question.

The inland path runs from the Plain over the spurs between the coves just mentioned, and descends to the sea-coast in each of them. Some of our party, as has been said, tried this road, and describe the first hill as excessively steep—indeed, so near a perpendicular in its ascent, that they were obliged to clamber and drag themselves up it by the bushes growing out of its rocky sides. The path then runs along the ridge of the hill, which is narrow and rocky in most parts. It descends to White's Cove, then goes over a much longer hill, though presenting somewhat fewer difficulties, into Robin Hood's Bay. Another ascent and descent takes it into Ocean Bay, in Port Underwood. From Ocean Bay to Guard's Bay, the hill-spur requires steps cut in the footpath here and there, which will give a tolerably correct idea of its steepness. From what had been seen of this road, as possibly yourselves may be from what has been said, your Committee were convinced that a road over these hills, available for carriages, could only be constructed at an outlay a Settlement could not be expected to be in a condition to incur for many years. Such are the impediments to communication, whether by land or sea, between the Wairau Districts and Port Underwood.

Next, for the convenience afforded for the laying out of a Town. Ocean Bay is the first Bay or Cove within Port Underwood, on the Western side. It may contain about a Hundred, or One Hundred and Fifty Acres at the outside, of level land. Guard's Cove has a very much smaller quantity. At the head of the Western arm there is the appearance (as seen from the hill between the two last-named Coves) of a somewhat larger piece of nearly level land; but while the extent even of this is comparatively insignificant, its distance from the Wairau, and the greatly increased difficulties of making a road over all the intervening spurs, put it out of the question as the site of a Town in the connection proposed. The two first-named Coves, then, are the only ones that could be looked upon as available; but, in the first place, it is tolerably certain that the two together would not afford the requisite quantity of level land; and, further, any Town laid out there would be effectually divided into two separate and independent parts by the mountain-spur between them.

The water-frontage has already been described as sufficiently good, though limited of course by the small size of the Coves. It may be doubted, however, if fresh water sufficient for the purposes of a crowded or considerable Town would be found at all seasons of the year in either of the available Coves.

It is needless to observe that no Suburban Lands, properly so called, could be procured in connection with a Town in Port Underwood. The nearest Land available for Agriculture, beyond that required for Town Sections, is in the Wairau Plain itself, all which will be wanted for Rural Sections. Another obstacle would be, that all that portion of the Plain nearest to Port Underwood has been reserved for the Natives, although a tract along the coast, as far as the hills, has been bought by Government. The nearest Land to Port Underwood, available as Suburban Sections, would be on the Southern side of the Wairau River.

But now let us consider the capabilities of the Harbour at Waitohi (which it has been proposed to call Newton Bay), taking the several particulars above-mentioned in the same order as before. If Queen Charlotte's Sound is not so well situated as Port Underwood, as the natural outlet for the produce of the country South of the Straits, it has in the same degree the advantage of Port Underwood as an inlet for the products of foreign countries. For all ships coming from the Westward, in which most of such products are brought, but especially for those from the Australian Colonies, it is preferable, as not requiring the passage of the narrow part of the Straits. The only part of what can properly be considered the Straits which it is necessary to sail through to reach Queen Charlotte's Sound, has this peculiar advantage; that its Western coast is formed of a close succession of deep, safe, and easily accessible Harbours—Port Hardy, Admiralty Bay, Port Gore, and the Sound itself, the wide mouths of which, like the spaces between the open fingers of a hand, lie almost at right angles to the direction of the prevalent winds (the South-East and North-West), so as at all times to afford the readiest shelter from both.

The position of Queen Charlotte's Sound with reference to the opposite coast of the Straits, the Southern coast of the Northern Island, is a circumstance greatly in its favor. There is no Harbour from Wellington all round the coast to Hokianga. The water communication will be easier between the whole of this coast North of Porirua and Queen Charlotte's Sound, than between the same coast and Port Nicholson itself, whether South-Easterly or North-Westerly winds are blowing. Therefore, the fine grazing districts about Manawatu and to the South of Cape Egmont, so long as the sea continues to be the best communication between them and a sea-port, would probably draw much of the supplies, and export much of their produce from Queen Charlotte's Sound, and the Maori trade of all the coast and district alluded to, would naturally be liable to be drawn into the same channel. This, of course, leaves to Port Nicholson the advantage of the regular and certain communication

by land, as soon as roads may be made; but till then it may be considered as compensating for the advantage Port Nicholson would, perhaps, have over Queen Charlotte's Sound, in supplying and exporting from the Districts to the Southward of the Kaikoras, at furthest, till equally extensive lines of roads be made, or till a Town at Banks' Peninsula shall become the natural recipient of the imports and exports of the more Southern portion of the last-named Districts.

For facility of ingress and egress, Queen Charlotte's Sound is well known to yield to few Harbours, if any, in the world. The only circumstance that makes any particular caution requisite is the set of the tides—the flood to the Northern, the ebb to the Southern head of the Sound. "In sailing "either in or out with little wind," as Captain Cook says, "attention must be had to this." But as the entrance is nine miles wide, this is a difficulty easily avoidable. Its great advantage in this respect is, that it lies, as has been said, at right angles to the direction of the prevailing winds in the Straits.

But the Harbour at Waitohi (Newton Bay) is from twenty to twenty-five miles from the entrance, and the position so far inland has been mentioned as an objection. That immediate contiguity to the outer seas would be preferable, would perhaps be taken for granted, though to ships from a distance this circumstance is of no great account. To show how slight an objection is this, it is only necessary to consider the character of the Sound itself. In the words of the glorious Seaman quoted from above, "It is, at the entrance, "three leagues broad, and is a collection of the finest Harbours "in the world." "The tides in the Sound," says Captain Chaffers, who surveyed some of the Creeks and Bays in the Straits some years ago, "are regular, the soundings from Motuara Island (at the mouth) gradually deepen from seven and eight to thirty and thirty-five fathoms mid channel. The shores on both sides are bold, and may be approached with safety to one cable's distance. In case of night coming on, good anchorage can be found in the Coves on either side of the Sound."

The water continues deep almost to the head of the Sound, and its width diminishes very gradually. It is two or three miles wide, for the most part, between the South end of Tory Channel and Newton Bay. The projecting points on the opposite sides of the Sound at Newton Bay were by every one on board considered to be at least from one mile and three quarters to two miles apart, and the Sound widens again above these points. Then the soundings give twenty-two to twenty-three fathoms.

With such a breadth and uniform depth of water, with the same abundance of deep and safe Coves and Harbours, with a singular freedom from rocks, and shoals, and sand-banks, every one will agree, it may be supposed, that the upper part of the Sound, even above Newton Bay, deserves as well as the lower the terms which Colonel Wakefield, in his excellently written journal, describes the Sound in general. "On" the whole," says he, "considering the position and capabilities of Queen Charlotte's Sound, whether with a view to its becoming a port for homeward-bound vessels to take in cargo and provisions, a safe channel of communication between the Western part of the Straits and Port Nicholson and the Eastern Coast, or as a situation for docks and ship-building, it is of the first importance, and cannot be spoken of in too high terms."

The objection, then, to the approach to this new Harbour arising from its inland position being perhaps got rid of, we come to the Harbour itself. At the mouth lies a little Island, leaving a passage of about three quarters of a mile wide on the East, and one of half a mile width on the West. The soundings, which are twenty-two fathoms at the Harbour's mouth, decrease within the Islet to seventeen fathoms, and then diminish very gradually and with the utmost regularity to four, and three and a half fathoms, within a hundred yards at most from the shore at the head of the Harbour. The Harbour or Cove within the Islet may be called about a mile and a half deep, by a mile and a quarter wide. The soundings across are as regular as those from North to South, in which direction the Harbour lies. At the bottom of the Cove on the East and West sides, where the hills come down to the water's edge, there are from four to seven fathoms within a boat's length of the shore. The bottom is sandy clay with broken shells.

It is needless to say much about the shelter afforded by this Cove, as it is a Harbour within a Harbour, the Sound itself being one. But if here, as Captain Chaffers says is the case in the other parts of the Sound, the prevailing winds be West and South-West, they would be off-shore winds, and the mountains in that direction must be sufficient protection against them. The South-East and Southerly winds are said to blow with some violence in winter, in squalls or flurries, down the pass to the Southward of the Harbour. Should these be strong enough to prevent ships beating down the Bay, they would have to lie under the Eastern or Western heads till the gale subsided, having the advantage all the while of being actually within such a safe Harbour as the Sound itself is considered. But whatever the winds, it may be securely said, that no sea is ever raised there that could interfere with the landing of goods at any time. All accounts agree on this point. The Missionary at Port Underwood declared that he had never seen a sea that he could not cross in his dingy; and an European resident at the place itself, in picturesque phrase, confirmed his opinion by remarking, that in the worst weather you might hold a four-hundred ton ship with a whale-line.

The other particular of importance in the enquiry we are upon, is the communication between this Harbour and the District of the Wairau. And here your Committee have an equally satisfactory report to make. The

Harbour is connected with the Plain by a pass through a Valley which is densely wooded for the first eight or nine miles. The path crosses some slopes which can scarcely be called more than undulations, and indeed would hardly render incorrect a description of the whole pass as an almost level one. The Natives are in the habit of building canoes in this wood, four or five miles from the Bay, and then running them down to the water on poles laid across the road.

This is sufficient evidence of the character of the pass to that distance up it, and the remaining part of it through the wood is little if at all inferior. Beyond the wood the Valley takes a winding course into the Plain, and consists of an unbroken flax and raupo swamp. This is apparently of easy drainage, but at any rate the road might be continued at the most trifling expense about the foot of the fern hills, which rise with a gentle ascent on the Eastern side of the Valley. Thence it would have to cross a patch of wood at the foot of the hill, in which the Massacre of 1843 took place. It should then be carried across the Wairau Plain to the highest reach of the river, which is at all seasons deep and tranquil, where a ferry would have to be established. Though your Committee cannot give any decisive evidence as to the frequency or force of the floods to which this part of the Plain is said to be liable, they can bear witness to the facilities afforded for making a road from the pass to the point proposed, by the high strips of ground covered with strong fern, and stretching along the banks of the river at this part of its course. This seems to be all that is requisite to connect the Waitohi Harbour with the Wairau Plain, and the Districts immediately to the South of it.

For a Town Site, the Land at the head of this Bay presents all the requisite capabilities in a most satisfactory degree. Between the Bay and the Valley, at the back, spreads a Flat, which contains between Two Hundred and Three Hundred Acres of land, at the most moderate computation. A little River winds through it, which, though not navigable for boats for many yards above its mouth, may be considered sufficient to supply a Town with fresh water all the year round. Two or three other small brooks were still running in the Midsummer months, in which your Committee's visit was paid. There is plenty of timber for building and fuel in the wooded valley behind, and on most of the neighbouring hills; and the Flat is sufficiently high in most places to make drainage easy. The water frontage, strictly belonging to the Town Site, is not very considerable, but may extend to a quarter of a mile in length, the best part of it being formed by a low abrupt bank, on which the Town Flat terminates in the middle of the head of the Bay. A little creek, or lagoon, on the east side of this, is separated from the Bay itself by a narrow spit or bank of mud, which boats might pass at high water. The shore round this might be included in the water frontage, which, however, might be indefinitely extended by building at the foot of the hills on each side the head of the bay, where, as has been said, are from four to five fathoms water a boat's length off shore.

But all these latter advantages are doubled by the existence of another Bay or Cove, in the immediate neighbourhood of the one just described. This Cove, which it has been proposed to call Milton Bay, lies a little to the North-East of it, and is separated from it by a narrow neck or peninsula of hills, joined to the main land by a level isthmus. The level spreads round the heads of both Bays, running about three miles in length by half a mile in breadth, from the top of one Bay to that of the other, and losing itself in the Waitohi and Tua Marina Pass. There is, in fact, one extensive Town Site abutting on two Bays. Milton Bay is in itself also an excellent Harbour, though more open to the Sound than the other; the soundings are as regular, the water generally as deep. The only circumstances that make it inferior to Newton Bay or Waitohi, being, first, that the water shoals more gradually in the former than in the latter, so that the three and a half and four fathoms depth, which is found a hundred yards from the shore in Newton Bay, is three hundred yards at least off shore in Milton Bay; and, secondly, that the Bay itself is three miles further from the Wairau Plain. The first circumstance would make the throwing out of wharfs into deep water three times as expensive as it would be in Newton Bay. The second would increase the expense of the road, and the distance to carry produce; although the additional track, consisting of firm and level land, the increased expense of the road would be but trifling.

There is further a third Bay or Cove immediately to the Westward of Newton Bay. But as a range or two of hills lie between it and the Wairau Pass, your Committee did not examine it. The three Harbours, however, are so close to each other, as to constitute one group.

The description which has thus been attempted of the two principal Ports connected with the Wairau District, illustrated by the rough charts and sketches which have been prepared for your inspection, it is hoped may be sufficient to give you a correct notion of the facts and circumstances on which your Committee had to found their decision. The chart of Newton Bay and the other Harbour in Queen Charlotte's Sound, was drawn by Mr. Moore; the soundings were taken by that Gentleman and Mr. Dillon; and considering the extreme shortness of the time at their disposal, your Committee think that the thanks of the Public are especially due to both for the results of their volunteered and valuable services.

In weighing and determining upon the relative merits of the two localities in question, your Committee were guided by one ruling principle, which was, that the two great particulars of goodness of Harbour and facility of communication with the Wairau District, were the all-important ones on which their decision should

be founded. All other qualities and capabilities, such as have been enumerated above, are quite secondary and subordinate. The possession of these two in a superior degree would more than compensate for inferiority in all the others; any defect in these two would more than counterbalance all the advantages of excellence in the rest. But even when the question is reduced to this narrow compass, it will be seen that a decision upon it must still be somewhat difficult and doubtful. For neither of the two localities compared, has, in the only two particulars of importance, any such defects as must be considered as eventually insurmountable, and a certain and permanent disqualification. Still, your Committee, believing that on the whole the advantages as a Port are on the side of the Harbour in Queen Charlotte's Sound, and knowing that the means or communication between the latter and the Wairau are greatly superior, or by a trifling outlay to be rendered so, came unanimously to the conclusion that the Site of the proposed Town ought to be on its shores. If Port Underwood is naturally best situated for the Districts South of the Kaikoras, Queen Charlotte's Sound more than makes up for this by its position with respect to the Northern Island and to foreign countries to the Westward. If Port Underwood has disadvantages in respect of ingress and egress, Newton Bay—requires a longer inland voyage. The first evil is far from an overwhelming one, but the last is made almost a nominal one by the character of the Sound. A considerable outlay would render the communication between Port Underwood and the Wairau tolerable; but even then it would probably be inferior to what a comparatively small outlay would render that between Queen Charlotte's Sound and the Wairau. But again, until the small outlay be made upon the last, the present very bad communication by water between the two former places, Port Underwood and the Wairau, must and will be made use of, since a bad communication is better than none at all. Set these circumstances over against each other, and you will no doubt award the palm to Queen Charlotte's Sound. On these the decision was founded. But with respect to other and minor particulars, excellence of Town Site, accommodation for ships, facility for putting on board and landing goods, space for Suburban Sections in the vicinity of valuable timber districts, your Committee believe the chosen locality to be immeasurably superior. They confidently expect, therefore, that you will confirm their decision. But at the same time they are anxious to express their full sense of their own liability to error, and their conviction that, after all, they are perhaps only deciding between opposite probabilities. So difficult is it, not as the ordinary phrase is, to dive, but even to dip the point of the foot, into the future; so impossible to foretell with absolute certainty a result which, after all, must depend upon so many contingencies to come.

Only one or two points require to be alluded to. From the description of the Eastern Cove (Milton Bay), it will have been perceived that a much more extensive Town Site exists in connection with it and Newton Bay than was required to carry out the Seventh Clause of the Resolutions. Here, as in choosing between the two Seaport Sites, your Committee were almost embarrassed with the superabundance of the means at their disposal to effect the object intended. Had Newton Bay not existed, Port Underwood would have been gladly selected for a Seaport; had only one Bay existed in the South-West of the Sound, it would have been welcomed as amply providing for every desideratum. But in fact the Site chosen contains at least 1,200 level Acres of genuine Town Land. Your Committee, therefore, strongly recommend, and they are unanimous and earnest on this point, that the quantity of Quarter-Acres required should be laid out at the head of Newton Bay, and that Government and the New Zealand Company should be requested to ensure the preservation of the rest of the Flat as a Reserve for the Settlement, to be sold by auction in the Colony from time to time as occasion arises. If this be done, a most promising source of future funds, to be employed for the public benefit, for the advantage of the whole, will be kept open. Should it be neglected, should this land be either laid out as Suburban Sections—which, in fact, would be as improper as giving Rural Land for Town Land—or should it be left to be purchased in a Block by land-speculators, bound by no conditions as to the application of the profits to be got by reselling it, the Town and that part of the Settlement would be deprived of funds absolutely essential to its prosperity, and the benefits that should be shared alike by all would be monopolised by a few. The advantages of the course recommended are so obvious, that your Committee entertain a strong conviction that you will cordially assist in securing its adoption.

One word with respect to the Names which you will perceive your Committee have suggested for some of the localities to be occupied. When no previous Names exist, it is obviously better at once to affix some such as may be suggestive of worthy associations, than to leave it to chance to attach unmeaning or obscure ones. Native Names have many disadvantages. To the English at home and abroad, they have a strange and foreign sound; are associated with the ideas of a savage people and country; are continually confounded and misapplied; and, as the slightest glance at any Newspaper or Blue-book will prove, so constantly misspelt and misprinted, that it is with difficulty any one in New Zealand can recognise them at all. Then the same ones are constantly recurring in different parts of the country. Still the simpler ones, if euphonious, might occasionally be left. The more complex ones should be abandoned at once, as experience shows that they almost invariably become corrupted in common use into low and ludicrous English imitations of them. Your Committee cannot but think that the Public would prefer to these such appellations as are associated with the intellectual triumphs

and the national glories of England. You have the power, by affixing to mountains, rivers, and promontories, the names of those who have deserved well of their country, to dedicate to their memory more durable monuments than any that the wealth of a nation could erect in granite, or marble, or bronze. Recollecting these things, your Committee have given to a few of the localities we have been speaking of the following names:—The Harbour selected as the Site of the Town, they propose to call, as has been said, Newton Bay; that to the Eastward of it, Milton Bay; that to the Westward, Shakspeare Bay. The two projecting Headlands, between which lie the two Bays to the Westward, have been named respectively, Point Raffles and Point Metcalfe, after those truly great men and models of Colonial Governors, the late Sir Stamford Raffles and Sir Charles Metcalfe. The Middle Point between them it is proposed to call Point Napier, after a brilliant living Soldier, the rapid conqueror and beneficent ruler of Scinde. Your Committee came to no unanimous decision upon the name to be given to the proposed Town, and think it better, therefore, to leave the determination of this point to a General Meeting of Resident Purchasers.

Your Committee conclude by expressing a hope that the excellence of the Site selected for a Seaport Town to the Wairau, the valuable and extensive Districts in connection with it, and the ease with which a good communication may be effected between them, will be strong inducements to His Excellency the Governor, and to the Agents of the New Zealand Company, to co-operate with all the means in their power in acquiring the yet unpurchased locality, and in establishing the communication required. It is hoped that His Excellency will at once acknowledge the importance of opening up so valuable a District, and the propriety of applying some portion of the Public Funds to the accomplishment of this object; an outlay than which it is not easy to conceive one more calculated to be beneficial to the public or remunerative to the Revenue.

ALFRED DOMETT, *Chairman of the Committee.*

January 18th, 1848.

—No. 10.—

MR. BELL TO COLONEL WAKEFIELD.

No. 35/47. New Plymouth,

20th October, 1847.

SIR,

IN continuation of my Despatch, No. 30/47, 24th September, I beg to make you acquainted with the circumstances that have since occurred in reference to the Block of land therein referred to.

Upon the 8th instant, the Inspector of Police having paid the Nga Motu Natives a sum of Fifty Pounds, which had been due to them under the arrangements of Governor Fitzroy ever since the end of 1844, and the non-payment of which had been a principal cause of their refusal to sign the Deed of Sale for the "Grey Block," they expressed their willingness to sign and to receive the first instalment of 130*l.* Upon the 11th instant they assembled for that purpose; and after a noisy discussion, which lasted many hours, they all signed, with the exception of E Rangi, who held out for an additional reserve for himself; 10*l.* was retained for him, and the division of the remaining 120*l.* passed off with great good humour. A day or two afterwards, Mr. M'Lean having agreed to make the reserve which E Rangi desired, he also signed the deed and received his share of the money. I therefore wrote to Mr. M'Lean requesting him to inform me when the transfer of the land to the Company would take place. I enclose you a copy of his reply.

At the Meeting of the Land purchasers on the 15th, the re-selections were proceeded with according to the regulations I had published. Only Five Suburban Sections were reselected, and One Rural Section: but having upon application extended the time for selecting until the 30th instant, I believe that Two, or perhaps Three more Sections will be taken up.

Previous to the payment of the 50*l.* first mentioned, a Public Meeting of the Settlers had been held, Mr. Cooke, J. P. in the Chair, to memorialise the Governor on the delay in providing the land he promised.

The land included in the "Grey Block" being now placed at the disposal of the Company, it was necessary to make some alteration in the Memorial adopted by the Public Meeting: and on the evening of the 15th, the Settlers again met for the purpose. But their examination of the land in the mean while, and the few reselections made within its limits, added to the circumstance of the best and most available land, to the extent of more than a Thousand Acres, having been reserved for the Natives, rather increased than diminished their desire of

appealing to the Governor to provide them with their own land toward the Waitera; a Memorial in nearly the same terms as the previous one was unanimously adopted to that effect, and forthwith transmitted to Auckland.

I shall forward to you, as soon as completed, a tracing of the Block.

I have the honor to be, &c.
F. D. BELL, *Resident Agent*.

Colonel William Wakefield,
Principal Agent to the New Zealand Company, Wellington.

(Enclosure in No. 10.)

Mr. M'Lean to Mr. Bell.

Taranaki, New Plymouth,

14th October, 1847.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, in reference to the Block of Land for which the Nga Motu Natives have signed a deed of conveyance to the Government at the Meeting at which you were present on the 11th instant, and in reply I have to observe that I am not aware of any objection to the land comprised within the Block, with the exceptions which I shall presently notice, being placed at the disposal of the New Zealand Company. At the same time I wish to acquaint you that it will be necessary to submit, for His Excellency the Governor's information and approval, a statement of the arrangement I have entered into with the Natives for the purchase of the land, on the one part, and with yourself, as Resident Agent of the New Zealand Company, on the other, before a final transfer of the Block is made to the Company.

The lands to be excepted, are the Native Reserves mentioned in my previous communication of the 13th ultimo, and which are colored pink on a Map of the Block; also Two Sections contiguous to, and lying inland of the Reserve at Barrett's Lagoon, marked 478 and 479 on the Company's Plan; which latter Sections I do not at present deem it advisable to place at your disposal for selection.

I may also add, that the time which the Natives are allowed to retain their cultivations interspersed throughout this purchase, is Two Years from the 11th day of October instant.

I have the honor to remain, &c.,
DONALD M'LEAN, *Inspector of Police*.

F. D. Bell, Esq.,
Resident Agent of the New Zealand Company, New Plymouth.

—No. 11.—

MR, BELL TO COLONEL WAKEFIELD.

No. 4¹/₇. New Plymouth,

18th November, 1847.

SIR,

I BEG to acquaint you that I have recently visited the Block of Land lying South of the Sugar-Loaves' Boundary, of which I sent you a tracing (marked No. 2) in my Despatch of the 22nd September, No. 29/47.

The Inspector of Police has for the last two months employed several of his men in cutting a road to the Block, and laying out the line through it. I examined this road with some care, and found it to run about parallel with the beach, at an average distance of from 1,500 to 2,000 yards from the sea, through the Block as far as Tapuwae the boundary; it will be, I think, an excellent line, and there are only two gullies of any consequence

to cross, the remainder being level or undulating. This road will not cost more than about three shillings per chain. I was better pleased with the district than I had anticipated. All that I went over was good soil; in many places very fine and rich. This is evidenced by the large growth of high koromiko and tutu upon the open land, here a sign of fertility.

The open land comprises about 2,000 Acres, or a sixth of the whole Block; it has been much improved by the depasturing of cattle, and a quantity of strong grass has thus sprung up, which (particularly the clover) promises some day to exterminate the fern.

The forest contains fine rata, hinau, karaka, rimu, pukatea, and koromiko: of the three latter I saw larger specimens than ever before, and in particular of the koromiko, which elsewhere I only knew as a shrub, but which here grows into a small tree. The rimu is here called "red pine," but is a much finer wood than the red pine of Wellington and Nelson, and is used for furniture as well as common purposes. In one part of the forest we came upon a park-like belt of young trees, chiefly toe-toe and karaka; near it is the site of an old pah, bearing marks of having been a stronghold in former days. At the pah, and in many places in the district, are set up marks, either on trees or stones, where distinguished warriors fell in battle. There are several clearings and old gardens, partly made by the Taranaki Tribe, and partly by the Pukatapus, until the expulsion of the latter, as before intimated to you. In one or two places were preparations for fencing, made by these only just before the Taranakis drove them forth. The Tapuwae stream is small but rapid; and in it, as in most of the rivers and streams here, a species of trout is plentiful at times, and excellent.

The direction of the slopes or spurs of the great mountain, which faintly extend to this distance, will admit of good branch roads from the main line, and facilitate the laying out of Sections otherwise than in the rectangular shape, so utterly inapplicable to New Zealand. A curious feature is the number of gullies which open on to the beach, but come suddenly to an end a few hundred yards inland; so that a traveller on the beach would form a very mistaken idea of the country, and think there was hardly any level land at all.

There are two pahas, called Omata and Tapuwae; the Natives are not only peaceably disposed, but most anxious for European settlement. They earnestly urged me to send them White Men; and Paora, the principal chief of Taranaki (with one exception), told me that he remained at Omata only to keep possession till White Men should come, and to prevent any attempt on the part of the Pukatapus to re-enter upon the district. The number of adult Natives is not large, but they are certainly increasing.

Upon the whole, the purchase may be a valuable one to the Company, and I propose, therefore, with your approbation, taking the necessary steps to obtain its transfer from the Government. The only stipulation which it strikes me ought to be made is, that the acceptance of it should not extend, or be construed to extend, to any prejudice of the Company's claim to the Block included in Mr. Spain's Award.

It remains for me to request your instructions whether I am to survey any portion of the district. I should not wish to expend any money in surveying forest land which is unlikely to be early available; but I would recommend your allowing me to lay out the open land, which is not so considerable as to make the work expensive (the present cost of cutting lines being about 4*d.*, to 6*d.* per chain, instead of 2*s.* which it used to be), while the opening of it might have a beneficial effect pending the acquisition of the old Block.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
F. D. BELL, *Resident Agent.*

Colonel William Wakefield,
Principal Agent to the New Zealand Company, Wellington.

Supplement.

—No. 12.—

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS of the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY, from the 5th of April 1847 to the 5th of April 1848.

Receipts.

JOHN W. COWELL.

Payments.

JOHN W. COWELL.

I believe the foregoing Account of the Receipts and Payments of the New Zealand Company from the 5th April 1847 to the 5th April 1848, including the last-mentioned day, and of the Balance in the hands of the Company on the 5th April 1848, to be correct.

JOHN W. COWELL, *Commissioner for the Affairs of the New Zealand Company.*

London,

June 20th, 1848.

London: Printed by STEWART and MURRAY, Old Bailey.

Vowels and consonants for Te Reo

- E ka po te ra.
- Kei ko ke te ra.
- Ko te pa o mea.
- Ka tu ia a ka ki.
- Kua he ra te ao.
- Ko Ihu i tae mai.
- Ki te ao mo te he.
- Me ui atu ki a ia.
- Kei mea tai hoa.
- E ui ra mo te pai.
- Ma wai e homai?
- Ma Ihu ano pea.
- Ka pai ra tau ki.
- E hoa ma kia pai.
- E Ihu kia pai mai.
- Nau ano te pai.
- Ko koe ra hei hoa.
- Mo te iwi kua he.
- Mau ano e mea.
- Ahau ra kia pai.
- Nau i mea kia ui.
- A, he mea pai ano.
- Ma Ihu ia ka ora ai.
- Ko ona toto hei utu.
- Kia inoi atu ki aia.
- He rahi tona aroha.
- Kia hara kore ahau.
- Kia pono a-mate noa.

Ano te pai o te kupu ora nei!

Na wai ra tana kupu e ki nei koe?

E hoa ma, na te Atua pono ano.

A, e mea mai ana ano te Atua,

Kia rapu atu ki a ia kia ora ai te tangata.

E hoa ma, ka pai tena kupu ki a hau.

Ina, kua mate hoki a Ihu hei utu mo tatou.

Nana ano ia i ho atu ki te mate ki te ripeka.

E rahi ra te pai o Ihu ki a hau kia ora ai toku wairua, ake, ake, ake.

E hoa ma, me inoi atu tatou ki te Atua.

A, ka whiwhi tatou ki te oranga tonutanga.

Ina hoki, e pai ana ano a Ihu to tatou Ariki.

Kei a ia nga pai mo te kai inoi.

Kua oti rawa a Whiro te here.

He pono nau! na wai ia i here!

Na Ihu ano, te Tama a te Atua kaha rawa.

Mana ahau ka ora ai i aku kino katoa.

E taku hoa pai, kia rongou mai koe.
He mea tika ano kia inoi tatou ki te Atua.
Nana i mea, Me inoi, a, ka ho atu ki a koutou.
Ko te aha ra kia inoia e te whanau?
Ko nga hara kia murua, ka tahi;
Ko te kaha kia ho mai, kia tika ai te noho te aha, ka rua.
Oti, ki te kore te kaha e homai ki ahau, ka pehea?
Ka he tonu ano: ina hoki, nana i meu, Ki te kahore ahau ekore koutou e ahei ki tetahi mea.
Mo te mea hoki, kahore he pai i roto i o tutou ngakau.
Ae ra hoki., me ta te Kapu Tapa e mea ana, ko te ngakau o te tangata i te whanautanga, he kino kau ano.
Ki te inoi ahau ki aia, ka homai e ia te kaha ki ahau?
Ina, ka homai ano; nana hoki te hiahia i roto i a koe hei inoi.
Ko nga kupu enei a te Atua pono.
Ka mea atu a Hoani, Na, ko te Reme a te Atua, e kawea atu ana i te kino o te ao!
I haere mai ia ki ona, a kihai ona i tango ki a ia.
Ko to te Atua mahi tenei, kia whakapono koutou ki a ia i tonoa mai e ia.
Ekore e ora te tangata ki te taro kau, otira ki nga kupu katoa e puta mai i te waha o te atua.
Ka mea atu a Ihu, Ko ahau te taro o te oranga.
Ko te taro tenei e heke iho ana i te rangi, kia kai ai te tangata i a ia, kia kahore ai e mate.
Ko ia e haere mai ana ki a hau ekore rawa e panga atu e ahau ki waho
Kahore he tangata e ahei te haere mai ki a a hau ki te kahore ia e kumea e te Matua i tonoa mai ai a hau.
E te Tama a Rawiri, kia atawhai koe ki a hau.
He pono, he pono, ka mea atu a hau ki a koutou, Ko te tangata e mahi kino ana, he punonga ia no kino.
E rongou ana aku hipi ki toku reo, e matau ana a hau ki a ratou a, e aru ana ratou i a hau: ekore ratou e aru i te tauhou, otira e oma ratou i a ia.
Ko ahau ano te tatau o nga hipi. E hiahia ana a Hatana ki te whakapareho i nga hipi, kia horomia e ia.
Rapua e koutou nga karaipiture: kei reira te oranga tonutanga mo koutou, he kai korero enei ki a hau.
Na, koia ano te aroha o te Atua ki te ao, homai ana e ia tana Tamaiti kotahi, kia kahore ai e mate nga tangata katoa e whakapono ana ki a ia, otiaia kia whiwhi ai ki te oranga tonutanga.
Kihai hoki te Atua i tono mai i tana Tamaiti ki te ao hei whakamate i te au; kaore kia ora ai te ao i a ia.
Tomo atu koutou ma te kuwaha kuiti: mo te mea he kuwaha warahi te kuwaha, he ara warahi te ara e tika ana ki te mate, a, he tokomaha e tapoko atu ana ra reira.
E kuiti ana hoki te kuwaha, e kuiti ana te ara e tika ana ki te ora, he ruarua te hunga e kite ana i taua ara.
Tohea putia kia tomo atu ma te kuwaha kuiti: ka mea atu hoki a hau ki a koutou, he tokomaha i te hunga e rapu kia tomo atu, a, ekore e ahei.
Ka mea atu a Ihu, Ko a hau ano te huarahi, te pono, me te oranga: hore rawa he tangata e haere ake ki te Matua ki te kahore a hau.
Ko Ihu Karaiti anake te kai whakaora.
Kia inoi atu ahau ki te Atua mo tona Wairua Tapu, kia ora ai ahau. Ki te kahore tona Wairua, ekore ahau e ahei ki te inoi ki aia.
Kahore he tangata tika i tona whanautanga.
Kahore he tangata e matau ana, [unclear: kahore] tangata e rapu ana ki te atua.
Kua haere ko ratou katoa, kua kino tahi kahore he tangata e mahi ana i te pai, kahore kia kotahi.
Mo konoi ra ma nga mahinga o te ture ekore whakatikaia tetahi kikokiko ki tona ma te turo hoki ka kitea ai te kino.
Ko te tikanga o te Atua na te whakapono kia Ihu Karaiti, ki to hunga katoa, mo te hunga katoa e whakapono ana: kahore hoki he pokanga kotanga.
Kua hara katoa hoki, a, kua hapa i te kororia o te Atua.
He mea whakatika noa ia ki tana ata whai, na te hokonga ano e Karaiti Ihu:
Ko ia ia i meinga e te Atua i mua, hei whakamarietanga, na te whakapono ki ona toto, kia whakakitea ai tona tikanga, ki ti murunga o nga hara ka pahure i te mahi tohu a to A tua?
Kia whakakitea ai tona kitanga [unclear: aiane] he mea hoki kia tika ai ia, a kia [unclear: whakatikaia] e ia te tangata o whakapono; ana ki a Ihu.
Koia matou ka [unclear: mea] whakatikaia, ana; te tangata ki te whakapone Motu Ke i nga mahi o te ture.
Aue, te mate I a hau! ma wai a hau e whakora i te tinana o tenei mate?
Ka whakawhetai atu a hau ki te Atua ki a Ihu Karaiti to tatou Ariki.
Kahore nei hoki he riringa mo te hunga i roto i a Karaiti Ihu, mo te hunga ekore e haero ki te ntenga o te kiko kiko otira ki to te Wairua.

Ki te mea ko te Atua hei hoa mo tatou, ko wai hei whawhai ki a tatou?

Ko ia kihai nei i tohu i tana Tamaiti, otira [unclear: i] tuku i aia mo tatou katoa, ekore ianei ia [unclear: e] homai tahi me ia i nga mea katoa ki a tatou?

E mea ana hoki te karaipiture, ko te [unclear: tangata] katoa e whakapono ana ki a ia, ekore ia [unclear: e] whakama.

Aua e mangere ki te mahi; kia toa te wairua: kia rongo ki te Ariki.

Kia pai te korero ki te hunga e whakatohi [unclear: nei] a koutou; kia pai te korero, kua e korero kino.

Aua e rapu utu mo koutou, e aku hoa aroha, otira, tukua te riri: kua oti hoki te tuhituhi, Maku te rapunga utu; maku e whakaea, e ai ta te Ariki.

Kei mate koe i te kino; otira ko te kino kia mate i te pai.

Ekore ra te tangata i te ngakau maori e tango i nga mea a te Wairua o te Atua: he mea kuware hoki aua mea ki aia: ekore ano hoki e ahei te matau, ma te Wairua hoki ka kitea ai.

Na, ki te hapa tetahi o koutou i te matauranga, kia inoi ia ki te Atua e ho atu nui ana ki nga tangata katoa, a, ekore e riri; a, ka ho atu ki a ia.

Otira kia inoi whakapono ia, kua rawa e pohehe. Ko ia hoki e pohehe ana e rite ana ki te ngaru o te moana e puhia ana e te hau e akina ana. Kua hoki taua tangata e mea e whiwhi ia ki tetahi mea i te Ariki.

Ka mea atu a Ihu ki a ia, Ki te mea e kaha ana koe ki te whakapono, e taea nga mea katoa e te tangata whakapono.

Ki te mea tatou kahore a tatou hara, ka whakahe tatou i a tatou ano, a kahore te pono i roto i a tatou:

Ki te whaki tatou i a tatou hara, e pono ana ia e tika ana kia murua nga hara mo tatou, a, kia horoia tatou i te kino katoa.

Ki te mea ka hara tetahi he kai inoi to tatou kei te Matua, ko Ihu te Karaiti e tika ana: a; ko ia te whakamarietanga mo a tatou hara ehara raia mo a tatou anake, otira mo a te ao katoa.

Na, kia tupato ki nga poropiti teka e [unclear: ha] mai ana kia koutou, he mea whakakakahu ki te huru hipi ko roto ia he wuruhi haehae.

Ma o ratou hua ka kitea ai ratou e koutou. E whakii ana ranei te karepe i te tataramoa, te piki ranei i te puwha?

Koia ra ko te rakau pai katoa hei whakatupu i te hua pai; ko te rakau kino hei whakatupu i te hua kino.

Ekore e whakatupu te rakau pai i te hua kino, ekore ano hoki e whakatupu te rakau kino i te hua pai.

Ko te rakau katoa ekore e whakatupu i te hua pai e tuakina ana, a, e maka ana ki te ahi.

Eaoia, ma o ratou hua ano ka kitea ai ratou e koutou.

Hore hoki he tunga ke atu e ahei ai te tangata te whakatakoto i tena kua oti te whakatakoto ko Ihu ia te Karaiti.

Kotahi Ariki, kotahi whakapono, kotahi irriringa.

A, no te mea he tamariki koutou, kua tonoa mai a te Atua te Wairua o tana Tamaiti ki o koutou ngakau, e karanga ana, E Apa, e Pa.

Na, ki te mea kei roto i a te Karaiti tetahi, he mahinga hou ia: kua pahure nga mea tawhito; na, kua whakahoutia nga mea katoa.

Na, ka mea atu ahau, Haere koutou i te Wai- [unclear: rua], a, ekore koutou e whakarite i te mahia o te kikokiko.

Ko te hunga, ia o te Karaiti kua ripeka i te kikokiko, me ona mea e aroha ai, me ona hiahia.

A, tenei ano te mau nei, te whakapono, te tumanakotanga, te aroha, ko enei ko te mea nui o enei ko ia ia ko te aroha.

I a tatou ekore e titiro atu ki nga mea e kitea ana, otira ki nga mea e kitea: ka memeha noa hoki nga mea e kitea ana; ko nga mea kahore ra i kitea e mau tonu ana.

Ki te mea hoki e noho koutou ki te ritenga o te kikokiko, meake koutou ka whakamate ai i nga mahi o te tinana, e ora koutou.

Na, ko ratou i roto i te kikokiko ekore e ahei kia pai ki te Atua.

Whakaaroa e koutou nga mea o runga, kua ra nga mea o te whenua.

Whakamatauria nga mea katoa; kia u ki pai.

Kua ho atu ano ia i a ia ano mo tatou, kia hokona ai tatou i te hara katou, a, kia whakapaia ai he hunga mona ake ano, he hunga totohe ki nga mahi pai.

Na, e ora te tangata tika i te whakapono; a ki te hoki tetahi, ekore toku wairua e pai ki a ia.

E hoa ma, ki te mea ka whakahokia tetahi i roto i a koutou i te pono a, ka whakatahuritia ia e tetahi: kia matau ia, ko ia e whakatahuri ana i te tangata hara i te he o tona ara, e whakaorangia ia he wairua i te mate, a ka whakangaromia te tini o nga hara.

Ko Nga Ture a te Atua.

Aua ra ki a koe tetahi Atua ke atu i mua i ahau.

II

Aua hoki koe e hanga i tetahi whakapakoko mou, i tetahi ritenga o tera i runga i te rangi, i raro i te whenua, i roto i te wai i raro i te whenua. Aua hoki koe e koropiko ki a ratou; aua e mahi mo ratou; na, ko ahau a Ihowa tou Atua, he Atua tupato, e whai ana i te hara a nga matua ki nga tamariki ki te toru, ki te wha o nga whakatupuranga a ratou e kino ana ki ahau; a, ka atawhaitia e ahau nga mano e aroha ana ki ahau, e whakarite ana i aku ture.

III

Aua hoki te ingoa o Ihowa tou Atua e whakahuatia noatia; ekore hoki e meinga e Ihowa, he tangata tika te tangata e whakahua noa ana i tona ingoa.

IV

Kia mahara ki te ra hapati, kia tapu; eono nga ra e mahi ai koe, a, mahia katoatia tau mahi; na, ko te ra whitu te hapati o ihowa tou Atua. Aua ra e mahia tetahi mahi i taua ra, e koe, e tou tamaiti, e tou tamahine, e tou [unclear: pon] nga tane, e tou [unclear: ponon] wahine, e au [unclear: kararehe], tau manuwiri i [unclear: roto i] tatau. E ono [unclear: hoki nga] i hanga ai e [unclear: Ihowa, te] ngi, te whenua, te moana me nga mea katoa o roto a, okioki ana i te ra [unclear: whitu] na reira i [unclear: whakapaingia] te ra hapati e [unclear: Ihowa], whakatapua ana.

V

E rongorongo ra koe ki [unclear: to] matua tane, ki tou [unclear: mat] wahine, kia roa ai tou [unclear: noh] i te whenua e homai ana [unclear: k] a koe e Ihowa tou Atua.

VI

Aua koe e patu.

VII

Aua koe e puremu.

VIII

Aua koe e tahae.

IX

Aua tou hoa e korerotia tekatia.

X

Aua koe e hiahia ki te whare o tou hoa; aua ano hoki koe e hiahia ki te wahine o tou hoa, ki tona pononga tane, ki tona pononga wahine, ki tona okiha, ki tona kaihe, ki tetahi o nga mea a tou hoa.

Na Nga Mihonare Weteriana, *Mangungu*, 1844.

He Whakaaturanga i te Tikanga o te Hahi a Ihu Karaiti. No Akarana: I Taia Ten Ki te Perehi a John Williamson. 1847.

He Whakaaturanga o te Tikanga o te Hahi a Ihu

Karaiti.

"E korero ana ia ahau ki a Karaiti, ki te hahi hoki." *Epeha* 5, 22.

He aha koia te tikanga o te kupu nei—o te Hahi? Ka pai ra kia marama tona tikanga ki te tangata katoa, kei totohe tetahi ki tetahi ki runga i te kuwaretanga. No te reo Kariki te putake o tenei ingoa. Ko te reo hoki tena i orokotuhia ai te kawenata hou. Na, ko te tikanga maori o taua kupu, koia tenei, he whakaminenga tangata, ina hoki, tona whakamaoritanga kei *Nga Mahi*, 19. 32. "Kua raruraru ke hoki taua *whakaminenga*" Rite tahi ana ano tenei kupu i te reo Kariki, ki era atu e whakamaoritia ana, "*ko te hahi*." Heoi ra, ko tona tikanga, kei ta te whakapono ritenga, koia tenei, ko te whakaminenga—te katoatanga ranei—o nga tangata whakapono ki a Ihu Karaiti. Koia ano "*te hahi puta noa i te ao*;" ki ta Paora hoki i mea ai "ki te hahi o Te Atua e noho ana i Koriniti—me ratou katoa i nga wahi katoa e karanga ana ki te ingoa o to tatou Ariki a Ihu Karaiti, ko to ratou, ko to tatou." 1 *Koriniti* 1.2.

Ma te tangata ka whakarere i te karaipiture, ka pohehe noa iho ona whakaaro ki tenei mea, ka waiho ia, "hei tamariki, he mea pae, he mea wakateretere ki nga hau katoa o te whakaakoranga, ki te hianga o te tangata, ki te tinihanga, he mea, hei whakamea i te he." *Epeha* 4, 14. Tena ko tenei, kia u te tangata ki te kupu o Te Atua, pera hoki me ratou o Peria, "i rapu tonu i nga karaipiture i nga ra katoa, te tikanga o enei mea." *Nga Mahi* 17, 11. Penei, ka marama tonu ona whakaaro, ano he awatea, ina hoki, "ki te pai tetahi tangata ki te mea i tana hiahia, e matau ia ki te whakaakoranga, no Te Atua ranei." *Hoani* 7, 17. Me tenei hoki, "ka oti te tuhituhi i nga poropiti, e whakaakona katoatia ratou e Te Atua." *Hoani* 6, 45. A "ko ia e rapu ana e kite ana" e ai ta te Karaiti. *Matiu* 7, 8. A—"ki te hapa tetahi o koutou i te matauranga kia inoi ia ki Te Atua—a ka ho atu ki a ia." *Hemi* 1, 5, Na, e mea ana te karaipiture ki a tatou:—

1. He hahi kotahi te hahi a Ihu Karaiti.

Korerotia e koe ta *Matiu* 16, 18. "Ka hanga e ahau *taku* hahi ki runga ki tenei kamaka."—"Kua oti koia a te Karaiti te wehewehe?" 1 *Koriniti* 1, 13. "E mate a Ihu mo taua iwi: kihai ra ia mo taua iwi anake, otira, kia *whakaminea ngatahitia* nga tamariki a Te Atua kua oti te whakamarara. *Hoani* 11. 51, 52. "Na te Wairua kotahi hoki i iriiria ai tatou katoa ki te *tinana kotahi*, ahakoa Hurai, Kariki ranei, ahakoa herehere, rangatira ranei, a kua *whakameinga katoatia* kia inu i te Wairua kotahi." 1 *Koriniti* 12, 13. Ma konei hoki te inoinga a te Karaiti, "kia *kotahi tonu* ai ratou katoa; me koe hoki, e Pa, i roto i ahau, me ahau ano hoki i roto i a koe, kia *kotahi* ai ratou i roto i a taua." *Hoani* 17, 21. Na reira ano, "Kahore he Hurai, he Kariki ranei, kahore he pononga, he rangatira ranei. Kahore he tane, he wahine ranei; *kotahi hoki koutou katoa* i roto i a Ihu Karaiti." *Karatia* 3, 28.

He mea whakarite hoki te tahi ki te tinana o te tangata. Ko tahi ra ia tona upoko, ko tahi rawa ano hoki te tinana. "A, ko ia te upoko o te tinana o te hahi—mo tona tinana, ko ia ia ko te hahi." *Korohe* 1. 8, 24. "A, kua meinga ia hei upoko i ranga i nga mea katoa, *mo te hahi*, ko ia ia ko tona tinana, ko tana kinga e whakakiia nei nga wahi katoa ki nga mea katoa." *Epeha* 1,22.23. E whakaritea ana hoki ia ki te rangatiratanga. Heoi, ki te rangatiratanga kotahi ano, ina, *ta Matiu* 6, 10. "Tukua mai *tou* rangatiratanga." Me *ta Hoani* 18, 36. "Ka ki atu a Ihu, e hara *taku* rangatiratanga i tenei ao." Ko tenei hoki, "he hepeta o te tikanga te hepeta o tou rangatiratanga." *Hiperu* 1, 8. "Ko *ia anake* te whakapaingia ana, ko te Kingi ia o *nga* kingi, ko te Ariki o nga ariki." 1 *Timoti* 6,15. Ka rite ano hoki ki te whare, ina, "te whare o Te Atua ko ia ia, ko te hahi o Te Atua ora." 1 *Timoti* 3,15. "Ka whakapapa hoki koutou, ano he kowhatu ora, hei whare whakawairua." 1 *Pita* 2, 5. "Ko tona whare ano hoki tatou, ki te mea ka u tatou te pupuri i te maia tangata me te whakaputanga o te whakaaro pumau, te mutunga ra ano." *Hiperu* 3, 6. Heoi, kotahi rawa ano tenei whare, ina hoki, kotahi ano tona tino turanga, ki *ta* 1 *Pita* 2, 6. "Ka whakatakotoria e ahau ki a Hiona te tino kowhatu o te kokonga, he mea whiriwhiri, he mea utu nui." Ko tenei hoki, kei ta Paora, "Hore e tunga ke atu e ahei ai te tangata te whakatakoto i tena kua oti te whakatakoto, ko Ihu ia te Karaiti." 1 *Kor.* 3,11.

Otira, me rapu tatou i tenei Hahi kotahi ki hea? Kowai ranei tona ingoa? Kei tehea whenua ranei ia e noho ana? Ko te hahi o Ingarani ranei ia? Ko to te Weteriana ranei? Ko to Kotorana ranei? Ko tehea ranei ia o nga tini hahi, i te ao maori, e noho ana? Kahore pea. "E korero atu ana ahau ki te hunga mahara: Whakaaroa ra e koutou taku e mea atu nei." He aha koia ta te karaipiture e mea ana? "Kahore he Kariki i reira, he Hurai ranei, he kotinga, he kotinga kore ranei, he tau tangata ke, he Haitiana, he pononga, he rangatira ranei, otira, *ko te Karaiti te katoa* i nga mea katoa." *Korohe* 3, 11. E hara i te mea, ko tenei hahi, ko tera hahi, ko tera atu ranei, te tino hahi a te Karaiti, a, ko era atu kia kapea. Kaore, he mea kohikohi ona tangata i nga hahi katoa. Haunga ano nga tangata o te whenua, ko ratou katoa ano hoki o runga o te rangi. "Ara i te whakaritenga o te whakaka pinga o nga taima, kia huihuia nga mea katoa i roto i a te Karaiti, ko nga mea i te rangi, ko nga mea i te whenua, i roto

ano i a ia." *Epeha* 1, 10. No namata noa atu etahi o nga tangata o tana hahi. Ko Aperera, ratou ko Enoke, ko Noa, ko Aperahama, ko Ihaka, ko Hakopa, ko mea, ko mea, "e ohia ana ratou ki te kainga pai atu, ara ki te rangi; koia hoki Te Atua te whakama ai i a ratou kia karangatia ko to ratou Atua." *Hiperu* 11, 16. A, no muri ano i a ratou, ka karangatia nga Iharaite, ko te hahi a Te Atua, "koia tenei ko te hahi i te koraha." *Nga Mahi* 7,38. Tenei ano hoki nga tangata tokomaha o tana halli e mau nei, kei nga tini whenua, e kore pea e matauria katoatia e te tangata; heoi, "kua matau te Ariki ki ona." *2 Timoti* 2, 19. Na, kei runga kei te rangi ano hoki te mano tini o nga tangata tapu o tana hahi, "Mo konei ahau ka whakapiko ai i aku turi ki te Matua o to tatou Ariki a Ihu Karaiti, nona nei te ingoa e huaina ana ki te iwi katoa i te rangi, i te whenua—otira kua tae mai koutou ki Maunga Hiona, ki te pa hoki o Te Atua ora, ki Hiruharama i te rangi—ki te huihuinga nui ki te hahi o nga tamariki matamua." *Epeha* 3. 14, 15. *Hiperu* 12. 22, 23. Mo konei, kei whakaputa koe, e te tangata!—"Aua ra koe e whakakake, kia wehi ra,—kia tohe ano kia waiho te kotahitanga o te Wairua i te unga o te rangimarietanga. Kotahi raia tinana, kotahi Wairua, me koutou hoki i karangatia i te whakaaro tahi oto koutou karangatanga; kotahi Ariki, kotahi whakapono, kotahi iriiringa, kotahi Atua te Matua o nga mea katoa, ko ia i runga i nga mea katoa, ko ia ki nga mea katoa, ko ia i roto i a koutou katoa." *Roma* 11, 20. *Epeha* 4. 3—6.

2. He hahi tapu te hahi a te Karaiti.

"E tapu ana hoki te temepara o Te Atua, ko taua temepara hoki koutou." *1 Koriniti* 3, 17. "Me te Karaiti hoki kua aroha ki te hahi, a kua ho atu i a ia ano mo taua hahi, kia whakatapua ai e ia, ua oti te whakapai ki te horoinga o te wai ki te kupu, kia ho atu ai ki a ia ano hei hahi kororia, te whai ahua kino, ngatatatanga, tetahi atu ranei o aua mea, otira kia tapu ai, kia kino kore ai." *Epeha* 5.25—27. Waihoki ko nga tangata katoa o tana hahi, e tapu ana, ina, ta Paora, "kua horoia koutou, kua whakatapua koutou." *1 Koriniti* 6, 11. "Kua houhia nei ano te rongu ki a koutou—kia whakaturia ai koutou i tona aroaro hei hunga tapu, kia kino kore ai, kia kore ai e riria." *Korohe* 1. 21, 22. "Kua ho atu ano ia i a ia ano mo tatou, kia hokona ai tatou i te hara katoa, a kia whakapaia ai te hunga mona ake ano, he hunga totohe ki nga mahi pai." *Taituha* 2, 14.

Koia ano ra te tapunga o ta Te Atua hahi, puta ke ano tona ahua i to te tangata maori tapu. He tapu ano hoki to te tangata poka ke ana i ta Te Atua. Na, kei to te tangata ritenga, e tapu ana ano tona whare, tona tinana, ona kakahu, ana kai, me ona aha noa iho. Tena, ko Te Atua, "e kore ia e noho i nga temepara i hanga ki te ringaringa; e kore ano hoki ia e karakiatia ki nga ringaringa tangata, ano e mate tona, ki te aha ranei." *Nga Mahi* 17. 24, 25. E hara ia i nga mea o waho o te tangata e meinga ana e Te Atua, he mea tapu. Penei, "e rite ana—ki nga urupa kua oti te pani ki te paru ma, e ata ahua ana a waho, ko roto ia e toki ana i nga iwi tupapaku, me te tini o te paru.—Ko waho te tika ana ki to te tangata titiro, ko roto ia e toki ana i te whakarite kau, i te kino." *Matiu* 23. 27, 28. Otira, ko te tapu e paingia ana e Te Atua, ko roto ia o te ngakau o te tangata. "Kia whakarerea te hara e nga tangata katoa, e whakahua ana i te ingoa o te Karaiti." *2 Timoti* 2, 19. "E horoia ana tatou ki te toto o Ihu Karaiti Tana tamaiti i te hara katoa." *1 Hoani* 1, 7. He tapu whakaahua kau tena ki Te Atua. "Na, koia e whakatapu ana, ko ratou hoki e whakatapua ana, no te ahua kotahi ratou katoa." *Hiperu* 2, 11. "Kua tuhituhia hoki, kia tapu koutou, e tapu ana hoki ahau." *1 Pita* 1, 16. Na, he tapu pai tenei, he tapu whakawairua hoki, "Kino kore, pokenga kore."—"He maramatanga Te Atua, a kahore kau he pouritanga i roto i a ia." *1 Hoani* 1, 5. Ko ona tangata, "kua unuhia, e ratou, te tangata tawhito me ana hanga; a kua kakahuria te tangata hou, ko ia e whakahoutia ana mo te matauranga ki te ahua ona i hanga ai ia." *Korohe* 3. 9, 10. I tapu ano te Karaiti: kua meinga ia "kia tapu, kia kino kore, kia kaua e poke i te hara, kia motu ke i te hunga hara." *Hiperu* 7, 26. Waihoki, ka mea ia ki ona tangata, "Mo konei ra, puta mai koutou i roto i a ratou, kia motu ke—a kaua koutou e pa atu ki te mea kino; a maku koutou e tango." *2 Koriniti* 6, 17. Ae ra, e kore tana hahi e huihui talli ki te ritenga o tenei ao. Me tana hoki i mea, "E hara ratou i te ao, me ahau hoki e hara i te ao." *Hoani* 17, 16. E takoto ke ana ta te ao ritenga i ta Te Atua, "Mo reira ra, ko ia e hiahia ana kia meinga hei hoa aroha no te ao, e meinga ana ia hei hoa riri mo Te Atua. *Hemi* 4, 4. No konei hoki a Paora i mea ai, "Kaua koutou e whakaritea ki tenei ao." *Roma* 12, 2. "Kahore he tangata e pono te mahi ki nga rangatira tokorua," e ai ta te Karaiti, *Matiu* 6, 24. A, "ki te mea e aroha tetahi ki te ao, kahore te aroha o te Matua i roto i a ia." *1 Hoani* 2, 15. Na te mea hoki, "e hara ratou i te ao, ka kino te ao ki a ratou." *Hoani* 15, 19. "Me o mua hoki, ko ia i whanau ki te ritenga o te kikokiko i whakato i a ia i whanau ki te ritenga o te wairua, e pera ana ano inaianei." *Karatia* 4, 29. Heoi ra, tapu tonu ake tana hahi; "ekore e tomo atu ki reira tetahi mea e whakakino ana ranei, i te mea whakarihariha, i te teka ranei, ko ratou anake kua oti te tuhituhi ki te pukapuka ora a te Reme." *Whakakitenga* 21, 21. Mo konei ra, "Kia tapu te Ariki Te Atua i roto i o koutou ngakau: a kia rite tonu koutou ki te whakahoki kupu atu ki te tangata katoa e uia ai koutou ki te ritenga o te whakaaro pumau i roto i a koutou, me te rangimarie ano, me te wehi ano." *1 Pita* 3, 15.

3. E maha ana nga hahi i roto i te tino hahi a te Karaiti.

I mea ahau i naiane—he hahi kotahi te hahi a Ihu Karaiti. He pono ra, ahakoa e tini ana ano nga hahi o roto i a ia. "E hara hoki te tinana i te wahi kotahi, he tini ia." 1 *Koriniti* 12, 14. Nakoa tatou ka korero i te karaipiture, e mea ana, "a, ka okioki *nga hahi* puta noa i Huria katoa, i Kariri, i Hamaria, a, ka whakakahangia." *Nga Mahi*, 9, 31. "Ekore ano hoki ahau anake e whakawhetai atu ki a raua, otira, *ko nga hahi katoa* hoki o nga tau iwi." *Roma* 16, 4. "Ko o matou teina ranei te rapua ana, he apotoro ratou *no nga hahi*, he kororia no te Karaiti." 2 *Koriniti* 8, 23. "Kua whakatau hoki koutou e hoa ma, *ki nga hahi a Te Atua* i Huria i roto i a Karaiti Ihu." 1 *Teharonika* 2, 14. "Kua tonoa e ahau e Ihu taku anahera kia korero ki a koutou i enei mea i roto i *nga hahi*" *Whakakitenga* 22, 16. Me te tini noa iho o nga korero penei.

Na, kia maharatia e koe te tikanga maori o tenei kupu i tona reo ake ano, koia ia, *he whakaminenga tangata*. Ano ka huihuia katoatia nga tangata a Ihu Karaiti, o tenei hahi, o tenei hahi, kotahi rawa ano tino hahi me taku i mea nei inaianei. Heoi, he hahi ano nga whakaminenga tangata karakia katoa, ko ia whakaminenga, ko ia whakaminenga, "kei reira ano te kupu pokenga kore a Te Atua e kauwhautia ana, kei reira ano hoki nga hakarameta e minitatia tikatia ana, ki te tikanga o ta te Karaiti whakaritenga iho." Koia tatou ka kite nei i roto i te karaipiture, e mea na, ko te hahi o Epeha, te hahi o Perekama, o Taiataira, o he, o hea. Ahakoa torutoru nga tangata o taua whakaminenga, he hahi ia no Te Atua. I mea hoki te Karaiti, "Ko te wahi kua whakaminea te hunga tokorua, tokotoru ranei, ki toku ingoa, kei reira ahau kei waenganui i a ratou." *Matiu* 18, 20. Ko ta Paora hoki, "Kia owaha ano ki te hahi i *to ratou whare*." *Roma* 16, 5. "Ki tetahi hoki i *tou uhare*" *Pirimona* 2. Waihoki, "ko te ritenga i te timatanga kia pera aiane." Kua tukua rawatia iho ano tena ritenga ki a tatou. Mau tonu ia i nga whakapaparanga katoa, mohoa noa nei. No reira te tini o nga hahi ka kite nei tatou, ara, ko te hahi o Ingarani, o te Weteriana, o nga Papitiha, o nga Karawini, o Ruta, o Morewia, me te tini noa atu e kore e taea te whakataki. Heoi, ko tahi ano ratou katoa. Ina, *ta Epeha* 4, 5. "Kotahi Ariki, kotahi whakapono, kotahi iriiringa." Kotahi ano to ratou turanga, "He mea hanga i runga i te turanga o nga apotoro, me nga poropiti, ko Ihu Karaiti ano hei tino kamaka mo te kokonga." *Epeha* 2, 20. Kotahi rawa upoko no ratou katoa, ko te Karaiti. E hara hoki ratou i a ia, ki "te kore e mau ki te upoko mana nei te tinana katoa, ua oti te whangai te whakakaha ki nga ponapona, ki nga herenga, ka nui haere ai ki te whakanuinga a Te Atua." *Korohe* 2, 19. Kotahi hoki ture no ratou katoa; ko nga karaipiture tapu. "No te hahi o Te Atua te karaipiture katoa, a, e pai ana mo te whakaakoranga, mo te riringa, mo te whakatikanga, mo te whakaakoranga ki te tikanga; kia rite ai te tangata o Te Atua, he mea whakarite ki te mahi pai katoa." 2 *Timoti* 3, 16. 17. Kotahi ano hoki kai whakaora mo ratou katoa, ko Ihu ia ko te Karaiti. "Kahore hoki he oranga ki tetahi atu; kahore hoki he ingoa ke atu i raro o te rangi kua ho mai ki a tatou e ora ai tatou." *Nga Mahi* 4, 12. Me te Wairua Tapu hoki. Kotahi ano la hei kai mahi i roto i a ratou katoa. Ahakoa "poka ke nga mea e ho mai ana, kotahi ano ia Wairua. Na, ko anei katoa e mahia ana e taua Wairua kotahi, ko ia hei tu wha ki tetahi, ki tetahi, me tana e pai ai." 1 *Koriniti* 12, 4, 11. Waihoki, kotahi tonu ano to ratou kainga tumau e takoto ake nei, mo te mea, "e whakakotahitia te kainga, kotahi ano hoki te hepara." *Hoani* 10, 16. Koia ahau i mea ai, he hahi kotahi te hahi o te Karaiti "Me te tinana hoki e kotahi ana, a, he tini ona wahi, a, ko nga wahi katoa o taua tinana kotahi, ahakoa tini, kotahi ano ia tinana, e penei ana hoki a te Karaiti." 1 *Koriniti* 12, 12. Na, koia ano "te hahi a Te Atua i hokona e ia ki ona toto." *Nga Mahi* 20, 28. E rite ana hoki ki te rangatiratanga o tenei ao. Ahakoa tini nga whenua me o ratou ritenga ake ano, kotahi rawa ano tino Kingi o taua rangatiratanga. Me te whare hoki. Ahakoa kotahi ia, he tini ona ruma o roto, "Ko etahi mo te honore, ko etahi mo te honore kore." 2 *Timoti* 2, 20. Waihoki, ko nga hahi katoa e u ana ki te tino ritenga tapu o te Karaiti, ahakoa karangatia ana ki te ingoa o te hea tangata ranei, o te hea whenua ranei, kotahi ano ia temepara mo Te Atua. "I a ia hoki koutou e hanga tahitia ana hei nohoanga mo Te Atua i te Wairua." *Epeha* 2, 22. Heoi rawa ano te mea he, he whakakake, he wehewehe. Ko ia ia, ko te tangata e tohe ana, nona anake te hahi pono. "Tenei ra ia kua whakanohoia e Te Atua nga wahi katoa takitehi ki te tinana me tana ano i pai ai. A, me he mea, kotahi ano wahi, nga wahi katoa, kei hea te tinana? Otira, he tini nga wahi, kotahi ano ia tinana. A, e kore te kanohi e ahei te mea atu ki te ringaringa, kahore aku mate ki a koe; e kore ano hoki te matenga e ahei te mea atu ki nga waewae, kahore aku mate ki a korua. Na, ko koutou te tinana o te Karaiti me nga wahi pu ano." 1 *Koriniti* 12, 18, 21, 27. Otira, ko ratou katoa e mahi ana i te he, e hara ratou i tana tino hahi, mo te mea, "Kei waho nga kuri, me te hunga makutu, me nga kai kohuru, me te hunga karakia ki nga whakapakoko, ko ratou katoa hoki e pai ana e mahi ana i te teka." *Whakakitenga* 22, 15.

II. KO NGA MINITA O TE HAHĪ A IHU KARAITI.

"A, kua ho mai e ia, etahi, hei apotoro; ko etahi, hei poropiti; ko etahi, hei kai kauwhau i te rongopai; ko etahi, hei kai whangai, hei kai whakaako; mo te whakakahanga o te hunga tapu, mo te mahi o te mini tatanga, mo te hanganga ake i te tinana o te Karaiti." *Epeha* 4, 11. 12,

Ko tona tikanga maori ia o tenei kupu—o te minita—he pononga. Me ta Paora hoki i mea, "Kia penei te whakaaro o te tangata ki a matou, ano he *pononga* o te Karaiti, he tuari hoki i nga mea ngaro o Te Atua" *Koriniti* 4, 1. "A, ko ia e mea ana kia whakarangatira i roto i a koutou, hei pononga ia mo koutou: Me te Tama

hoki a te tangata kihai haere mai kia minititia he mea mana, oti kia minita ia, a, kia ho atu tona oranga hei utu mo te tokomaha." Na te Karaiti tenei korero, kei *ta Matiu* 20. 27, 28. Kahore hoki o te minita tino rangatira i tenei ao. Ko te Karaiti ia tona rangatira; ko ratou katoa nga teina *Matiu*. 23. 8, 10. Na te Karaiti hoki te kupu nei, "E kore te pononga e nui atu i tona rangatira." *Hoani* 13, 16. Ma te aroha ki Te Atua, ma te tino whakaaro tika, ka whakateina ai ratou tetahi ki tetahi. Tena, "Ko te tangata e whakakake ana i a ia ano ka whakaititia." *Matiu* 23, 12. He whakakake hoki tena na etahi, i wehewehea ai, i tu a whawhai tetahi ki tetahi. Pera hoki me nga akonga o te Karaiti i mua. I te mea, kiano i pakari noa to ratou matauranga, ka mea atu ratou ki a Ihu Karaiti, "E kara, kua kite matou i tetahi tangata e pei rewera ana ki tou ingoa; a kua riri matou ki a ia, no te mea, e kore ia e haere tahi me tatou. Ka mea atu a Ihu ki a ia, kua e riria: ko ia hoki e hara i te hoa whawhai no tatou, hei hoa ia mo tatou." *Ruka* 9. 49, 50. A, he mea ano, na te mahi poka noa a nga akonga, ki te whakahe etahi ki etahi, ka waiho ai hei whakatupu wehewehe. I pera ano ra nga tangata karakia o Koriniti i mua, ina, ta Paora i riri ai ki a ratou, i mea, "E hara oti koutou i te hunga whakakikokiko, e haere ana ki to te tangata ritenga? Ka mea hoki etahi, no Paora ahau; ko tetahi atu, no Aporo ahau: e hara oti koutou i te hunga whakakikokiko? Kowai koia a Paora, kowai a Aporo, ko nga minita ia i whakapono ai koutou me ta te Ariki i ho atu ai ki tetahi ki tetahi?" 1 *Koriniti* 3. 3, 5. Heoi ra, ko nga minita teka e korerotia ana e te Karaiti, kei *ta Matiu* 7, 15. Me pehea tatou ka mohio ai ki a ratou? Me pehea ranei e rite ai i a tatou te kupu a Hoani, kei 1 *Hoani* 4, 1. "Me whakamatau nga wairua, no Te Atua ranei, kahore ranei." Ha, he mea takoto noa ra tena ki te tangata e matau ana ki te karaipiture. "Ma o ra- tou hua ka kitea ai ratou e koutou." *Matiu* 7, 16. Na, e kore e ngaro te ahua o nga minita e pono ana. E matauria ana ano o ratou tohu, koia enei:—

1. He tangata mohio ia ki nga karaipiture.

E ahei koia i te tangata kuware te whakaako i tetahi ki te hanga poti, whare ranei, aha ranei? Kahore rapea. Ma te tangata mohio, ma te tohunga tena e whakaako ki era atu. Ko ia ranei e kuware ana ki te korero pukapuka, ki te tuhituhi, e taea ranei e ia te whakaako kura? He teka ra hoki. Ko te matapo ranei: E ahei oti ia te whakaatu i te tikanga o nga kara maha? Kao. Waihoki, ki ta te whakapono ritenga, "E ahei ranei te matapo te arahi i te matapo? e kore ranei e taka ki te waikeri, tokorua, tokorua." *Ruka* 6, 39. I mea a Paora, "Kei a matou nei tenei taonga i nga takotoranga oneone, kia meinga ai, no Te Atua te rawenga o te kaha, e hara i a matou." 2 *Koriniti* 4, 7. Otira, e kore tenei matauranga e riro i te tangata ngakau maori, mo te mea, "E kore ra te tangata i te ngakau maori e tango i nga mea o te Wairua a Te Atua: he mea kuware hoki ki a ia: e kore ano hoki e ahei te matau, ma te Wairua hoki ka kitea ai." 1 *Koriniti* 2, 14. E ngari ia, kua whakamaramatia tona hinengaro e Te Atua. No muri hoki i tona tino whakapono i tango ai a Paora, ratou ko nga Apotoro katoa, ki te minitatanga, ina tana korero, "ko Te Atua hoki i korerotia ai te maramatanga kia tiaho i roto i te pouritanga, nana i mea kia tiaho ki roto ki o matou ngakau, mo te whakamaramatanga o te matauranga ki te kororia o Te Atua i te kanohi o Ihu Karaiti." 2 *Koriniti* 4, 6. A "ko ia e whakawairuatia ana e kite ana i nga mea katoa, tena, ko ia ano e kore e kitea e tetahi." 1 *Koriniti* 2, 15. E kore e pono te minitatanga a tetahi tangata, kahore nei i a ia "te matauranga ki tana hiahia i te maharatanga katoa, i te matauranga whakawairua." *Korohe* 1, 9. Haunga ano ratou "e whakakahoretia ana te kupu a Te Atua ki o ratou ritenga i tukua iho e ratou." *Maka* 7, 13. Otira, ko te tangata katoa, he aha ranei era atu matau- ranga nana. "Ahakoa ka korero ahau ki nga reo o nga tangata, o nga anahera hoki,—ahakoa kei ahau te poropititanga e kitea ana e ahau nga mea ngaro katoa me te matauranga katoa—ki te kahore he aroha, e hara rawa ahau, ka pera ahau me te parahi tangi, me te himipora tangi." 1 *Koriniti* 13, 1. 2. "Kei hea te tohunga? Kei hea te karaipi? Kei hea te tangata tohe o tenei ao? Kahore ano koia Te Atua i whakakuware i te tohungatanga o tenei ao." 1 *Koriniti* 1, 20. Tena, ko te tangata, e meinga ana e Te Atua, he minita o te rongopai "hei kai mahi ia e kore e whakama, e wehewehe tika ana i te kupu o te pono." 2 *Timoti* 2, 15. "E kawea ana hoki ia e te aroha o Te Atua." 2 *Koriniti* 5, 14. Ka mea a Paora, "Koia ta matou ka korero nei, ka whakamatau i nga tangata katoa, ka whakaako i nga tangata katoa, ki te matauranga katoa; kia arahi ai matou i nga tangata katoa hei tangata tika i roto i a Karaiti Ihu." *Korohe* 1, 28. Na konei ka pumau ai ia, "ki te korero pukapuka, ki te kauwhau, ki te whakaako." 1 *Timoti* 4, 13. E pena ana ano hoki tona ritenga me ta Hoani, "Kahore aku hari nui atu i tenei, kia rongopai ahau e haere ana aku tamariki i te pono," 3 *Hoani* 4.

2. He tangata whiriwhiri, te minita pono, na Te Atua.

E kore ia e tango pokanoa i tenei mahi. "E kore ano hoki tetahi e tango i tenei honore ki a ia ano, otira, ko te tangata e karangatia ana e Te Atua, pera hoki me Arona." *Hiperu* 5, 4. He mea whiriwhiri ra hoki nga Apotoro i mua, "Naku ia koutou i whiriwhiri." Na te Karaiti i penei ki a ia ratou. Tera kei *ta Hoani* 15, 16. pena ano hoki tana korero mo Paora, "he mea whiriwhiringa naku tenei tangata, hei kawea i toku ingoa ki te aroaro o nga tau iwi, o nga kingi, o nga tamariki o Iharaira." *Nga Mahi* 9, 15. Ma wai oti ana pononga e whiriwhiri? Mana ano ma to ratou rangatira. Heoi, e kore te whakaaro o Te Atua e pena me to te tangata. Kaore, kua

whiriwhiria e Te Atua nga mea kuware o te ao kia meinga ai nga tohunga kia whakama: a kua whiriwhiria e Te Atua, nga mea ngoikore o te ao kia meinga ai nga mea kaha kia whakama; a kua whiriwhiria e Te Atua nga mea ware o te ao, me nga mea e kinongia ana, me nga mea kahore i kitea kia whakakahore i nga mea e kitea ana: kia kore ai e whakapehapeha tetahi tangata ki tona aroaro." 1 *Koriniti* 1. 27, 29. E kore hoki te tangata pono e porahurahu ki te tango i tenei mahi. He mahi nui, he mahi whakamataku hoki tenei ki a ia. E ata whakaaro marire ana ia ki te tikanga o tenei minitanga. He mahi titiro, he mahi tiaki i nga wairua o nga tangata. "He kakara pai o te Karaiti ki Te Atua—ki etahi he kakara o te mate haere atu ki te mate; ki etahi he kakara o te oranga haere atu ki te oranga." A, ka mea ia. "Kowai te kaha ana ki enei mea." 2 *Koriniti* 2. 15, 16. Na te mea, kua pa te karanga a Te Atua ki tona ngakau, ka maia ai ia ki te tango i te mahi nui o te minitanga. Otira, e tango ana ki runga i te wehi me te wiri ano. E pena ana tona whakaaro me ta Paora, "Akakoa kauwhau ahau i terongo pai, kahore moku whakapehapeha; kua whakatakotoria hoki ki ahau tenei mahi; he aue ano moku ki te kore ahau e kauwhau i te rongo pai." 1 *Koriniti* 9, 16. He mea tono ia na te Karaiti, me tana e mea. "me te matua i tono mai i a au, ka tono hoki ahau i a koutou." *Hoani* 20, 21. "Mo konei ra, he karere matou mo te Karaiti, ano ra ka tohea koutou e Te Atua ki a matou: ka tohe atu matou mo te Karaiti, kia mau ta koutou rongo ki te Atua." 2 *Koriniti* 5, 20.

3. He mea whakarite ano nga kaumatua o te Hahi.

Ahakoia, karangatia te tangata e te Atua, e kore ia e haere noa ki te kauwau. Kahore. E ngari, kia whakamatauria tona karangatanga e te hahi. Kowai hoki te matau ana, he pono ranei tona karangatanga, kahore ranei?—"Eaoia, ma o ratou hua ka kitea ai ratou e koutou." *Matiu* 7. 16. He haurangi pea tena no te tangata, he kuware ranei, he he noa iho ranei, i mea ai ia, kua karangatia ia e Te Atua ki tenei mahi. Otira, ma nga kaumatua, nga kai arahi, o te hahi, e titiro ki ana ritenga, me ta Paora hoki i meaki a Timoti,— "Kei whakapakia wawetia nga ringaringa ki tetahi tangata." 1 *Timoti* 5. 22. Me tenei hoki,— "Ko nga mea i rongo ai koe i ahau ki nga kai whakapono tokomaha, tukua enei mea *ki nga tangata pono* e matau ai te whakaako ki era atu." 2 *Timoti* 2. 2. Ano ra, ka ata kitea ana ritenga, e pono ana, ko tona whakapono e tino pakari ana, me tona matauranga, me ana mahi e tika ana, a, ka tino rite *ki ta* 1 *Timoti* 3. 2, 13. hei reira ia tukua ai ki tenei minitanga "me te whakapanga o nga ringaringa o nga kaumatua. 1 *Timoti* 4. 14. Ka tahi ka tino rite tona minitanga. Ka rua hoki karangatanga nona, ko ta Te Atua ki mua, muri iho, ko ta te hahi.—Na konei ka meinga ai ia "he karere mo te Karaiti he karere ano hoki na te hahi." 2 *Koriniti* 8. 23. I peneitia ano ra o koutou minita kua tae mai nei ki a koutou. Heoi ano. Kua kite koutou, a, e matau ana ano. "Ka timata ano ranei matou te whakapai i a matou? ka mate ranei matou, me etahi atu, ki nga pukapuka whakapai ki a koutou, ki etahi pukapuka whakapai ranei no koutou? Ko koutou to matou pukapuka he mea tuhituhi ki o matou ngakau, e kitea ana e korerotia ana e nga tangata katoa: E whakakitea ana hoki ko koutou te pukapuka o te Karaiti, he mea minita na matou, kua tuhituhia, e hara ia ki te mangumangu, otira, ki te Wairua o te Atua ora; kihai tuhituhia ki nga papa kowhatu, otira, ki nga papa kikokiko o te ngakau." 2 *Koriniti* 3. 1,—3.

III. KO NGA HAKARAMETA O TE HAHĪ A IHU KARAITI.

"Kei whakahaerea koutou ki nga whakaakoranga e puta ke ana, e hou ana. E pai ana raia kia whakaukia te tangata ki te atawhai; kua ia ki nga kai, ko ratou hoki i whakaaro ki aua mea kahore i whiwhi ki te pai." *Hiperu* 13.9

No te reo Ratini ano te take o tenei kupu, o te Hakarameta. Ko tona tino tikanga ra tenei:—"he tohu no waho kau, ta te kanohi e kite ai, hei tohu ki te mahi whakawairua o roto i homai ki a tatou. Na te Karaiti ano i mea, hei mea hoki kia whiwhi ai tatou ki tona mahi whakawairua, a hei tohu hoki mo te rironga mai." 2 *Katikihama* VII. 117. Na, he maha nga mea whakarite i te halli o mua, ara, i to nga Hurai, i te mea, kiano te Karaiti i puta mai ki tenei ao. Heoi, kei whakarite kau ena mea, kahore he pumautanga. "He atarangi kau ta te ture o nga mea pai e haere ake nei, ehara ia i te ahua pu o nga mea." *Hiperu* 10. 1. "Otira ka tae mai te tino mea, hei reira whakakahoretia ai taua wahi." 1 *Koriniti* 13. 19. Na, ko te Karaiti te tino mea i whakapahuretia ai aua ritenga o mua, ki ta Paora hoki i mea "Na, i mua o te taenga mai o te whakapono, kua waiho tatou i raro o te ture, he mea kopani mo te whakapono meake whakakitea. Na, kua meinga te ture hei kaiwhakaako mo tatou, hei arahi kia te Karaiti, kia whakatikaia ai tatou ki te whakapono, a ka tae mai te whakapono, kahore tatou i waiho i raro o te kaiwhakaako." *Karatia* 3. 23,—25. No te matenga hoki o te Karaiti i rite katoa ai nga mea o te ture o Mohi nana hoki i karanga i runga i te ripeka "Kua mutu." *Hoani* 19. 20. Heoi, no te whakamahuetaanga o ena i whakaritea mai e te Karaiti e tahi Hakarameta mo tana hahi, kia mau tonu ano "a kia tae mai ra ano ia." 1 *Koriniti* 11. 26. Na, e rua rawa aua Hakarameta i meinga mai e te Karaiti mo ona tangata, koia ia, "ko te Iriiringa, ko te hapa o te Ariki." Kia rongo koutou ki te tino tikanga o enei mea. Maku e whakaatu:—

1. Ko te Iriiringa.

Ka tono te Karaiti i ana pononga ki te kawe i te rongopai ki te ao katoa, ko mea hoki ia, kia iriiria a ratou katoa e whakapono ana ki a ia. Na, ko tona tohu o waho, o te iriiringa, koia tenei, "He whakapanga wai ki te ingoa o te Matua, o te Tamaiti, o te Wairua Tapu." *Matiu* 28. 19. Ko tona "mahi whakawairua o roto i waiho ai tenei hei tohu," koia tenei, "he horoinga no a tatou kino, he whakahoutanga i a tatou ki roto ki a Ihu Karaiti." *Ki tu Nga Mahi* 2. 38. "Ka mea atu a Pita ki a ratou, Ripeneta, kia iriiria koutou katoa ki te ingoa o Ihu Karaiti, mo te murunga hara, a ka riro mai ki a koutou te homaitanga o te Wairua Tapu." Me tenei hoki "He aha tau e whakaroa nei? whakatika kia iriiria koe, kia horoia ai ou hara, me karanga ki te ingoa o te Ariki." *Nga Mahi* 22. 16. I mea hoki te Karaiti "Ko ia e whakapono ana a ka oti te iriiri ka whakaorangia." *Maka* 16. 16. Otira, "Ki te kahore te tangata te whakawhanautia i te wai, i te Wairua hoki, e kore ia e ahei te tomo ki roto ki te rangatiratanga o te Atua," *Hoani* 3. 5. No konei tatou matau ai, he mea nui tenei, he mea tapu. E hara hoki ia i ta te tangata whakaritenga, kahore, na te Karaiti ake ano. Me te Karaiti ano i iriiria, waihoki, kia iriiria katoatia ona tangata "Kia penei te whakaritenga i te tikanga katoa." *Matiu* 3. 15. Ka waiho hoki tenei, hei tikanga e tapoko ai nga tangata ki roto ki tana hahi, pera me nga tangata katoa i whakapono i nga apotoro. "Ko ratou i tango hari i te kupu, i iriiria." *Nga Mahi* 2. 41. "Ano ka whakapono ratou ki a Piripi e kau whau ana i nga mea o te rangatiratanga o Te Atua, o te ingoa hoki o Ihu Karaiti, ka iriiria ratou, ko nga tangata, ko nga wahine." *Nga Mahi* 8. 12. "He tokomaha hoki te hunga o Koriniti i whakarongo, a whakapono ana, ka iriiria." *Nga Mahi* 18. 8. I mau tonu ano tenei ritenga, a mohoa noa nei. E—ko te tangata, ka pa nei te hiahia ki te Atua ki tona ngakau, ka pena ia me te unaka. "Na, he wai! kei aha hoki a hau te iriiria ai?" *Nga Mahi* 8. 36. A kia "iriiria ano ia me ana tamariki katoa." 16. 33. No "ka uru ratou ki roto ki te hahi a te Karaiti e kitea ana; a, ka whakaetia e Te Atua to ratou tatanga ki te Arama tuarua, te kai wawao mo tatou i te kawenata hou nei, ka karangatia hoki tatou kia tango ki nga taonga mo o ratou wairua e rite ana ki a ratou." 2 *Katikiama* VII. 120.

Otira, he tangata kuware noa iho e hinu ki te tikanga o tenei Hakarameta. E whakaaro ana ratou ki "te tohu no waho" anake, te mahara ratou, ki te "mahi whakawairua o roto i waiho ai tenei hei tohu." No ratou ka oti te iriiri ki te wai, ka mea ai ratou, he murunga hara tena mo ratou, he whakawhanautanga houtanga hoki. He tino he tenei. E ngari kia iriiria ngatahitia te ngakau me te tinana, ko reira rite ai ka "whakawhanautia koutou ki te wai, ki te *Wairua Tapu* hoki." *Hoani* 3. 5. "I iriiria hoki a Hoani ki te wai, ko koutou ia—ka iriiria ki te Wairua Tapu." *Nga Mahi* 1. 5. E rua ra iriiringa e korerotia ana e te Karaipiture. Ma te iriiri o te tinana kau ka aha ai? Tera ke te mea nui, ko te ngakau kia iriiria. He tangata iriiri hoki a Haimona. I iriiria ia e nga apotoro. Heoi, ka mea atu a Pita ki a ia "Kahore mou wahi, kahore mou rota o tenei kupu; e kore hoki e tika tou ngakau ki te aroaro o Te Atua." *Nga Mahi* 8. 21. E pena katoa ana hoki te tangata e okioki ana ki runga i te iriiringa kautanga ki te wai. Tokomaha o te hunga iriiri e haere he ana, e noho motu ke ana i Te Atua, e mahi ana i te kino. E maharatia oti e te Atua to ratou iriiringa a te ra whakawa? Kahore ra pea. Ko te tarutaru ratou o tana mara e meinga nei kia hutia ake e nga anahera, ka pupu rawa, ka tahuna. Hei reira ka "puta mai nga anahera, ka wehewehe te hunga kino i roto i te hunga tika, e akiri i a ratou ki roto ki te kapura arai rawa, ko reira te tangihanga me te teteatanga o nga niho." *Matiu* 13. 49, 50. E rite ana tenei hunga "ki te tangata whakaaro kore i hanga i tana whare ki runga i te onepu; a ka ua te ua, ka puta nga waipuke, pupuhi ana nga hau, pa pu ki taua whare, ka hinga; a, he rahi ano tona hinganga." *Matiu* 7. 26, 27. Kei pera koe. Otira kia penei tou whakaaro ki a koe, "No ka iriiria ahau, kia whakarerea e ahau te rewera me ana mahi katoa, me nga whakapehapeha o tenei ao kino, me nga hiahia kino o te kikokiko; kia whakapono hoki ahau ki nga tikanga katoa o te karakia a te Karaiti, a, kia whakaritea e ahau te hiahia tapu a Te Atua, a, kia pumau tonu taku mahi ki ana ture i nga ra katoa o toku orange ake." 2 *Katikiama* VII. 121. Penei, ka hanga koe i tou whare ki runga i te kamaka "a hore rawa kia hinga." E tama, "rere atu koe i te riri e haere mai,"—okioki—okioki atu ki runga i te matenga o Ihu Karaiti, a, "mana koutou e iriiri ki te kapura, ki te Wairua Tapu." *Matiu* 3. 11. Ki te kahore koe e penei, kia rongopai mai koe "Tenei ano hoki ka takoto te titaha ki te pakiaka o nga rakau; mo konei, ko nga rakau katoa ekore e whakatupu i te hua pai, e tuakina ana, e maka ana ki te ahi." *Matiu* 3. 10.

2. Ko te hapa o te Ariki.

I whakaturia tenei Hakarameta e te Ariki, "hei whakamahara tonu ki tona matenge me nga painga e whiwhi ai tatou mo taua matenga ona." 2 *Katikiama* VII. 121. Ko ona tohu o waho, "he taro, he waina, kia kainga." Tirohia 1 *Koriniti* 11—23, 24, Ko to roto e tohutuhungia ana, "Ko te tinana me nga toto o te Karaiti e kainga wairuatia ana e te hunga whakaponokia kaha ai, kia wai ngoi ai o ratou wairua." Tirohia 1 *Koriniti* 10. 16. *Hoani* 6. 54, 55. Na, ko te mea e hono tonu ai tatou te tango i tenei hapa tapu, ko ta te Ariki i mea mai, "meinga tenei hei whakamaharatanga ki a au." *Ruka* 22. 19. Ko ratou e tango tika ana i tenei hakarameta, e wangainga ana ratou e ia ki te taro o te orange. He mea hoki kia hari ai te ngakau o ona tangata. No konei ratou ka ngakau

nui ai ki te tango i te hapa o te Ariki. Pera hoki me nga tangata whakapono i te ra o Petikoha, "kotahi ano to ratou ngakau, a wawati taro ana ia whare, ia whare, ka kai hari i o ratou kai me te ngakau marama." *Nga Mahi* 2. 46.

Heoi, e kore e tika i a ratou e tango pokanoa ana i runga o te he. Kahore he whakaaro kahore he whakapono o roto i o ratou ngakau. Mo konei ra, "kia whakawa te tangata i a ia ano ka kai ai i te taro, ka inu ai i te kapa, koia hoki e kai he ana, e inu he ana, e kai ana, e inu ana, i te whakawhakanga mona, te wha- kaaro ko te tinana o te Ariki." 1 *Koriniti* 11. 28, 29. I riri hoki a Paora, i mua, ki a ratou o Koriniti na ratou i tango he te hapa tapu, poka ke to ratou ritenga i ta te Karaiti i whakarite. Na reira i pa ai te ngoikore me te mate ki a ratou. Heoi, he tokomaha i aru i tena he i muri iho. Kahore i ata tika to ratou tangohanga i tenei Hakarameta tapu. E kore rawa ratou e wai painga.

Otira, kua mahue rawa i etahi te tikanga o tenei Hakarameta. Whakaputa ke ana ratou i tetahi tikanga mo ratou e hara i Te Atua. Ko te hahi o Roma he tino ritenga maori tona, ko te waina e tino whakakahoretia ana mo ona akonga, a ko te taro, e karakiatia maoritia ana. No ratou ano to ratou mea. Ko etahi atu ano e whakaputa ke ana i tona tikanga i a ratou, e mea ana, ko te kai whakaora ia mo te tangata ko te Hakarameta. "I a ratou hoki e kuware ana ki te tikanga o Te Atua, e rapu ana kia whakaukia to ratou tikanga, kahore ratou e rongu ki te tikanga o Te Atua" *Roma* 10. 3. Otira, ka mea a Paora, "ka oti tatou te whakatika ki te whakapono, he maunga rongu to tatou ki Te Atua na to tatou Ariki, na Ihu Karaiti." *Roma* 5.1. "Kua whakaorangia hoki koutou ki te atawhai na te whakapono; a ko tenei e hara i a koutou; he mea ho mai noa na Te Atua." *Epeha* 2. 8. Tena, ko ratou e whakaputa ke ana i te ritenga o Te Atua, mea ana, ma te whakarite ki te Hakarameta, ma te aha noa atu, e ora ai te tangata, "e whakaako ana ratou i nga ture o te tangata hei whakaakoranga." *Maka*. 7.7 He tokomaha hoki ratou e kai Hakarameta ana, a e haere ana ki runga i te "huarahi warahi e tika ana ki te mate." Ma te tango kau koia ka aha ai? "Pai rawa te poropititanga a Ihaia mo koutou, mo te hunga ngutu kau, me ta te tuhituhi. E whakahonore ana te hunga nei i ahau ki nga ngutu, ko to ratou ngakau ia kei tawhiti ke, otira, maumau karakia noa ratou ki ahau." *Maka* 7. 6, 7. Koia ahau i mea ai, kei okioki koe ki runga i au tangohanga kautanga, i te mea, kahore ano tou ngakau i eke noa ki runga i a Ihu Karaiti, kia murua ai au hara katoa e ia ki ona toto. Penei, e kore koe e paingia e ia a tona taenga mai. "Ko reira koutou timata ai te korero, kua kai matou, kua inu i tou aroaro—a ka ki mai ia, ka mea atu ahau ki a koutou, kahore ahau e matau ki a koutou no hea ranei; haere atu i ahau koutou katoa te kai mahi i te kino." *Ruka* 13. 26, 27, E ngari ra, ko "ratou e haere mai ana ki te hapa tapu o te Ariki—kia rapu i roto i a ratou te tikanga o to ratou ripenetanga mo o ratou hara o mua, me te whai ngakau ano kia tika to ratou noho i te ao, kia rapu ano ki te tino whakaponotanga ki te mahi tohu a Te Atua i aha mai i a te Karaiti; kia mahara tonu ano hoki ki tona matenga, a, kia atawhai ki te tangata katoa." 2 *Katiki-hama* IV. 126.

IV. KO NGA TANGATA O TE HAHĪ A IHU KARAITI.

"Ma konei ka matau ai nga tangata katoa, ko koutou aku akonga, me e aroha ana koutou te tahi ki te tahi." *Hoani* 13. 35.

"Ko te hunga hoki no Iharaira, e hara ratou katoa i a Iharaira." *Roma* 9. 6. Waihoki, ko nga tangata katoa o nga hahi i tenei ao, e hara ratou katoa i te tino hahi a Ihu Karaiti. Me nga tangata o Iharaira i mua, e whakakake ana, e pera ana ano hoki e tahi inaianei. I mea hoki ratou, i whiwhi ai ratou ki te oranga tonutanga, he tamariki ratou no Aperahama. I meinga hoki e ratou, nga tau iwi katoa he kuri. Ka rite hoki ki ta etahi ka rongu nei tatou. Ka korero whakakake ratou, mea ana, no ratou anake te hahi pono, a whakahe ana ki era atu katoa. Otira, he mea he tenei ki ta Te Atua titiro. Nana hoki i mea ki nga hurai i mua, "kei timata koutou te mea ki a koutou, ko Aperahama to matou matua, ka mea atu hoki ahau ki a koutou. E taea e Te Atua te whakaaro tamariki mo Aperahama i enei kowhatu." *Ruka* 3. 8. Ko ta Paora hoki, "E hara ratou katoa i te tamariki, i te mea, he whanau na Aperahama, otira, ka karangatia he whanau mou i a Ihaka. Ara, ko nga tamariki o te kikokiko, e hara enei i te tamariki o Te Atua; otira, ko nga tamariki o te korero oha te meinga ana ko te whanau." *Roma* 9. 7, 8. E kore hoki Te Atua e titiro ki to waho o te tangata, "a kahore ia i pai ake ki tetahi i tetahi." *Korohe* 3. 25. Heoi, ko te ngakau ano te mea e rapua ana e Te Atua, kia tika, haunga te ingoa ranei, te hahi ranei, te rangatiratanga ranei, te aha ranei o te tangata. Heoi ano te mea pai, ko te aroha o roto o te ngakau. "Ahakoa ka ho atu e ahau aku taonga katoa hei whangai i te hunga rawakore. Ahakoa ka tukua atu toku tinana kia tahuna, ki te kahore he aroha, kore rawa aku painga," 1 *Koriniti* 13.3. Otira, ko te tangata katoa, kowai ranei ia, no tehea hahi ranei, ki te whakapono ia i roto i tona ngakau, e ora. "He pono, e kite ana ahau e kore Te Atua e whakaaro ki te kanohi o te tangata; otira, i nga iwi katoa, ko te tangata e wehi ana i a ia, e mahi tika ana, te paingia ana e ia." *Nga Mahi* 10. 34, 35. "Kahore hoki he putanga ketanga o te Hurai ranei, o te kariki ranei; ko taua Ariki tonu hoki o nga tangata katoa, e atawhai ana, ki a ratou katoa e karanga ki te ingoa o te Ariki e whakaorangia." *Roma* 10. 12, 13. "I a Karaiti Ihu hoki, kahore te kotinga i whai wahi, kahore ano hoki te kotinga kore, otira, ko te whakapono e mahi ana ki te aroha." *Karatia* 5. 6. Na, ko ratou katoa, e meinga ana e te Karaiti, he wahi ora no tona tinana:—

1. Kua kite ratou i te tikanga o te ripenetanga.

Ko te timatanga hoki tenei o te whakapono, ko te ripenetanga. "I te koraha a Hoani e iriiri ana, a e kau whau ana i te iriiringa o te ripeneta mo te whakangaromanga o nga hara." *Maka* 1. 4. I mea hoki te Karaiti ki ana akonga "Ka haere atu koutou ka kauwhau kia ripeneta ratou," *Maka* 6. 12. A "I kauwhautia hoki ki nga Hurai, ki nga Kariki ano hoki, te ripeneta ki Te Atua, me te whakapono hoki ki to tatou Ariki, ki a Ihu Karaiti." *Nga Mahi* 20. 21. A, ki te kahore te tangata e ripeneta, ekore hoki ia e ora, ina, te kupu o te Karaiti, "ka mea atu ahau ki a koutou, ki te mea ekore koutou e ripeneta, ka pera hoki te mate mo koutou katoa," *Ruka* 13. 5. "Kihai tirohia e Te Atua nga taima o te kuwaretanga, tena ko tenei, e mea ana ia kia ripeneta nga tangata katoa o ia wahi, o ia wahi." *Nga Mahi* 17. 30. No konei i kauwhau ai nga apotoro, "Kia ripeneta, kia tahuri atu ki Te Atua, kia mahi i nga mahi tika o te ripeneta." *Nga Mahi* 26. 30. A, he hunga ripeneta katoa ratou o te hahi pono a Ihu Karaiti. I ripeneta ai ratou, he kitenga no ratou i a ratou hara. Na konei ratou i matau ai ki te tikanga o te ripeneta nga. No ka kite te tangata i ana hara, e nui whaka harahara ana, me ia hoki, e tutata ana ki te kapura o te reinga, ki tenei taha, ki tenei taha, ka pa te matakū ki tona ngakau. E kore te tangata ngakau maori e ripeneta, no te mea, e kore ia e kite i te nuinga rawatanga o ana hara, i te kapura hoki e mamae tonu ai tona wairua. E whakakuaretia ana hoki ia e te rewera.—"Ko nga whakaaro o te hunga whakateka i roto i a ratou kua whakapouritia e te atua o tenei ao, kei whitingia ratou e te maramatanga o te rongo pai." *2 Koriniti* 4. Tena ko ratou, ka pa nei te Wairua Tapu ki o ratou ngakau, me tona kaha ano, ka oho whakarere o ratou ngakau, no ratou i mahara ki te nuinga o a ratou kino, ano he maunga nui, e tiketike ana te purangatanga, me te onepu hoki te tini, e kore rawa e taea te tatau. No reira i tangi ai o ratou ngakau "ka patuki ia ki tona uma, ka mea, e te Atua, tohungia ahau te tangata hara." *Ruka* 18. 13. Me ta Rawiri hoki i mea, "Kua ra runga i toku matenga aku kinonga: ano he pikaunga taimaha e tino taimaha pu ana ia moku." *Waiata* 38.4 Ka mea tena tangata, "E mahara ana hoki ahau kahore he mea pai e noho ana i roto i ahau, ara, i roto i toku kikokiko," *Roma* 7. 18. No ka penei, ka tangi. Ka tahi ano ka tino rapu mo tona wairua kia ora. Ka rapu whakawairua ia kia houhia mai te rongo a Te Atua ki a ia. E kore tona ngakau e okioki, i te ao, i te po. E kore pea e reka tana kai, tona moe, tona aha, i te kawa hoki o te kino. E kore e mutumutu tana inoi ki Te Atua. Ka pena ia me te mano i te ra o Petikoha ua, "Koingo o ratou ngakau, ka mea atu ki a Pita ratou ko era atu apotoro É hoa ma, me aha matou?" *Nga Mahi* 2. 37. Me te tangata hoki i Piripai, "Ka haere wiri atu, ka hinga iho ki a Paora raua ko Haira—ka mea ia, E mara ma, me aha ka ora ai ahau?" *Nga Mahi* 16. 29, 30.—Ka rite ano hoki ki ta Rawiri, "I awhitia ahau e nga koingotanga o te mate, mau pu ki au nga mamaetanga o te reinga; he pouri, he koingo, taku i kite ai, no reira ahau i karanga atu ai ki te ingoa o Ihowa; e Ihowa e inoi atu ana ahau ki a koe, kia whakaorangia toku wairua." *Waiata* 116. 3. 4. Heoi ano ra. Tangi tonu ana ia, "Aue te mate i au! ma wai ahau e whakaora i te tinana o tenei mate?" *Roma* 7. 24. a, kia murua rawatia ano ana hara. Ko reira meinga ai tona pouritanga, hei haringa. "Ko te pouritanga hoki ki to te Atua ritenga e whakatupu ana i te ripenetanga." mo te oranga; a, e kore e poka ke taua ripenetanga." *2 Koriniti* 7. 10. No ka rite, ka penei ia, "Ka whakawhetai atu ahau ki te Atua, ki a Ihu Karaiti to tatou Ariki." *Roma* 7. 25.

2. Kua murua a ratou hara

Na konei ra te Karaiti i haere mai ai, "Kia whakamatauria ai tona hunga ki te oranga i te murunga o a ratou hara." *Ruka* 1. 77. A "Kia kauwhautia te ripenetanga, me te murunga hara i tona ingoa, ki nga tau iwi katoa." *Ruka* 24. 27. Ae ra hoki. "E korero ana nga poropiti katoa ki a ia, ma tona ingoa ko te tangata katoa e whakapono ana ki a ia, ka whiwhi ai ki te murunga hara." *Nga Mahi* 10. 43. Na, ko te Atua anake e ahei te muru i nga hara a te tangata. Heoi, ko te tino Atua ra ia a Ihu Karaiti. Na konei ra "he kaha ta te Tama a te tangata i te whenua, kia muru i te hara." *Matiu* 9. 6. "Kia mohio ra koutou, e hoa ma, na tenei tangata i kauwhautia ai ki a koutou te murunga hara." *Nga Mahi* 13. 38. E tau iho ana hoki te riri a te Atua, i mua, ki runga i tona hunga "rite tonu ki era atu." *Epeha* 2. 3. Kahore o ratou oranga i reira, mo te mea, Koia e kore e whakapono ki te Ta- maiti e kore e kite i te oranga; otiia, ka mau tonu te riri a te Atua ki a ia." *Hoani* 3. 36. Tena ko tenei, kua whiwhi ratou ki te Wairua o te tamarikitanga. E whakaae ana hoki te Wairua Tapu ki o ratou wairua, he tamariki ratou no te Atua. *Tirohia Roma* 8. 16—Na konei ratou ka hari ai, "kahore hoki he riringa mo te hunga i roto i a Karaiti Ihu, mo te hunga e kore e haere ki te ritenga o te kikokiko, otira, ki to te Wairua." *Roma* 8. 1. Me te tangata e tukua ana ki waho o te whare pouri i herea ai ia, i tata ai ia ki te mate, e hari ana, waihoki, ko nga tamariki a te Atua, e hari ana, mo te mea, "Nana tatou i whakaora i te kaha o te pouritanga, a kua kawea ketia ki te rangatiratanga o tana a maiti aroha." *Korohe* 1. 13. E ki ana o ratou ngakau "Ki te haringa katoa, ki te marietanga o te whakapono." *Roma* 15. 13. Me ta te Karaiti hoki i mea, "Ka hari to koutou ngakau, a, ekore e tangohia i a koutou to koutou haringa e te tangata." *Hoani* 16. 22. Kei ta Pita hoki "E hari ana koutou ki te hari whakakororia e kore e taea te korero." *1 Pita* 1. 8. Koia hoki ta Paora i mea ai, "Ko tatou te kotinga e

karakia nei ki te Atua i te Wairua, e hari ana ano ki a Karaiti Ihu, a, ekore e whakaaro ki te kikokiko." *Piripai* 3. 3. Koia ra, e te whanau, he mea whakahari te tino whakapono, ki te Atua. He "taonga nui ano ia hui tahi me te ngakau tatu." 1 *Timoti* 6. 6. E kore hoki tenei haringa e taea te whakakahore e te tangata, "Ma wai koia tatou ka motu ke ai i te aroha o te Karaiti? E mea pu ana ano ahau ekore e ahei te mate, e kore ano hoki te ora, e kore nga anahera, e kore nga rangatira, e kore nga kaha, e kore nga mea e kite nei tatou, e kore nga mea meake nei kitea, e kore ano hoki te tiketike, e kore te hohonu, e kore ano hoki tetahi atu o nga mea hanga e ahei te mea, kia motu ke tatou i te aroha o Te Atua i roto i a Karaiti Ihu to tatou Ariki." *Roma* 8. 35, 37, 38. Kei mea tetahi tangata, e kore tenei haringa o te murunga hara e riro i a ia.—Engari "kia pono Te Atua, ko te tangata katoa ia kia teka." *Roma* 3. 4. Kia rongo mai koutou ki ta te ka- raipiture, "Ki te whaki tatou i a tatou hara, e pono ana ia, e tika ana, kia murua a tatou hara, a kia horoia tatou i te kino katoa. Mo te mea, kahore tatou i waiho e te Atua mo te riri, otira kia whiwhi ki te orange i ahau mai i to tatou Ariki i a Ihu Karaiti." 1 *Hoani* 1. 9. 1 *Teharonika* 5. 9.

3. Kua whakawhanautia houtia o ratou ngakau.

No to ratou whakaponotanga ki a Ihu Karaiti, i riro mai ai ki a ratou, te Wairua Tapu. Nana i whakaatu te murunga o a ratou hara ki te ngakau. No reira hoki ka hanga houtia te ngakau. A "ki te mea kei roto i a te Karaiti tetahi, he mahinga hou ia; kua pahure nga mea tawhito; kua whakahoutia nga mea katoa." 2 *Koriniti* 5. 17. Mo te mea hoki "E kore e ahei te kikokiko, te toto, te whiwhi ki te rangatiratanga o Te Atua." 1 *Koriniti* 15. 50. "Ko te whakaaro ki te kikokiko he mate, ko te whakaaro ki te Wairua, he orange, he marietanga." *Roma* 8. 6. Mo konei ra "ki te kahore te tangata te whakawhanautia houtia e kore ia e ahei te kite i te rangatiratanga o te Atua." *Hoani* 3. 3. No ratou ka whiwhi ki te ngakau hou, ka rite i a ratou ta *Roma* 6. 4. "Mete Karaiti hoki i whakaarahia ake i te mate, e te kororia o te Matua, waihoki ko tatou kia haere i te houtanga o te orange—kia rite ai i a tatou te tikanga o te ture, i a tatou e kore e haere ki te ritenga o te kikokiko, otia ki to te Wairua." *Roma* 8. 4. Na konei hoki ratou ka tohe tonu ai ki nga mea pai katoa, kua pai te rakau, ka reka ana hua. He mea whakatupu haere hoki ia—"no te kororia kake atu ki te kororia." 2 *Koriniti* 3. 18. "Ka tautotohe ahau ki nga mea o mua, ka aru atu ahau ki te tohu ki te taonga o to te Atua karangatanga i runga, i roto i a Karaiti Ihu." *Piripai* 3. 13, 14. "Kia tae ra ano tatou katoa i te kotahitanga o te whakapono, o te matauranga hoki ki te Tamaiti o Te Atua, ki te tino tangata, ki te ritenga o te kaumatuatanga o te kinga o te Karaiti." *Epeha* 4. 13.

Na, koia tenei, ko te ahua o nga tangata o Ihu Ka- raiti, ara, o taná hahi tapu. Ahakoa, te rite te [*unclear: tokomak*] e kite nei tatou, ko nga kanohi o te Atua e tau iho ana ki runga ki ona tangata. A, ko te tangata kua eke [*unclear: n*] tona ngakau ki runga ki te matenga o to tatou Ariki, ekore tona ngakau e tatu ki runga ki nga mea memeha noa o tenei ao. E kore ia e tino whakaaro ki nga mea o te whenua, e ngari nga mea o runga. A, no te mea kua mea te Karaiti kia noho huihui ona tangata motu ke i nga ritenga maori o te ao, (*Tirohia Hiperu* 10. 25.) Ka rapu ia ki tetahi hahi kia tomokia e ia. Ko te hahi e piri ai ai tona aroha, nona pea, no te minita i oro kowhakapono ai ia ki te Atua. Ko te hahi ranei e tu tata ana ki a ia. He haere tika hoki tana haerenga ki runga i te huarahi kua oti te whakatakoto, e Te Atua. A "ka tomo atu, ka tomo mai ano, ka kite i te kai," *Hoani* 10. 9. Kia penei tonu ano ia, a—tae noa atu ki taua "Hiruharama i runga, e rangatira ana, ko te matua o tatou katoa." *Karatia* 4. 26.

V. KO TE KORORIATANGA O TE HAHĪ O INU KARAITI.

"A, ka rongo a hau i te reo nui i te rangi e mea ana, Na, ko te tapenakara o Te Atua kei nga tangata, a e noho tahi ana ia me ratou, a ko ratou hei iwi mona, a ko Te Atua ano hei a ratou, hei Atua ano mo ratou."—*Whakakitenga* 21. 3.

Me i pai te Karaiti kua whakakitea mai e ia te tini o nga mea e ngaro ana ki te tangata, ina, "kei a ia e huna ana nga taonga katoa o te maharatanga, o te matauranga." *Korohe* 2. 3. Ahakoa, rapu te tangata e kore e kitea katoatia nga mea e ia, "E matau ana tatou ki tetahi wahi anake—ka kite nei hoki tatou ki te whakaatu e tua pouri ana." 1 *Koriniti* 13. 9, 12.—Heoi ra, kahore te Karaiti i haere mai ki te penei, otira "I haere mai te Tama a te tangata ki te rapu ki te whakaora i te mea mahue." *Ruka* 19. 10. I mua hoki, "ka mea atu tetahi ki a ia, e te Ariki, he torutoru koia te hunga e whakaorangia ana? ka mea atu ia ki a ratou, tohea putia kia tomo atu ma te kuwaha kuiti, ka mea atu hoki ahau ki a koutou, ne tokomaha te hunga e rapu kia tomo atu, a, ekore e ahei," *Ruka* 13. 23, 24. Waihoki, ko te mea nui ia mo tatou, ko o tatou Wairua ano kia ora, kauaka te rapunga o era atu mea.—E rangi "matua rapu i te rangatiratanga o Te Atua me tona tikanga." *Matiu* 6. 23. Otira, e matau ana tatou, kahore i torutoru nga tangata mo te orange tonutanga. Kahore, he mano tini ra. Ina ta *Paora ki nga Hiperu* 12. 23. "Ko te *huihuinga nui*, ko te hahi o nga tamariki matamua." Me tenei hoki "He mano tini e kore nei e taea e tetahi te tatau." *Whakakitenga* 7. 9. Haunga ano nga tangata whakapono onamata, no mua atu i a Noa, no muri hoki i a ia, tae noa ki a Aperaahama—ki a Rawiri—ki a Ihu Karaiti ano hoki. Otira kua mano tini i muri mai i te matenga

o te Karaiti.—Kote tangata, e kore e ki e i te tokomahatanga o nga tamariki a te Atua. Ahakoa, torutoru ki tana titiro, e kitea ana ano, e Te Atua, te tokomaha. "Mo te mea hoki kei runga i te hunga tika nga kanohi o te Ariki." I *Pita* 3. 12. "Oti, kahore koutou i matau ki te korero o te karaipiture ki a Iraia? ki tana inoinga ki te Atua ki te kino mo Iharaira, e mea ana, E te Ariki, kua patu ratou i ou poropiti, kua whakahoroa ou ata, ko ahau anake i mahue, a ka rapu nei ano hoki ki toku wairua. Kahore, e pehea mai ana ki a ia te ki tapu? E whitu mano tangata, kua waiho e ahau moku, te hunga kahore nei i piko te turi ki a Pearsa." *Roma* 11. 2. Heoi, ka matau tatou e whakanuia, e whakakororiatia te hahi, no te mea,

1. E mea ana te Karaiti e riro te ao i a ia.

Na, kua tukua mai e Te Atua, he rangatiratanga mo tana Tamaiti, me tana hoki i mea "Ka whakaritea e ahau mo koutou, he rangatiratanga, me ta taku matua i wakarite moku." *Ruka* 22. 29, Heoi, e hara tona rangatiratanga i te penei, me nga rangatiratanga o te ao. "Ka ki atu a Ihu. e hara taku rangatiratanga i tenei ao." *Hoani* 18. 36. Na he mea memeha nga rangatiratanga o konei. Keihea koia nga rangatiratanga nunui o mua? Kua kahore ke. Waihoki, ko nga rangatira tanga katoa e mau nei, e mutu ano. Tena ko te rangatiratanga o te Karaiti, ara ko tana Hahi, e kore ia e mutu. Koia te karaipiture ka ki nei "He rangatiratanga mutunga kore [*unclear: to*] rangatiratanga a, e mau tonu ana tou mana [*unclear: pu*] noa i nga whakatupuranga katoa." *Waiata* 145. 13 Me tenei hoki "E mea ana ia ki te Tamaiti, Mo ake tonu atu tou torona, e Te Atua; he hepeta o te tikanga te hepeta o tou rangatiratanga." *Hiperu* 1. 8. Ke amua ano ka rangona "nga reo nunui i te rangi mea ana, kua meinga nga rangatiratanga o te ao, [*unclear: he*] rangatiratanga mo to tatou Ariki, mo tana Karaiti hoki a mana e kingi, ake, ake, ake." *Whakakitenga* 11. 15. "Mo konei ra, ka tango nei tatou, ki te rangatiratanga e kore e taea te whakaoho, kia mau tonu ki te atawhai e pai ai to tatou karakia ki Te Atua, me te matakau, me te wehi ano." *Hiperu* 12. 28. Tena ano nga korero o te karaipiture, he tini ke, e whakakite ana i te kororiatanga o ta Te Karaiti hahi. "Inoi mai ki au, a, ka ho atu e ahau ki a koe, nga tau iwi hei kainga mou, me nga topito o te whenua hei taonga mou." *Waiata* 2. 8. "E te pa o te Atua! he mea kororia nga mea e korerotia ana mou." *Waiata* 87. 3. "Ka wehingia e nga tau iwi te ingoa o Ihowa, e nga kingi katoa ano hoki o te whenua, tou kororia." *Waiata* 102. 15. "Na konei Te Atua i tino whakaniui ai i a ia, a kua ho atu ki a ia he ingoa nui atu i nga ingoa katoa; kia piko ai nga turi katoa ki te ingoa o Ihu, o nga mea i te rangi, o nga mea i te whenua, a ma nga arero katoa e whakaae, ko Ihu Karaiti, te Ariki, mo te kororia o Te Atua te Matua." *Piripai* 2. 9. 11. "Kowai e kore e matakau i a koe, e whakakororia hoki i tou ingoa e te Ariki? Ko koe anake hoki te tapu ana; a haere mai hoki nga Tauwiwi katoa e koropiko i tou aroaro." *Whakakitenga* 15. 4.

2. E nui haere ana ano tana Hahi i te ao.

Haunga ano nga hahi o mua, i te mea, kahore ano te Karaiti i tae mai ki te ao. Otira, ko tana hahi ano i muri i a ia. "Tenei ake ano tetahi kupu whakarite i ho atu e a ki a ratou, i mea, ko te rangatiratanga o te rangi e rite ana ki te pua nani i mauria mai e tetahi tangata, i ruia ki tana mara, koia ra ia ko te nohinohi pu o nga purapura katoa: ano ka nui, ko te nui rawa ia o nga otaota, ka rakautia, ka rere nga manu o te rangi, noho noa iho ki ana manga." *Matiu* 13. 31, 32. Kua rite tenei kupu. No te inatenta hoki o te Karaiti, e nohinohi pu ana tana hahi, "Huihui katoa o ratou ingoa kotahi rau e rua te kau." *Nga Mahi* 1. 15. Otira, i tupu haere ia, a kihai roa, "huihuia ana ki a ratou i taua ra, e toru mano o nga wairua." *Nga Mahi* 2. 41. "A kake haere ana te tokomaha o nga akonga, no ka rima mano." *Nga Mahi* 4. 4. Ahakoa, whakatoia ana'e nga rangatira o te ao, "Kanui haere te tupu o te kupu o Te Atua, ka kaha." *Nga Mahi* 19. 20. A, ka haere nga Apotoro ki te kawae i te rongo pai,—puta noa atu ki nga whenua katoa, *Korohe* 1. 6. Me kaua te matoketanga o te aroha o te hahi i muri iho, kua riro ke te ao i a ia. Nona i ngoikore, i taupokina ai te ao ki te pouritanga o te kino. A roa rawa te ngoikoretanga o te hahi a—tupu ana nga he. "I nga tangata ano i te moe ka puta mai te hoa riri, ka rui i te taru ki waenga witi." *Matiu* 13. 25. I roa te wahi i tupu ai te taru a—wahi iti kua ngaro katoa te witi i te taru. I kapi hoki te hahi i nga whakaakoranga poka ke i ta te karaipiture. A, ka mea ano, whakatupuria ake ana e Te Atua etahi tangata, "he tangata ki i te wkakapono, i te Wairau Tapu," pena hoki me Tipene, *Nga Mahi* 6.5. No te talli te kau ma rima o nga rau tau i muri mai i a Ihu Karaiti i ara ake ai ena tangata. Na ratou i mahi ki te inoi. I penei ra to ratou inoinga "Tonoa atu e koe tou marama me tou pono—kia matauria ai tou ara i te whenua, me tau mahi whakaora ki nga tau iwi katoa." *Waiata* 43. 3.—67. 2. Ka tahi ka oho te hahi. Na ratou hoki i mahi ki te whakahauhau. A ka tonoa nga karere, "Hei whiti ki a ratou e noho ana i te pouritangi me te atarangi o te mate." *Ruka* 1. 79. Na konei ra i mo runga ai te ra o te tikanga ki runga o te ao maori, hei whakamemeha i te pouritangi. "Ano nga waewae te pai o ratou e kauwhau ana i te maunga rongo, e kauwhau ana i nga mea pai!" *Roma* 10. 15. Ka tokomaha haere nga karere o te rongo pai—a, moroki noa nei. E tupu haere ana hoki te hahi i nga tau katoa, i nga whenua katoa. Na reira i kitea mai ai ki tenei motu, I mua tata ake nei hoki, kahore te ingoa o Te Atua, i matauria ki tenei whenua. Kapi tonu ia i te kino. "Na! hipokina katoatia ana te whenua ki te pouritanga, me nga

tangata ki te pouritanga nui whakaharahara." *Ihaia* 60. 2. Penei tonu ano ia puta noa ki raro, puta noa ki runga. Hore he ra tapu, hore he pukapuka, hore he whare karakia, hore he Mihanere! Kahore hoki i tatu te noho o te tangata i te matakū-Rere ana te wehi i roto i te iwi. Noho ana a Hatana hei rangatira mo te tangata maori. "Ko o ratou waewae e hohoro ana ki te whakaheke toto." *Roma* 3. 15. Tangi ana te pouaru—noho mokemoke ana ia, haehae noa iho ana i tona kanohi—mo tona hoa hoki kua mate i te taua—mona hoki ka riro i te whakarau. Noho matua kore ana nga tamariki, topatia ana hoki e tahi ki te hangī. Te mahi a te iwi kino! Aue ana te kainga ka taea e te patu! Ko ia ngakau, ko ia ngakau, e pawerawera ana i te kawē riri, hei rapu utu mo ona matua i pau te kai! E kore hoki tetahi e haere noa i te kainga, i te matakū hoki ki te taua. Ko nga otaota katoa, e meinga ana e te ngakau wehi, he tangata. He rongo taua katoa nga korero, he piha te waiata. Kino tonu! Kinotoru! Aue, te mahi a Hatana! "He kai kohuru ia no te timatanga." *Hoani* 8. 44. Tena ko tenei. Puta rawa mai te rongo a te Karaiti, kahore ano i roa kahore ano tetahi whakapaparanga tangata i ata pahure, kua taea katoatia te motu e te Mihanere. Na, kua pai te whenua. Ko te pukapuka tapu kua oti te whakamaori ki te reo maori, A, e korerotia ana hoki "e nga taitamariki, e nga taitama- hine, e nga koroheke, e nga tamariki nonohi." *Waiata* 148. 12. Kua hanga he whare mote Atua, ki ia kainga, ki ia kainga. No te ra tapu hoki, ko te tokomaha "ka tomo atu ki ana tatau me te whakawhetainga, ki ona whare ano me te whakapai." *Waita* 100. 4. A, ko te tini o te tangata e haere haurangi ana i mua, "e noho ana, kua oti te whakakakahu, e tika ana nga whakaaro." *Maka* 5. 15. Haunga ano ratou kua tae ke ki runga ki te rangi,

E hari ana mai

Kei runga i te pai.

E hara i tenei whenua anake. Otira, ko nga tini motu o te moana me nga tuawhenua o te ao. Tena ano a Tongatapu, a Tahiti, a Hamoa, a Wahu, a Whihi, me te tini noa atu o nga whenua, kua tahuri ki te Atua. E whakatupu haere ana te hahi o te Atua. Ka pai me ki tatou "Ano te hohonutanga o te raneatanga o te mohiotanga me te matauranga o te Atua." *Roma* 11.33.

Na, tenei ano e talli o nga hahi e tonu ana i te Mihanere ki nga whenua tawhiti, ki nga tau iwi:—

Me e talli atu hahi ano hoki. Ka tupu haere anei katoa. Kei nga whenua katoa hoki ka whakaturia ai te hahi, ko reira hoki tupu ai te aroha ki era atu. Ka rapu hoki ratou kia kohikohia te moni hei kawē i te rongo pai ki nga whenua katoa, kia taea katoatia nga tini topito o te ao. Tera hoki te tini o te whenua kahore ano i whitingia noatia e te maramatanga. E noho kino ana o reira tangata. "Kahore te wehi ki te Atua i mua i o ratou kanohi—ko te kororia hoki o te Atua, e kore nei e mate, kua whakaahuatia ketia e ra- tou ki te ritenga o te whakapakoko, o te tangata e mate nei o nga manu, o nga mea waewae wha, o nga ngarara." *Roma* 3. 18-1, 23. Ae ra "Kua ki hoki nga wahi pouri o te whenua i nga kainga kohuru." *Waiata* 74, 20. Kua mea a te Karaiti, kia "kauwhautia te rongo pai ki nga tangata katoa." *Maka* 16.15. Koia ahau ka mea atu ai ki a koutou, e nga tangata whakapono o Nui Tireni, kia mahara koutou ki nga whenua pouri o te ao. Maumau mate noa te Karaiti mo ratou, kahore nei i rongo ki tona matenga. "Me pehea hoki to ratou whakarongo ki te kahore he kai kauwhau? A me pehea ta ratou kauwhau ki te kore ratou e tonoa?" *Roma* 10. 14, 15. Ko te Karaiti, e mea ana, ma tana hahi te tikanga. Mana e whakarite i te Mihanere. Mo reira ra, he hunga koutou no tans hahi, whakaritea e koutou tana kupu, me hoatu hei tonu i te kupu o te Atua kia nui haere. "Kua tango noa koutou, hoatu noa e koutou." *Matiu* 10. 8. "Kia pera koutou me tana e hiahia ai ki te ngakau, kua ia e ho atu me te tangi me te tohe ano; e aroha ana hoki te Atua ki te tangata e ho atu hari ana. Tena ake ane, ko ia e rui nohinohi ana, e kokoti nohinohi ana; a ko ia e rui atawhai ana, e kokoti atawhai ano ia." *2 Koriniti* 9. 7, 6.

3. E kore e hoki iho te kupu a te Atua.

I whakateka e tahi, he manawanui na te Atua, te whakangaro wawe ai ia i tenei ao. "Kia matau koutou ki tenei ki mua, e puta mai i nga ra whakamutunga te hunga tawai, e haere ana ki te ritenga o a ratou hiahis ake; e mea ana, keihea te korero o tana haerenga mai, no te ra hoki i moe ai nga matua, e mau tonu ana nga mea katoa me to te oroko hanganga." *2 Pita* 3, 4 Otira, "E kore te Ariki e whakaroa ki tana korero, me ta etahi e whakaaro ana ki te whakaroa; otira e manawanui ana ki a tatou, ekore hoki ia e hiahia kia mate tetahi, otira kia haere katoa ki te ripeneta." *2 Pita* 3.9. "He pono hoki e mea atu nei ahau ki a koutou, kia pahure ra ano te rangi me te whenua, e kore tetahi wahi- nohinohi rawa o te ture e pahure, kia rite katoa ra ano." *Matiu* 5 18. Na, kei kuware koutou, e aku hoa aroha, ki tenei mea kotahi, kotahi ano ra kei te Ariki, ano ko tahi mano tau, a kotahi mano tau, ano he ra kotahi," *2 Pita* 3. 8.

Me te purapura maori ano, e ngakia iho ana ki raro ki te whenua. Waihoki, ko te hahi a te Atua e meinga ana ano kia nui haere i te ao. *Tirohia ta Matiu* 13. 24, A, me te hahi o mua, ara, o nga Hurai, i whawhaitia maoritā e nga tau iwi, e o ratou hoa riri. E penatia ana ano hoki te hahi i a tatou. Otira, e whawhaitia whaka wairuatia ana. "E hara hoki to tatou i te wha whai ki nga tuto, ki nga kikokiko; otira, ki nga rangatiratanga, ki nga kaha, ki nga rangatira o te pouritanga o tenei ao, ki nga kino whakawairua i nga wahi o te rangi." *Epeha* 6. 12. Kei aha hoki te whawhaitia noatia ai? "He aha ka nana ai nga tau iwi, ka whakaaro ai te iwi i te mea he? ko

nga kingi o te whenua he whakamatua ana, a ko nga rangatira e runanga ana ki a Ihowa, ki tana ano hoki i whakawahi ai, e mea ana,—tatou ka motumotu i o tatou hereherenga kia motu, a ka akiri atu i o ratou aho i a tatou, koia e noho ana i nga rangi oe kata; ka tawaiia ratou e Ihowa. Ko reira ia korero atu ai ki a ratou i tana riri, a ka whakamamaetia ratou ki tana riri nui." *Waiata* 2. 1-5. E kaha koia ana hoa riri i a ia? Ko tehea koia, Ko Hatana? "Koia te tama a te Atua i whakakitea mai ai kia whakakahoretia ai e ia nga mahi a te rewera-kia whakakahoretia ai ki te mate, a ia nona nei te kaha o te mate, koia ia ko te rewera" 1 *Ho ani* 3. 8. *Hiperu* 2. 14. A "ko nga tatau o te reinga e kore e kaha i tana hahi." *Matiu* 16. 18. Ka kaha ranei nga atua maori, nga atua whakapakoko? "Kia whakapororarutia katoatia ratou e whakapononga ana ki nga whakapakoko e whakapehapeha nei ki nga atua rakau: koropiko atu ki a ia e nga atua katoa." *Waiata* 97. 7. Ka kaha ranei te hahi e whakaputa ke ana, kia kore ai te hahi pono o te Atua i a ia? "Ko reira whakakitea mai ai taua tangata kino, ma te Ariki ia e whakahemo ki te ha o tana mangai, mana ia e whakakahore ki te putanga o tona taenga mai." 2 *Teharonika* 2. 8. "Ka uekaha tona karanga ki te reo nui, ka mea, kua horo, kua horo, Papurona nui, kua meinga ano hei kainga rewera, hei whare herehere hoki mo nga wairua kino katoa, hei whare herehere mo te manu kino katoa, mo te mano whakarihariha." *Whakakitenga* 18. 2. E kaha ana oti te tangata i a Ihu Karaiti? "Ha! te tangata nei, ko wai koe e korero nei ki te Atua?" *Roma* 9. 20. "E rite ana te tangata ki te mea memeha noa, e pena ana ano ona ra me te atarangi e whakapahure ana." *Waiata* 144. 4. "Otira, mo te hunga wawau, mo te hunga whakateka, mo te hunga whakarihariha, mo nga kai kohuru, mo te hunga puremu, mo te hunga makutu, mo te hunga karakia ki nga whakapakoko, mo te hunga; teka katoa, ko to ratou wahi, kei te roto e ka ana i te ahi, i te ngawha; ko te matenga tuarua tenei." *Whakakitenga* 21. 8, "Ko tahi ia te kai ho mai i te ture e kaha nei ki te whakaora, ki te whakamate." *Hemi* 4.12. "A, ka tatari ake nei ano kia waiho ra ona hoa riri hei taka hanga mo ana waewae." *Hiperu* 10. 13. "Ko reira te mutunga ina oti te rangatiratanga te ho atu e ia ki te Atua te Matua; ina oti te whakangaro te kawanatanga katoa, te mana katoa, me te kaha." 1 *Koriniti* 15. 24 "Ko reira nga iwi katoa o te whenua tangi ai, a, e kite ratou i te Tama a te tangata e haere mai ana i runga i nga kapua o te rangi me te kaha me te kororia nui." *Matiu* 24. 30. "Ko reira hoki koutou puta tahi mai ai me ia i te kororia." *Korohe* 3. 4. "E pai ana mou, e te Ariki, kia tango i te kororia, i te honore, i te kaha.—Ae ra, haere mai e te Ariki, e Ihu. Hei a koutou katoa te atawhai o to tatou Ariki a Ihu Karaiti. Amene." *Whakakitenga* 4, 11-22. 20, 21.

Ko Te Mutunga.

He Rongo Mau, he Rongo Mau, ka pai Kia Mau te Rongo. No Akarana: I Taia Tenei ki te Perehi a John Williamson. 1847.

- Ko Nga Take o te Whawhai.
- Ko Nga Kino o te Whawhai.
- Ko Nga Tikanga e mutu ai te Whawhai.
- Ko Nga Painga o te Rongo Mau.

I. Ko te tuatahi. *Ko Nga Take o te Whawhai*, Otiia, huihuia katoatia koia ano tena kei a Hemi 4—1. "I ahu mai i hea koia nga pakanga me nga ngangaretanga i a koutou? kahore koia i ahu mai i kona, i a koutou hiahia e whawhai ana i roto i a kotou wahi? Ara, ko nga whawhai katoa no te orokohanganga mai e te ao, no reira ano, no te hiahia, no te hae, no te whakakake no te whakapehapeha, no te ngakau kino. Ona putanga mai, he kanga, he puremu, he tahae, he kohuru, he tango whenua, Na tenei hanga nga whawhai.

Otiia, ki taku whakaaro, e kore e tika enei mea hei take whawhai; he mea nonohi hoki. Tena, ki a koutou he mea nui noa atu, koia ahau ka mea ai, kia ata whakaaro tatou ki enei mea.

1. *Te Kanga*. Rere! Taku whakaaro mo te kanga; e kore e mate te tangata i te kanga. Kanga kau mai ana te tangata ki au, e kore rawa e piri mai tona kanga ki au. Kanga kau ana te tangata ki a koe, e koe rawa e piri tona kanga ki a koe; hoki ana ano tona kanga ki a ia, hei whakamate ano i a ia. Koia ahau ka mea ai, kaua e whawhai atu ki te tangata kanga—waiho kia kanga ana, e hoki ana ki a ia tana kanga, me nga utu hoki, hei whakangaro ano i a ia.

2. *Te Puremu*. Tenei hoki taku whakaaro mo te puremu. He kino nui ano tena, otiia, e mahara ana ahau, e hara i te tane anake te kino,—na te wahine ano te tahi wahi, na koutou katoa ano te tahi wahi. Na koutou katoa ano te tikanga moe huihui, huihui noa ana, moe noa iho ana, nga tane nga wahine, nga kotiro, nga mea hoa, nga mea takakau—moe huihui noa ana i roto i te whare kotahi, pena me nga poaka e huihui noa ana! Tenei hoki te tahi: E purpuru noa ana koutou i o koutou wahine, e kore e whakaritea marietia, kia marenatia taputia ki te tahi hoa mona. Na Na, ko te mutunga o tenei mahi huihui, o tenei mahi kaiponu, koia tenei he puremu, he moepuku. Kaore na koutou ano te he, e hara i te tane anake te he, e hara i te wahine anake, e hara i a raua anake; na koutou katoa ano, e rite tahi ana i te he. Waihoki, kaua e whawhai kau ki te tangata mo tenei, no katoa hoki te he.

3. *Te Tahae taonga*. Tenei taku whakaaro mo tenei. E kore e tika kia patua te tangata mo te Tahae taonga. E tika ana kia whakawakia, kia utua tana tahae e ia, tena ko te patu, ko te whawhai kauaka tena, he mea iti te taonga, he mea nui te tangata.

4. *Te Kohuru.* Tenei hoki taku whakaaro mo te kohuru. E ngari tena he hara nui. Otiia, ko ta koutou tikanga whawhai nui, e he ana. Rere! Whai kau ana koutou ki te nuinga whawhai ai, me ta ratou tahuritanga mai ki te whawhai ano ki a koutou,—na, katahi ka nui haere te kino: hinga ana ta te tahi, hinga ana ta te tahi; whai ana te tahi ki te utu mo ona tupapaku kua mate, whai ana te tahi ki te utu mo ona tupapaku kua mate; riri ana te tahi, riri ana te tahi; maia ana te tahi, maia ana te tahi; a—kore noa iho he mutunga. Ko te tangata nana te kohuru mataati, nana te take, e ora tonu ana pea taua tangata i roto i te pa; kahore ia i mate; mate ke ana ko nga tangata hara kore! a tokomaha noa atu nga tangata hei utu mo te hara o tena tangata kotahi, koia ahau ka mea ai, e kore e tika te whawhai mo te kohuru; he mea hoki, ka mate ke, ko nga tangata ke; ko te tangata i te hara, kihai i mate; kihai mea ko ia anake kia mate kaua e ngaro te nuinga.

5. *Te Whenua.* Ko te tino take e nui ai te whawhai i naianei, koia tenei, ko te *Whenua, ko te tango whenua.* No reira te tino tupato o te tangata i naianei. Tenei taku whakaaro mo tenei. Kahore ano i ata takoto he tikanga mo te whenua. No naianei tata nei ano nga pakanga whenua. Pana ana te tahi iwi i te tahi, pana ana te tahi iwi i te tahi, hinga ana nga tupapaku o te tahi, hinga ana nga tupapaku o te tahi,—hinga tahi ana ki taua whenua ano. Te Mutunga,—kihai i mutu, kihai mutu pai, kihai i ata rite. Rokohanga mai e te Rongo Pai—e te whakapono; tahuri noa ana nga iwi ki te karakia, whakamutu noa i te whawhai, kihai i ata takoto nga tikanga mo nga whenua. Heoi—karakia ana tena iwi, tena iwi, hua noa kua pai ngatahi, kaore,—kei raro te he e takoto ana, e karakia ana i runga i te papa he. Te putanga mai o te Pakeha ki te hoko whenua, na, ka tahi ka tupu ake te he; ka tahi ka mahara tenei iwi, tera iwi ki te whenua i whawhaitia e ia, i hinga ai ona tupapaku i mua, na, ka rere ki te pupuru; rere ana te tahi iwi ki te tuku, rere ana te tahi iwi ki te pupuru; mea kau ana te tahi, nona, mea kau ana tetahi, nona; tohe ana te tahi, tohe ana tetahi; riri ana te tahi, riri ana tetahi; whawhai ana te tahi whawhai ana te tahi; ngaro ana to te tahi, ngaro ana to tetahi;—na—ka toro haere te kino. Te Mahara ratou, no to mua mahi te he, kihai i takoto te tikanga i mua i te whawhai, e kore ano hoki e takoto i naianei. Tena, ma te whawhai koia ka takoto ai te tikanga? Kahore ra hoki. Ngaro kau ana ko te tangata, ko te whenua e takoto he ana,—e he tonu ana. Mauman ngangare kau, e kore e rite, koia ahau ka mea ai, kati te whawhai mo te whenua, e kore e rite, e kore e tika. Kei te ki mai pea koutou, "Na te Rongo Pai i pokanoa mai, i te mea, kahore ano i rite te whenua, no reira te he." Kahore. Mei kore te Rongo pai, e kore ano hoki e rite. Tona whawhai tonu a-ngaro ngaro noa te tangata. E kore rawa e rite te whenua i te whawhai, Tenei pea koutou te mea mai na, "Hua noa matou, ma te whakapono ka mutu katoa ai nga kino, ka rite katoa ai nga mea." E tika ana: Mehemea, ka u tonu te tangata ki nga tikanga o te Rongo Pai, e kore rawa e tupu te kino. Tenei koutou te mea mai na "Me aha to matou whenua ka tangohia e te tangata?" Taihoa ahau e korero ki tena; ara, meake tuhituhia e au nga tikanga e mutu ai te whawhai, Otiia, tenei taku kupu kotahi nei, Waiho te whenua kia takoto ana; ahakoa he—waiho kia he ana; ahakoa tangohia ana, waiho kia tangohia ana, e kore rawa e riro; tenei ake! tenei ake!! Heoi ano te whakaaro mo naianei, ko te tangata kia ora, ko te tangata kia ora! He taonga nui te tangata, he taonga iti te whenua. Kaua e maumauria te tangata mo te whenua.

6. Tenei hoki te tahi take whawhai, *Ko te Tupate kau ki te Pakeha.* Ko te wehi wehi kau ki te Pakeha. E mea ana ahau kahore ano i tika te whakaaro o te tangata maori ki te Pakeha. Tenei koutou te mea ana, ka tangohia kautia to koutou oneone e te Pakeha, ka peia noatia atu koutou, ka whakangaromia rawatia koutou e te Pakeha. Na, *kia rongu mai koutou,—kei ki koutou, he pakeha ahau, a e aroha ana ahau ki te pakeha, kahore, e aroha ana ahau ki a koutou, kua ki atu nei hoki, ko tatou, tatou.* He pakeha ano ahau, otiia, kua riro ke mai ahau ki to koutou taha, koia ahau ka mea ai, kia whakaaro mai koutou ki taku korero. Na, e mohio ana ahau ki o te pakeha tikanga; e mohio ana ahau ki nga tikanga i haere ai ratou, ki nga whenua i mua; e mohio ana hoki ahau ki nga tikanga i haere mai ai ratou ki tenei Motu i naianei. I mua, e haere kuare ana te pakeha ki nga whenua o nga iwi kuare. Kuare ana nga pakeha kuare ana aua iwi nona te whenua. Kahore i tae nga kaiwhakaako ki mua. Kahore i penei me tenei Motu,—ko nga kaiwhakaako ki mua, ko te Rongo Pai o te Atua ki mua, muri iho, ko te pakeha noho whenua. Kahore i penei i mua, haere kuare noa atu ana nga pakeha ki aua iwi kuare, he kau ana te tahi ki to te tahi reo, he kau ana te tahi ki to te tahi reo. Whakariterite kau ana i te tahi wahi whenua, hei nohoanga mo ratou, hua noa e noho pai nga tangata whenua: Kaore, kihai roa, na, ka tahuri taua iwi kuare ki te tahae i nga taonga o te pakeha,—hua noa pea, e kore te pakeha e kite. A, roa rawa, e tahae ana, na,—ka whakatika te pakeha ki te rapu utu. Kihai i mea kia whakamatea te nuinga, kihai i mea, kia whawhai ki te nuinga, hua atu, i whai tonu ki te tangata nana te hara. Kaore, ka tahuri nui mai ka whawhai nui, ka kohuru. Heoi, ka tahuri te pakeha ki te tiaki i a ia, ki te whakaora i a ia. Te mohio taua iw kuare, kei te pakeha te kaha, kei te pakeha te pu, te paura, te mata, me te mano tini o te tangata. Tohe noa ana te pakeha, kia whakamutua te kino, kia kaua e whawhai, tohe tonu aua taua iwi ki te kino; heoi, nui haere ana te kino, nui haere ana ano te kaha o te pakeha;—memeha haere ana te tangata whenua, tini haere ana te pakeha. Heoi, ka ngaro ra E hara i te pakeha te take o te kino; kaore, na te kuare. Na te kuare o te tahi, na te kuare o te tahi; na te he o te tahi ki tetahi, na te he o tetahi ki tetahi. I penei nga tangata maori o Hopataone, i ngaro ai, o Pouhakene hoki, me era atu whenua. *E! ka hari toku ngakau mo Nui Tireri!* he tikanga ke to konei! he tikanga mohio! Rere! Ko nga kai whakaako kua tae ke mai! Ko te Rongo Pai o Te Atua kua tae ke mai! Kua pai ke tenei Motu i te mahi o te

whakapono. Na, i haere mai nga pakeha nei, i te whenua ano i haere mai ai nga kaiwhakaako; i te whenua i haere mai ai te Rongo Pai! Ko taua iwi ano! Mehemea ko nga Wiwi o Paranahi, e kore pea ratou e whakaaro ki a matou, pena, kua tangohia noatia atu to koutou Motu, kua peratia koutou me nga tangata maori o Tahiti. Tena ko tenei, no matou ano nga pakeha nei, no Ingarani ano, no te iwi nana matou i tukua mai, hei kawae mai i te Rongo pai—ka whakaaro ratou ki a matou; ka whakaaro a Ingarani ki a matou. Ka mahara ratou ki te Rongo Pai i tukua mai e ratou, ka mahara ratou ki nga kaiwhakaako i tukua mai e ratou. E kore rawa ratou e mea ko te pai ki mua, muri iho ko te kino; e kore rawa ratou e mea, kia haere mai ratou hei takahi i nga tikanga pai, i tuka mai e ratou. Kahore! kakore! Tae rawa mai nei ratou, kua mohiotia to koutou reo, kua tangohia e koutou nga tikanga pai. Korero pai ana ratou ki a koutou; korero pai ana koutou ki a ratou. Whakarite pai ana ratou i tetahi whenua hei nohoanga mo ratou—noho pai ana, whakaaro ana matou, ko ratou hei whakaatu i nga mea e rangatira ai koutou ki tenei ao, ko matou hei whakaatu i nga mea e rangatira ai koutou ki tera ao atu. Na, ka hari o matou ngakau ki tenei whakaaro; he mea hoki, ka rua nga rangatiratanga mo koutou. Ka pai kia haere mai ratou hei hoa noho mo koutou, hei whakanui i a koutou. E kore hoki e kapi te whenua i a koutou. Hanga kau ana te Atua i te whenua, hei nohoanga tangata,—ki kau ana "kia whanau kia tini, kia kapi te whenua." e kore rawa tenei whenua e kapi i a koutou. Koia ahau ka whakaaro ai, na Te Atua i tukua mai nga pakeha hei whakanui i a koutou, hei tiaki i a koutou, hei whakarangatira i a koutou. "Nana hoki i hanga ki te toto tahi, nga iwi katoa hei noho i te mata o te whenua; nana hoki i whakarite nga taima me nga rohe o nga nohoanga." Titiro ki nga Mahi 17—26. Me kore nga pakeha o Ingarani, kua riro ke noa atu tenei Motu i nga iwi ke. Kei mea koutou, ma koutou e pupuri.—kahore, e kore e mau i a koutou. E ngari, na nga pakeha—na nga pakeha o Ingarani, i pupuri to koutou whenua, i kore ai te riro i te iwi ke. Koia matou ka hari ai, ka haere mai nga pakeha hei tiaki mo koutou, hei whakaora mo koutou. E mahara ana ano matou ki nga he o te pakeha, e mahara ana ano matou ki nga he o te tangata maori. I mahara ano matou i mua, i te pito taenga mai o the pakeha—i mahara ano i reira ki nga he o te pakeha, ki nga he o te tangata maori.—No hea koki te iwi he kore? Otiia, ka whakaaro matou, ko nga he noa iho nei, e kore e kino rawa. Ko matou hoki, hei takawaenga, hei pehi i te he o tetahi, o tetahi; kei nui haere.

Na, e mea ana ahau ki nga pakanga o naianei, mei rongo te tangata maori ki a matou, kihai penei te kino; otiia, na matou i iti ai te kino, me kore matou, kua nui noa atu te kino. Titiro ki tera i Wairau. He he tera no te pakeha, otiia, na te tangata maori hoki te tahi. Hoko ana te tangata maori i te whenua ki te pakeha,—kihai i haerea nga rohe, tohutohu kau ana ki te ringaringa ki tera wahi, ki tera wahi,—hua noa te pakeha, kua tukua katoatia mai a Wairau, me era atu wahi katoa—mo nga taonga i ho atu ra ki te tangata maori: kihai i ata mohio te tahi ki te tahi. Heoi—haere ana nga pakeha ki te ruri i taua whenua—haere he ana; e hara i te haere pokanoa—kaore—i whakaaro ratou kua utua. Muri iho, ka he ano te tangata maori: kihai i mea, kia haere ki te Kai whakarite whenua, ara ki a Te Peina, korero ai, kia whakawhaka e ia. Kaore, ka tahuri ratou ki te panapana i te pakeha, ki te tahutahu i nga whare o nga Ruri—whenua. Te mahara ratou ki te kupu o Te Peina ki a Te Rauparaha ma, i a ia e ki ana "Waiho maku e haere ki te whakarite." Kei aha hoki taua whenua te ruritia noatia ai? Ma te ruri koia ka riro ai? Kahore ra hoki. Kua ki iho a Te Peina "Maku e whakarite." Heoti. Kei te pana nga tangata maori i te pakeha ruri—whenua, kei te tahu i o ratou whare,—na, ka pouri te ngakau, ka weriweri hoki. Te haerenga atu ki Whakatu—ka rongo nga rangatira o reira, kua tahuna nga whare.—Na, ka tahi ka mea kia tikina, kia whakawakia. Kihai i mea, kia whawhaitia, kahore;—hei whakawa kau ta ratou i haere ai. Otiia, i haere tupato. E whakaaro ana, kua pana te pakeha, kua tahuna nga whare; akuanei, ka tahuri ki te tangata. Koia ratou i mea ai kia haere nui me nga pu. E hara i te pu pupuhi, he pu whakawehi kau, kei tahuri te tangata maori ki te patu i a ratou. Waihoki me nga pakeha hoki i haere—e hara i te tangata hapai pu—he kuare kau. Me nga pu hoki he pu pakarukaru etahi, he pu kino r.oa iho, kihai i whakapaia, kihai i mahara, e haere ana ki te whawhai. Haere kuare noa iho ana. Te taenga atu ki reira—ka ki atu, e hara i te whenua ta ratou i haere ai; kaore, ko nga whare i tahuna ki te ahi. Koia i mea ai ki te whakawa. Heoi-kino haere ana te korero o te tahi, o te tahi, nui haere ana te riri o te tahi, o te tahi,—na, ka tahi ka whawhai, Titiro ana nga pakeha kua whawhai—na, ka mahara, kihai ratou i haere mai hei whawhai; na, ka oma—oma ana ratou, whaia una e nga tangata maori No reira i tino kino ai. Mei mohio nga pakeha, e haere ana ratou ki te whawhai, penei, kihai i haere, e kore rawa e pai ki te whawhai.

Heoi ano ra, ka mutu i reira tera kino. Mei kore nga tikanga pai o te pakeha,—ara, mei kore nga tikanga pai i haere mai ai matou, mei kore ta te Kawana mahara ki o matou tikanga, penei, kua nui haere te kino i reira ano, a kua kino noa atu te whenua nei. Waihoki, ka rongo tawahi ki tera matenga, kihai ratou i mea, kia tukua mai ona mano tini, hei whakangaro i te tangata maori. Kaore, e mahara ana ki nga tikanga pai i haere mai ai matou. Mehemea, ko nga iwi patupatu nei, ko nga wiwi o Paranahi, penei, kua nui noa atu tana riri, tana patu tangata hei utu mo era i mate i Wairau. Koia ahau ka mea ai, kua e wehi kau ki te pakeha; kua e mea, i haere mai ratou hei patu i a koutou, hei tango noa i to koutou whenua. E ngari, ma koutou e pokanoa ki a ia—ma koutou e tohe ki te kino, ma reira, ka whakakitea mai ai tona kaha.

Titiro ki a Hone Heke,—he aha koia ta te pakeha kino ki a ia, i tahuri ai taua tangata ki te patu i te pakeha?

E mea ana ahau, Nana ake ano tana, he tupato noa nana ki te kara o te pakeha. He kara aha koia? Kahore a te kara he, E ki ana, he kara tango whenua; kahore ra hoki; ko ehea whenua kua tangohia? Hoko tika ana te pakeha i te whenua, ka riro ai i aia. Ma koutou hoki e tuku, ma koutou e whakaae;—tena, ma te pakeha e pokanoa te tango! kahore, kahore. Waihoki ko tena kupu e ki ana, "He kara whakataurekareka i te tangata maori"—he kupu he ano. Mo te aha kia whakataurekarekatia ai te tangata maori e te pakeha? He moti rangatiratanga nona, no te pakeha, i tawahi i ona tini whenua ke, kia tangohia kautia ai to te tangata maori rangatiratanga? Rere! e hira noa atu ana tona Rangatiranga, e kore e ranea he kupu, hei korero i tona rangatiratanga. Kahore ra hoki! Me he rangatiratanga tana i rapu, e kore rawa te pakeha e haere mai ki konei. Koia ahau ka mea ai, e hara i te kara tango rangatiratanga. Kia tika koia pea te wha-kaaro, Whakarongo mai! I tukua mai te Rongo pei hei whakarangatira i a koutou—i tukua mai nga kaiwhakaako hei whakarangatira i a koutou, i tukua mai nga pukapuka hei whakarangatira i a koutou,—i tukua mai nga taonga hei whakarangatira i a koutou i tukua mai nga Kawana me nga kai whakawa, hei whakarangatira i a koutou! Na, ko enei mea katoa hei whakarangatira, ko tera kara kotahi hei whakataurekareka? I ne? Kia tika koia pea te whakaaro. Kei whakahawe koutou ki taku korero. He korero tika koa. *Rere! ko tenei kara te tino mea e rangatira ai koutou!!* He [unclear: kan] tiaki mo koutou—he kara tiaki mo tatou. E kore ahau e mea, ma te kara kau e tiaki, kahore. Kahore a te kara mea; otiia, he tohu ia, kia mohio ai nga iwi katoa, kua nohoia tenei whenua e te pakeha, kei haere pokonoa mai ratou ki te tango; kua noho te pakeha hei tiaki i te tangata maori, kei pokanoa mai ratou ki te patu. Ke te ki mai pea te tangata, Kowai koia tena iwi e haere kau mai ana ki te patu kau i te tangata maori? ki te tango kau i to te tangata maori whenua? Rere! Ko nga Wiwi koa, ko te iwi o Parahi! Kua tae ratou ki Tahiti, kua patua o reira tangata, kua tangohia o reira oneone; kua oma o reira Kuini a Pomare. Rere I ka whano tenei Motu te riro i tera iwi; mei roa te pakeha-kia kotahi pea marama, na, kua tae mai nga kaipuke o Parahi, kua tangohia e taua iwi tenei Motu,—penei kua ahatia ranei koutou? Ka pai, ko te pakeha o Ingarani, ara ko te Kawana no Ingarani, kua tae mai tei tiaki, hei whakaora. Whakaara ana ia i tona karana, tiro tiro kau mai ana nga iwi katoa! Tu ana tenei tohute tohu tapu o Ingarani, na, mahara katoa ana nga iwi katoa, kua ora tenei iwi, kua ora tenei whenua i a Ingarani. Tena—He aha koia tenei kara i meinga ai hei take whawhai? Engari, he take aroha, he tohu tiaki, he tohu whakarangatira i a koutou. Kua mahue noa atu i a Ingarani te mahi whakataurekareka i te tangata Engari a Merika e hopu tonu ana e hoko tonu ana i te tangata hei taurekareka mo ratou—penei me nga kuri e hokona ana e te tangata. Me tera atu iwi hoki e mahi ana i tenei mahi he. Tena ko Ingarani—kua mahue noa atu tenei mahi. Tera ke tona tikanga—e rererere tonu ana ona kaipuke manua o te Moana nui, hei hopu i nga kaipuke tahae tangata hei taurekareka mo Merika. Mano tini ona moni i ho atu e Ingarani hei whakarangatira i nga tangata kua whakataurekarekatia. Waihoki, ma Ingarani anake tenei iwi te tangata maori e whakarangatira. Kati te ki mai, he kara whakataurekareka, kaore, e kara whakarangatira.

Tera hoki tera whawhai kei Poneke. He raruraru te take i mua—kihai i tika te hoko o te whenua. Koia ano tena-ko te tohutohu kau, ko te whakaae kau a te tangata maori ki nga whenua mo te pakeha, hua noa te pakeha kua rite, kua takoto nga rohe—kaore—no muri ka kitea te he. Otiia kua whakaritea e te kaiwhakarite whenua, ara e Te Peina,—muri iho ka whakaritea ano e Te Kawana. *Na e toru utunga o tera whenua o Heretaunga! Te utunga tuatahi, na Wairaweke—te utunga tuarua, na Te Peina—te utunga tuatoru, na te Kawana!—Ha! kia hia koia utunga mo tena whenua? Heoi, tohe ana nga pakeha ki nga tangata maori e noho he ana i taua whenua kua toru nei ona utunga, tohe ana nga pakeha kia haere marie ratou,—tohe ana nga Mihaneretohe ana tera Kawana kua riro—tohe ana hoki tenei Kawana hou, kia haere marie—te rongo!!* Heoi—taea hoki te pehea e te pakeha, Na, katahi ka tupu te kino! Na wai koia? Na Te Pakeha? Kahore ra hoki. E toru nei hoki nga [unclear: tunga] o taua whenua!—*oti kia Mano?* Na te tangata Maori ano i tonono kino mona. Kua tuhituhi atu e ahau ki a Te Rauparaha i mua—e kore te pakeha e whakatupu i te kino—na te tangata maori ano i whakatupu. Heoi, ka puta atu nga koia—e hara i te patu tangata ta ratou i haere ai—kaore, hei tango kau i te whenua kua hokona e te pakeha, kua toru nei ona utunga. Na,—te tauritanga o te tangata maori, kei te poka ke tana patu i te pakeha noho noa; kei te muru i nga whare o nga pakeha noho noa! Na, ka tahi ka tino kino rawa,—otiia e mea ana ahau e hara i te pakeha te he—na te tangata maori ake ano taua take whawhai.

(7) Tenei hoki tetahi take whawhai, Ko te kaiponu i te tangata hara. Na ka anga tetahi tangata katahi ka tahae ka kohuru ra nei, na ka rere atu ki tona nuinga, ma tona nuinga ia e pupuru e whakaora. Na, ka riro i a ratou tona hara—ka rere ratou ki runga ki tona hara,—na ka hara katoa ratou. Waihoki, ka whakatika te iwi nona nga taonga, nona ranei te tangata i kohurutia, ka tahuri ratou ki te rapu utu, ka tahuri ki tona nuinga, he mea hoki kua tangohia tona hara e ratou katoa. Na, katahi ka tino nui te hara! Whawhai nui ana—hinga nui ana.—Na, ka tokomaha nga tangata hara kore, hei utu mo te hara o te tangata kotahi! Aue! maumau te tangata tika mo te hara o te tangata he, I penei hoki ta Rangihaeata. Tahuri ana te tangata kotahi—tokorua ranei—kei te kohuru i te pakeha e noho pai ana i tona whare i Heretaunga, kohurutia tokoruatia raua, ko te Matua ko tona tamaiti;—rere ana nga kai kohuru; na, kei a Rangihaeata e noho ana; e puritia ana raua e ia. Tono kau ana a Kawana kia tukua mai nga tangata nana te hara: kaiponuhia tonutia ana e Rangihaeata ratou ko tona nuinga. Na ka tahi ka tino kino rawa, katahi ka whawhai nui!—Whawhai nui ana, hinga nui ana, o tetahi, o tetahi,

Heoti—tokomaha noa atu nga tangata hara kore, hei utu mo tena tangata kotahi nana te kohuru. E ngari tera i Ngapuhi, a Maketu ra—e ngari tena. Kohuru ana tena tangata i te pakeha—na ko ia hei utu—ko ia anake. Whakawakia marietia ana—whakamalea marietia ana,—na, ka ea tana kohuru, ka mutu te kino—ka ora nga tangata kore hara. Koia ano tena ko te tikanga pai tena—ko te tikanga tika tena, kia mate, ko te tangata kotahi anake, nana te hara—kia ora, ko nga tangata hara kore e noho pai ana. Kia ai he tangata hei noho i te ao nei.

II. KO NGA KINO O TE WHAWHAI. Kua tuhituhia o tahi o nga take o te whawhai—na, me korero tenei Nga Kino o te whawhai. Otiia, kei hea he kupu hei whakaatu? Ko wai hei whakapuaki i nga kino o tenei hanga o te whawhai? He kino mo te tinana—he kino mo te wairua—he kino mo tenei ao—he kino mo tera ao atu—he kino mo te tangata ora,—he kino mo te tangata mate. E maha noa atu nga kino o te whawhai e kore e taea te kohikohi. Heoi, ko etahi kia tuhituhia, ma koutou hoki etahi e whakaaro e mahara.

1. Tetahi kino o te whawhai koia tenei. *Kahore ona tukunga iho,—kahore ona mutunga pai.* Maumau whawhai noa ana tetahi iwi, ki tetahi iwi, e kore e takoto he tikanga. Maumau ngangare kau ana mo te whenua e kore e riro i tetahi, e kore e riro i tetahi. Maia kau ana tetahi, maia kau ana tetahi—hinga kau ana to tetahi, hinga kau ana to tetahi, ko te whenua kihai i riro i te tahi, kihai i riro i te tahi. Kahore e hamumu i tona waha hei ki ake ki tetahi, 'he iwi maia koutou mo koutou ahau,' hei ki ake ranei ki te tahi, 'he iwi kaha kore koutou, e kore ahau, e pai ki a koutou.' Kahore e penei te whenua; e ngari, e hamumu ana i tona waha hei mitimiti i nga toto o tetahi o tetahi, mimiti rawa—e hamumu ana i tona waha, hei horo i nga tupapaku o tetahi, o tetahi pau rawa—tena ko te riro—e kore e riro i tetahi, e kore e riro i tetahi: ta raua whawhai tonu ngaro rawa, ko te whenua takoto tonu, a, mate noa. E rangi, me patu te whenua—ka mea te tangata ki te whawhai, me whawhai ki te whenua—kia kaha te patu i te whenuapatupatua nga maunga, patupatua nga pukepuke, patupatua nga awawa, patupatua nga repo, patupatua nga raorao, patupatua nga rakau, patupatua nga otaota, kia maunu mai ai te take, kia puaki mai ai te reo, kia ki ki ake ai etahi. "No Ngatimea ahau—No Ngatimea ahau—No Ngatimea ahau." Tena ko te tangata kia patua!—Ngaro ngaro kau ana kihai kitea he tikanga, kihai i mutunga tika. I penei hoki nga ngangaretanga o nga iwi pakeha, ngarongaro kau ana te mano tini o nga tangata kihai mau he tikanga kihai takoto. Maumau whakatika noa tetahi iwi ki te whawhai, hua noa e riro i a ia te tikanga—a kore noa iho. Manmau maia kau, maumau kaha kau—kore noa iho he tikanga mona. Heoi, ano he tikanga mona ko nga mano tini o ona tangata ka ngaro, ko nga mano tini o ona moni ka maumauria.

2. Tetahi kino o te whawhai *he Maumau.* Maumau taima, maumau taonga, maumau kai. Mehemea i mahia nga ra, nga marama, nga tau i whawhai ai te tangata maori, penei kua nui noa atu tona rangatiratanga Warea ana ki te hanga pa, ki te whakapai i tona pu, ki te whanga i tona hoa riri, ki te haere i te whenua roana kore noa iho he taima hei mahi taonga mona, oranga mona, rangatiratanga mona. Waihoki ko nga taonga, ko nga kai—tini tini nga taonga kua ngaro i te whawhai,—i te pakeha, i te tangata Maori. Poto katoa nga taonga o te tangata maori ki te hoko pu, ki te hoko paura, ki te hoko mata. Ko nga riwai, ko nga poaka, ko nga muka, ko nga rakau, ko nga aha, ko nga nga aha;—e—maumau whati kau te tuara, maumau mamae kau nga pokoiwhi, mamau ngenge kau nga waewae, maumau mahi kau nga ringaringa i nga tini mahi,—ngaro katoa nga taonga i te whawhai. Tena tou ha nga e te whawhai—ka tahu tahuna nga ware ka takatakahia nga mara, ka muru murua nga kainga, ka maumauria nga taonga, ka whakamarakeraketia katoatia te whenua. Ko nga pouaru, ko nga tuahine, ko nga tamariki—e tangitangi kau ana—hemo ana i te kai—mate ana i te maeke—ngaro noa iho ana i te mamae o te ngakau, mo nga hoa, mo nga tungane, mo nga matua i hinga i te whawhai.

3. Tetahi kino o te whawhai, he takahi i nga kupu o Te Atua. I mua e whawhai noa ana o koutou tupuna, kahore ano i tae mai te pukapuka o te Atua. Tena ko tenei—ko to te Atua pukapuka tapu kua tae maime nga karere o te Atua kua tae mai. Kei mea mai te tangata—"Hei aha maku tena pukapuka? Hei aha maku tena karere?" Kahore, ma katoa ano tenei pukapuka, mo katoa ano enei karere. Ahakoa kahore ano koe i karakia, kahore ano koe i whakapono, mou ano tenei pukapuka me ona tikanga. Kei a wai koia he tikanga mo tatou? Ko wai koia he Atua mo tatou? Koia ano tenei, kahore hoki he Atua ke atu. Ko ia te Atua o te ao katoa—ko ia ano te Atua, o o koutou tupuna, o o koutou matua. Ahakoa kihai tae mai tona pukapuka kia ratou,—ko tona Ra i tae mai ki a ratou ko tona Marama i tae mai ki a ratou,—ko tona ua i tae mai ki a ratou,—ko tona whenua i tukua mai ki a ratou. Na kihai ratou i turi ki tona Ra, ki tona marama, ki tona ua, ki tona tae pari, ki tona tae timu, kua hoki koutou e turi ki tona pukapuka. Rere, ko tona mea nui tenei ko tona pukapuka kua tae mai nei ki a koutou, ko tona mea aroha tenei ara, he putanga aroha mai no te Atua ki a koutou. Tena,—e taeakoia te kupu o te Rangatira te pehi e te pononga? Ara he Rangatira nui te Atua ko ia te tino Rangatira o nga rangatira, ko ia te Kingi o nga kingi, ko ia te Ariki o te rangi o te ao. Tena—ka turi koia koutou ki tona kupu? Aue, ka he te tangata me ka turi ki a ia. Koia ahau ka mea ai kia whakaaro ki nga tikanga o tona pukapuka kua tae mai nei ki tenei whenua. Na, te tino tikanga o tena pukapuka, he pukapuka aroha, he pukapuka whakaora tangata. Koia tena i waiatatia e nga Anahera i te whanautanga mai o te Karaiti—"Hei kororia ki te Atua i runga rawa, hei maunga rongu ki te whenua, hei whakaaro pai ki te tangata." Na, ka takoto he tikanga mo tenei hanga mo te whawhai. Ka ki mai Te Atua—kaua e patu i te tangata, kaua e utua te kino ki te kino, kaua e rapu utu ki te tangata. E ki mai ana Te Atua—mana tena mahi—mana e rapu utu—mana tena mahi te wha-kamate tangata.

Waihoki, mana e tuku tena mahi ki te tangata katahi ka tika; koia nga whawhai o mua i nga tangata o Iharaira. Tonoa ana ratou e Te Atua hei whakangaro i nga iwi kino—katahi ka tika te whawhai, ngaro ana ko te iwi kino i whakaritea e te Atua kia whakangaromia; kihai i mate te iwi tika. Waihoki i muri nei—whakaritea ana e ia nga kai whakawa, nga katipa hei whakawa hei whakamate marie i te tangata hara, i te tangata kotahi nana te kino; na e tika ana tena. E tika ana ano hoki te whawhai mehemea, na te Atua i whakarite. Otia, nonahea te Atua i whakarite ai i a koutou pakanga i a koutou ngangaretanga? Kahore ra hoki! Tera ke tona tikanga mo koutou, "Kia aroha tetahi ki tetahi kia tohutohu—kia murua noatia nga hara, kia houhia te rongu ki nga tangata katoa; ki te mea e kore koutou e muru i nga hara a te tangata e kore hoki to koutou matua i te rangi e muru i a koutou hara." Kia penei te aroha ki o koutou hoa tangata me to koutou aroha ki a koutou ano. Ko te mehua e mehuatia ai e koutou ki te tangata, ka mehuatia e te Atua ki a koutou. Ara, ko ta koutou tikanga ki te tangata, ko to te Atua tikanga ki a koutou. Ka whakatika koutou, ka whawhai ki te tangata, ka whawhai hoki te Atua ki a koutou. Tena koa—ma te turi ka aha ai? Ka ngaro ai te Atua? Ka kore ai tona kaha hei homai utu mo te tangata turi? Kahore, kahore! Ka turi koutou ki nga kupu o tona pukapuka aroha, na, mo koutou nga mamae nga mate kua tuhia ki roto ki taua pukapuka. Kia tupato koia pea ki nga kupu o to tatou tino Rangatira. Ko tona pukapuka kua tae mai nei meake ko ia ka puta mai hei whakawa i a tatou.

4. Tetahi kino o te whawhai koia tenei, HE HUNA TANGATA! Tena,—he taonga iti koia te tangata? Rere, kahore he taonga e rite ki te tangata o nga taonga katoa o te ao; ahakoa koura, ahakoa hiriwa, ahakoa kaipuke, ahakoa mano te hoiho, mano te kau, ahakoa Karauna ranei,—Torona ranei, nga taonga nunui katoa o nga kingi katoa, o nga rangatira katoa, o te ao katoa, e kore rawa e rite ki te tangata kotahi. Waihoki ko te whenua e kore e rite ki te tangata. Huihuia katoatia o koutou oneone, o koutou kainga, o koutou whenua katoa, katoa, e kore rawa e rite ki te tangata kotahi. Ahakoa tangata iti ranei, tangata rahi ranei rangatira ranei, mokai ranei e kore rawa e rite nga taonga katoa o te ao katoa, e kore rawa e rite ki te tangata ko tahi. He aha ta te tangata e whiwhi ai ki te riro mai i a ia te ao katoa, a ngaro iho tona orange? "He aha ta te tangata e ho atu hei utu mo tona orange?" He taonga nui te tangata, he taonga tapu! Rere i nui ai te tangata, i tapu ai—he mea hanga ki te Ahua o te Atua. Hanga ana te Atua i te whenua ki to te whenua ahua ano. Hanga ana te Atua i te moana ki to te moana ahua ano, me te rakau ki to te rakau ahua, me te kuri ki to te kuri ahua, me te hoiho ki to te hoiho ahua, me nga kararehe katoa, ki to te kararehe ahua ano; me tera atu mea, me tera atu mea ki tona ahua ake ano, ki tona ahua ake ano.

Tena, ka tahuri te Atua ki te hanga i te tangata, he hanganga ketanga to te tangata he hanganga tapu. Tenei ta te Atua kupu, Kenehi 1, 26. "Na, ka mea te Atua, kia hanga tatou i te tangata kia rite ki a tatou, ki to tatou ahua ano hoki." Ko te Atua Matua, ko te Atua Tamaiti, ko te Atua Wairua Tapu e whakarite marie ana kia hanga te tangata, ki tona ahua tapu. E—He mea tapu rawa te tangata; ina hoki, i hanga ia ki te ahua tonu o te Atua Tapu. Hanga ana te Atua i te tinana o te tangata kihai mea me kupu kau, pena me te hanganga o nga mea katoa, kaore—he mea mahi marie na te Atua. Waihoki ko te wairua no te Atua tonu ia, ina hoki i "whakahangia e ia ki roto ki ona pongaponga te manawa ora, a katahi ka whakawairua ora te tangata." Ko Ihowa tonu te matua o te tangata. Koia ahau ka whakaaro ai, he mea rahi rawa, he mea patu rawa te tangata. Na ka anga koutou ka tapu i tenei mea tapu—ka anga koutou ka huna i to te Atua ahua,—ka whakangaro i tenei taonga nui, na, ka rahi te he! E hara i te whawhai ki te tangata, he whawhai ia ki te Atua ta te mea i hanga te tangata ki te ahua o te Atua. Tena, ka whawhai tahi koutou ki te Atua tera koutou e ora? Kahore. Ko wai koia te tangata i whakakake ki te Atua a i ora? Kahore ra hoki. Rere, i ora koia o koutou tupuna o koutou matua? Whakangaro- ngaro ana ratou i te tangata, na, ko ratou hoki ka ngaro; ngaro ana, ngaro ana, na ngaro haere. Takoto kau ana te whenua i hanga e te Atua hei nohoanga tangata, ko te tangata i iti haere, no te mea hoki i whakangaro ratou i a ratou. E kore hoki e ngaro ko tetahi anake,—kaore, ka tahuri ki te whawhai ka ngaro ngatahi. Huna ana tetahi i tetahi, huna ana tetahi i tetahi. Patu ana tetahi i tenei mea tapu i te tangatapatu ana tetahi i tenei mea tapu i te tangata. Waihoki ka he ngatahi. Na, ka he ngatahi, ka whakawakia ngatahitia e te Atua a te ra whakawa. E mohio ana te Atua ki te take o nga pakanga katoa, otia, e kore pea te Atua e whakaaro nui ki ena take; ina hoki, kahore he taonga e rite ki te tangata. Ko nga whenua katoa ko nga taonga katoa e pakangatia e te tangata, he taonga memeha he taonga mahue; tena ko te tangata ko te tino taonga rahi tena, ina hoki ko te Ahua o te Atua. Waihoki ko te tino he rawa tenei e whakawakia e te Atua, *Ko te mahi huna i tona Ahua, ko te mahi whakangaro i ana tamariki!* E, kia wehi koutou ki tenei, "Aua e wehingia ratou e patu ana i te tinana, e ngari kia wehi ki a ia e kaha ana ki te patu i te tinana raua tahi ko te wairua ki te reinga." E te tangata maia kia wehi koe ki tenei. Ko koe koia hei huna i nga tamariki o te Atua? Ko koe koia hei whakangaro i nga hua o te Atua kaha rawa? Ko koe koia hei tono i te wairua o te tangata ki tera ao?

Tera pea tetahi tangata te ki mai na, "Kua he te tangata, kua taka, kua mahue i a ia te Ahua o te Atua kua tahuri ki a Hatana, kua meingatia katoatia nga tangata hei mokai mo Hatana kua kino katoa, heoi ano mo te kino ano, me patu noa te tangata inaianei kua kino hoki." Kahore! kahore! Rere, mei pena mai te Atua, e tika ana. Mana anake e pena mai. Mana anake e mea kia whangaromia ngatahitia ratou ko Hatana ma. Tena, e pena mai ana koia te Atua? Kahore ra hoki! Tera ke tona tikanga aroha! Titiro ana ia kua he te tangata kua mahue

tona ahua pai kua taka ki te kino; na, ka tonoa tona Tamaiti hei whakahoki mai i te tangata ki te pai—hei utu mo nga kino o te tangata,—hei Kaiwhakaora mo te tangata. Haere mai ana a Ihu Karaiti i runga i te rangi—whakarerea atu ana tona kainga pai—haere mai ana ki tenei ao kino *hei rapu* i te tangata. "Kihai te Atua i tonu mai i tona Tamaiti ki te ao hei whakamate i te ao, kaore, kia ora ai te ao i a ia." Otiia kihai te Atua i mea me whakaora noa te tangata, kaore, kia wai utu mo ana kino kia ea katoa nga kino o te tangata, katahi ka whakaorangia; ara, katahi ka tukua te tikanga o te oranga ki a ia. Na, kia rahi te utu mo te tangata! Kihai i mea, kia utua ki te koura, ki te hiriwa, kihai i mea, kia utua ki nga taonga nunui o te ao nei—kahore hoki he taonga e rite ai,—kihai i mea kia utua ki nga anahera o te rangi, e kore hoki e rite i a ratou; kaore, ko te Tino Tamaiti o Te Atua, ara, ko Te Atua Tamaiti kia haere mai—ko Te Atua Tamaiti kia mate i runga i te ripeka, hei utu mo te tangata. Tuku ana ia i a ia ano kia whakamatea i runga i te ripeka, hei utu mo te tangata. Tuku ana ia i a ia ano, kia whakamatea i runga i te ripeka, heke ana ona toto, hemo rawa, na, katahi ka rite. Rere, i hokona te tangata e ia ki ona toto Tapu! Kia rahi tenei utu! E taea koia te korero? E taea koia te whakaaro? Aue! katahi ka nui rawa te tapu o te tangata, he mea hoko hoki na nga toto tapu o te tino Tamaiti Tapu o te Atua! Tena, ma koutou koia e pokanoa ki nga utu o nga toto o Te Karaiti? Kia tangohia noatia koia e koutou tenei taonga nui i hokona e Te Karaiti ki ona toto? Kia whakangaromia noatia e koutou. Aue! ka matakau ahau! Kia rahi ta koutou he, me ka penei! Ka takatakahia nga toto tapu o Te Karaiti! Ka whakangaromia nga utu o ona toto!—E, kia rahi te matenga mo koutou!

Tenei hoki ta Paora Kupu. He temepara te tinana o te tangata whakapono no te Wairua Tapu! Ara, ko te Atua Wairua Tapu kua tae mai ki te tangata; e tohutohu ana i te tangata, e whakamarama ana i te tangata, e whakaatu ana i nga tikanga o te Karaiti ki te tangata, e whakaako ana i te tangata, kia kite ai te tangata i nga tikanga o te oranga tonutanga. Na ka tahuri koutou ka whakatmate i te tinana o te tangata, ara, ka wawahi i te temepara o te Wairua Tapu, na e whawhai ana koutou ki te Wairua Tapu! E tama ma, e tama ma, e nui haere ana taku wehi, e tuhituhi tangi ana ahau, mo te nui o tenei kino o te whawhai—e hara i te whawhai ki te tangata—he whawhai ia ki te Atua! E whawhai ana koutou ki te Atua Matua—e whawhai ana ki Te Atua Tamaiti—e whawhai ana ki te Atua Wairua Tapu! Aue! Ngarongaro kau ana ko te tangata, ko te Atua e ora tonu ana, e kaha tonu ana, e riri tonu ana ki tenei mahi he. Kei te ki mai pea tetahi tangata "Kei aha hoki te riri noa mai ai te Atua, he riri ngaro tona riri e kore e whakakitea mai." E—Kaua e pena te whakaaro—tenei ake; tenei ake tatou te kite ai i te tino he o tenei mahi o te whawhai; e kore e ngaro tonu te Atua; e kore hoki e ngaro nga mahi he o te tangata. Koia ahau ka mea ai, kia tuhituhia hoki te kino o te whawhai mo tera ao. E kaha ana te Atua ki te whakamamae i te tangata i tenei ao me ka whawhai ki a ia. Mana ma te Atua e whakapa atu nga mate ki tona tinana, nga mare—nga turoro—nga whewhe, nga hore, nga mate katoa, hei whakangaro i a ia, hei whakangaro i ana tamariki, hei whakangaro i tona nuinga kia ngaro rawa—ina—ma reira ka ngaro rawa ai te tangata maori, pena me nga iwi maha o mua kua ngaro nei, i te ao nei. Otiia kei tera ao te tino kino.

5. Koia tenei te tino kino rawa o te whawhai, *e whakahe ana i te tangata mo tera ao!* Rere, mehemea mo tenei ao anake te tangata—he kino iti te kino, he kino poto. Mehemea ko tona kainga pumau tenei, me whawhai noa iho—me patu noa iho—me kino noa iho, e kore e roa kua mutu. Tena ko tenei, ko tona timatanga tenei, ko tona whakamatauranga tenei. He atu i konei—he tonu atu; kino atu i konei—kino tonu atu. Koia Te Atua i tuku mai ai i tona pukapuka kia mohio ai te tangata ki nga tikanga e ora ai ia i tera ao; kia tika ai te tangata ki to Te Atua kainga pai. Koia matou ka tohe nei ki te tangata karakia, kia ripeneta kia whakapono kia whiwhi ai ki te oranga tonutanga. Tena, e pono koia te karakia i runga i te whawhai? E mau koia te whakapono i te iwi patu tangata? Huaatu ko te tiwai o te whakapono he aroha. Tena; E haere tahi ana te aroha me te riri? E haere tahi ana te aroha me te patu tangata? E—kei tinihangatia koutou, e kore e haere tahi nga mahi a Hatana me nga mahi o te Atua; e kore e haere tahi te pouri me te marama. E karakia ana pea te tahi o te iwi ngangare—he karakia pehea ra nei—e—he karakia pehea ranei?—he karakia kua whakananua ki nga toto, ki nga tarenga, ki nga auetanga o nga tupapaku. Ki taku whakaaro e kore e ora te whakapono ki te pera. Tena, he taonga iti te whakapono kia maumauria ai? Ahakoa kihai te tinana i mate, ko te whakapono i mate, na kia rahi tena matenga! Ngaro ana tona whakapono, ahakoa ora ana te tangata he aha te pai? Ahakoa riro i a ia te whenua riro i a ia te kaha, te Wikitoria—he aha te pai, ki te ngaro tona whakapono?

Taku taenga atu ki te Ihutaroa—titiro ana ahau, ko nga tupapaku e takoto ana ko nga pouaru ko nga tamariki e tangi ana, ko etahi e whakahemohemo ana, ko etahi e aue ana,—ko nga tangata ora e tarai kawhena ana, ko etahi e karakia ana. E—ka whakaaro ahau ki nga wairua o nga tupapaku kua riro atu ki tera ao i runga i tena mahi he! Ka patai mai te tahi tangata ka mea mai, "Me nehu ranei nga tupapaku i hinga i te parekura, ara, me karakia ranei te karakia tanumanga tupapaku?" Na, ka whakaaro ahau, he aha kei tena karakia? Ma tena karakia ka aha ai te wairua kua riro nei? Huaatu i haere i runga i te he—he tonu atu; i haere i runga te riri—riri tonu atu, i haere i runga i te whawhai, whawhai tonu atu! Aue! te wehi o tenei whakaaro; otiia he whakaaro tika ra. Mehemea ko nga tinana anake i whawhai—ae—tena i riri nga tahi—te tinana me te wairua, ko nga wairua hoki kua whawhai muri iho ko nga tinana, na te wairua hoki i tonu te tinana kia ngangare, he pononga kau te tinana, ko te wairua te rangatira, na te wairua te tikanga whawhai; *waihoki* hinga ana te tinana i runga i te

whawhai—haere ana te wairua i runga i te whawhai, *na ko tana mahi [unclear: to] ano!* Hingabinga ana nga tinana o te tahi—hinga hinga ana nga tinana o te tahi; rere ana nga wairua o te tahi, rere ana nga wairua o tetahi; na, kei tera ao? ririri ana, e papatu ana, e haehae ana, e tino kino rawa ana te tahi ki te tahi, ake, ake, ake. Na, ko te tino whawhai tena, ko nga wairua kei te reinga e whawhai ana me nga rewera e matakitaki ana, e katakata ana, e tawai ana, e ki maminga ana ki a ratou, "Tena, tena, kia maia, kia maia, ta koutou pai hoki tena i te ao maon ta koutou mahi hoki tena ake, ake, ake; i pai koutou kia whakamamae koutou i a koutou, ina koia tena, tena kia toa, kia toa; tenei te ahi, tenei te whanariki, tenei te kapura ka tonu, tenei nga paura o taku kainga o te reinga, tenei nga mata o taku kainga o te reinga, tenei nga pu o taku kainga o te reinga, tenei nga whatitiri nga uira, nga riri o te Atua hei rakau ma koutou—kia kaha, kia kaha! Hua noa ahau maku koutou e to to mai ki te reinga, kaore, na koutou koutou i turakiraki mai, na koutou tenei mahi whakamamae i a koutou, ina, mahia ra, mahia ta koutou mahi pai—kia kaha, kia ka ha—e kore e pau nga paura, e kore e pau nga whana riki, e kore e pau nga kapura, kokiritia, kokiritia."

Na ka rongo ratou ki a Hatana ma e tawai penei mai ana ki a ratou, me nga whatitiri, me nga uira, me nga mamae, me nga ahi, me nga reo, me nga auetanga, me nga tarenga o tera kainga kino o te reinga. Na ka tangi ratou ka matakū, ka haurangi, ka rere ki te kawhake i a ratou,—e, ka rere ki hea?—Hiahia kau ana kia hoki—kei hea he putanga? Hiahia kau ana kia mate, kei hea he matenga? Riri kau ana, ngaungau kau ana, aue kau ana, mamae kau ana ake, ake, ake, e kore e mutu. Kei ki mai koutou, "He wairua kau tena e korerotia nei." Ahakoa, he aha koia te wairua? Koia tena te tino tangata! He mamaetanga koia to te tinana me ka riro te wairua? Kahore ra hoki, e takoto kau ana he tupapaku kau, ko te wairua te tino tiwai, te tino tikanga o te tangata. Otiia, mo te tinana ano tenei tino tukunga kino o te whawhai! Ahakoa, hemo ana te tinana, tanumia ana, ka ngaro, ka popopopo, ka memeha, tenei ake! Hei te ra whakamutunga, ka whakaarahia nga tupapaku e TeAtua—na, ka whakahokia mai nga wairua, tona wairua ki tona tinana, tona wairua ki tona tinana. Na, ko te ahua i mate ai te tangata, ko te ahua e ara ai; ko te tikanga i mate ai, ko te tikanga e ara ai; i mate i runga i te kino, ka ara kino; i mate i runga te whawhai, na, ko taua tu ra ano, me ka ara! Aue te matakū o te iwi kino! Ka tangi te tetera nui o Te Atua, ka karanga mai ki te ao katoa, kia haere ki te whakawa, ka whakaminea katoatia nga iwi kino ki tona aroaro,—na, ka pehea koia nga tangata maia? Ka maia ra nei i reira? Rere, kei a Hone te kupu kei te Whakakitenga, Upoko 6, 15, 16, "A ko nga kingi o te whenua ko nga tangata nunui, ko nga tangata taonga, ko nga rangatira mano, ko nga tangata mana ko nga pononga katoa, me nga rangatira katoa, i whakapiri ki nga ana, ki nga toka o nga maunga; a ka mea ratou ki nga maunga, ki nga toka. Taka iho ki runga ki a matou, a huna matou i te kanohi ona e noho ana i runga i te torona, i te riri hoki o te Reme." Ka kite ratou i nga tangata i patua e ratou, na, ka wiri, ka whakama, ka matakū. Ka rongo ki te reo nui o te Kaiwhakawa e ki ana ki a ratou, "Haere koutou kua oti nei te kanga, te kai mahi i te kino, te kai patupatu tangata; Haere ki te ahi ka tonu, i hanga e ahau mo nga rewera—haere ki te kainga o to koutou Rangatira whawhai, ko reira koutou whawhai ai, ka tonu ai i te ahi whanariki." Na, ka turakina ratou, ka hinga—a hinga rawa—rere rawa—tu rawa atu kei te kapura ka tonu, kei te kopua pouri o te reinga. Kei reira ano o ratou hoa riri, kei reira nga rewera, kei reira nga tupapaku i kohurutia e ratou, i hinga i a ratou i te parekura; kua ara—kua ora—kua reweratia;—na—ka tahi ka timatangia houtia ta ratou whawhai!—whawhai, whawhai mutunga kore!—whawhai—*whawhai reinga!* Ko nga pu maori, kua mahue, ko nga patu maori, kua mahue;—he whawhai reinga—he pu reinga—he patu reinga—he kapura reinga—he mamae reinga—*mo te tinana, mo te wairua.* Me Hatana ma, e tawai tonu ana, e whakangau tonu ana! Me te riri nui o Te Atua Tapu Rawa, e pehi tonu ana, e whakamamae tonu ana i tetahi, i tetahi, ake, ake, ake. Aue! ka pai te pakanga maori, ka pai te patu maori, ka pai te mate maori;—pa kau te mata ki te tangata, kua hinga, inamata, kua mutu te mamae, heoi ano. Tena, ko te whawhai reinga,—ko te mamae mutunga kore.—ko te riri tonu,—ko te ngau tonu o te kapura,—tau ake, tau ake! ake! ake! ake!! Aue! Taukiri!—Taukiri e! E te whanau—e te whanau—e—whakaarohia mai—e—whakaarohia mai taku korero.—E—arohatia o koutou tinana—arohatia o koutou wairua. Rere, ko te whenua kua memeha ke, ko nga mea katoa o te ao nei, kua memeha ke, kua pau ke i te ahi, ko o koutou tinana, me o koutou wairua, i maumauria mo enei mea memeha, e ora tonu ana—e mamae tonu ana,—e tangi tonu ana i roto i te ahi o te reinga! Ko te Rangi, ko te kainga pai i whakaritea e Te Atua hei nohoanga, hei rangatiratanga mo tatou—kua mahue, kua whakakapia nga tatau, kua tutakina koutou ki roto ki te whare herehere o Hatana—kua mau nga mekameka,—kua ka nga ahi,—kua pa nga mamae,—kua piri nga whanariki,—kua puta nga tangi,—kua tetea nga niho,—kua hari nga rewera,—Aue! he Aue tonu! Tau maha!—tau mano!—mano tini nga tau!! Kahore rawa he mutunga!!

Ka pai, e korero ana tatou i runga i te whenua!—Ahakoa mo te ra whakawa taku korero, mo te reinga taku korero—he korero pono hoki—e hari ana taku ngakau no te mea kahore ano i tae noa mai te ra whakawa, kahore ano koutou i tae noa ki tera kainga kino ki te reinga; e whanga mai nei Te Atua ki a koutou, e mea mai ana kia tahuri ki a ia, kia whakarerea te kino, kia tahuri ki te pai. Koia hoki ahau ka tuhituhi nei i tenei pukapuka ki a teuton, kia whakarerea te whawhai, kia Houhia te Rongo—kia Mau tonu te Rongo ki nga tangata katoa. Otiia, kei te mea mai pea tetahi tangata, "Kia pehea ka mutu ai tena hanga te whawhai?" Koia tena te

tuatoru o aku kupu i kiia e ahau kia tuhituhia; ara, ko nga tikanga e mutu ai te whawhai.

III. *Ko Nga Tikanga e mutu ai te Whawhai.* Kei mea mai te tangata, kahore he tikanga e mutu ai te whawhai. Kaore, he tikanga ano. Rere, i penei o matou tupuna i mua me koutou, otiia, kua mutu ke o matou whawhai penei me a koutou. Ahakoa, Mano tini nga pakeha,—he iwi nui rawa, kua mahue noa atu ona pakanga whenua, ona pakanga maori nei. He iwi maia ano ki te whawhai, me ka pokanoa te kino ki a ratou, he iwi maia ki te whawhai kaipuke i whaenga moana, ki te whawhai parekura i te tuawhenua; otiia, ekore ratou e whawhai ki a ratou ano, pena me koutou. Na te aha koia i pai ai? *Na te Whakapono. Na te Mahara!*

1. *Na te Whakapono.* Koia tenei ko te tino putake tenei o nga tikanga katoa, e mutu ai te whawhai. E ki ana a Paora, "E pai ana te whakapono mo nga mea katoa, kei reira hoki te korero o te oranga mo naiane nei, mo a mua noa atu hoki." Koia hoki ahau i mea ai, mei u tonu te tangata ki te whakapono, kihai i hua te kino. Na te whakapono i hua ai te aroha, na te whakapono i hua ai te mahara, no reira i tupu ai nga tikanga i rangatira ai to matou Motu, to matou iwi. Koia ahau ka mea ai, kia tangohia tenei tikanga e nga hapu katoa o Nui Tireni, ara, kia whakapono katoa, kia tahui katoa ki te karakia, kia rite katoa i tenei taonga nui, i te whakapono. Otiia, kia tika te whakapono,—kaua e mea, hei te whakapono whakarite kau o te tinana; otira, hei te whakapono o te ngakau—te whakapono e mahi tahi ana ki te aroha. Na, ka whakapono katoa te tangat a, ka aroha katoa ki Te Atua, ka aroha hoki ki te tangata. Ka mahara ko Te Atua te Matua o nga iwi katoa, na, e kore e tahuri ki te patu i nga tamariki o Te Atua. Ka mahara, he teina katoa nga tangata, he tuakana, kotahi ano Matua, e kore e tahuri ki te patu i ona whanaunga.

Tena, e te whanau, whakaarohia tenei taonga, ko te putake tenei o nga pai katoa, ko te karo tenei mo nga kino katoa. Ka pai kia whakapono katoa, kia ngaro katoa ai te kino, kia ora katoa ai te tangata,—kia ora katoa ai ki tenei ao, kia ora katoa ai ki tera ao atu; kia rangatira katoa ai ki tenei ao, kia rangatira katoa ai ki tera ao atu. Na, ka whakapono te tangata, ka tahi ka tika tona Mahara; ka whakapono katoa, katahi ka tika te Mahara o nga hapu katoa.

2. *Na Te Mahara.* Ma te whakapono, ka tika ai te Mahara ki nga mea katoa e mutu ai te kino. Na te whakapono i mahara ai nga pakeha o tawahi ki nga pai, whaihoki, kia whakapono koutou, kia tika hoki te Mahara ki enei mea, ka tuhituhia nei e ahau.

1. Kia tika te Mahara *ki o koutou Tamariki.* Kia aroha ki a koutou tamariki;—Ko wai koia he tangata mo te ao? Ko ratou, hei pupuru i o koutou ingoa, ko ratou hei noho i o koutou kainga. Ko tatou, e haere ana tatou, me o tatou matua kua riro hoki; na, ko o tatou tamariki hei tangata mo te ao nei, i muri i a tatou. Otiia, ka whakaakona ratou ki te whawhai, ka kite ratou i a koutou e whawhai ana, na, ka tupu ake raton me te ngakau whawhai, me te hiahia whawhai, tera ratou te ngaro noa iho i a ratou. Me koutou, kua iti haere nei, no te mea, kihai i tika te mahara a o koutou matua kia koutou. He iwi whawhai ratou. Kite ana koutou i a ratou e whawhai ana, akona ana koutou e ratou ki te hanga kino,—na, ka tupu te ngakau whawhai i a koutou—riro i a koutou nga tikanga o te whawhai. Na, mahi ana koutou i tena mahi he—me te memeha haere, me te memeha haere, me te memeha haere—nakua torutoru nei te tangata mo te whenua nei. Koia ahau ka mea ai, kaua a koutou tamariki e tukua ki tenei mahi whakangaro tangata; kaua ratou e akona ki te whawhai—kaua ratou e rahurahu i te pu—kaua ratou e tu- kua ki te pukana, ki te haka, ki te ruriruri—kia puta ke he tikanga mo ratou, kia tino whakangaromia tenei mahi he e koutou, kei kitea e ratou. Na, ko te mahi ma ratou, koia tena, te kura—te mahi pakeha—te Mohiotanga o te Pakeha. Kahore he Kura i o koutou Matua, kuare ana ratou, tupu kuare ana koutou. E ngari tenei, kua wai kura mo a koutou tamariki—kura maori, kura pakeha—kura pukapuka—kura tuhituhi, kura wika—kura whakaatu i nga tikanga katoa o te Moni, o te Rakau, o te Taonga, o te Hoko, o nga mea katoa. Na, kia aroha koutou ki te kura mo a koutou tamariki, kia ngakau nui ki tena mea. Kia mea he Kura ki nga kainga katoa. Kia tika hoki te whakaaro ki te *kaiwhakaako*; e mahi ana ia i te kura mo a koutou tamariki, e mahi ana koutou i te oranga mona. "He utu ki a ia, e tika nei te utu." Kati te hoko Paura—pu—mata—e ngari, ko o koutou taonga kia rongoatia, hei utu mea mo te kura, kia pono ai te kura mo a koutou tamariki.

Tetahi; tukua a koutou tamariki kia akona ratou ki nga mahi pakeha; kia meinga ai ratou he Tohunga pakeha. He aha te pai o te Tohunga maori? Kahore ra hoki. Heoti ano tona tohungatanga—he kuwaretanga. Ka ngaro tena tohungatanga. E ngari te tohungatanga pakeha e nui haere ana. Koia ahau ka mea ai, kei ngaro o koutou tamariki i te kuware tanga; tukua kia whakaakona ratou e te pakeha, kia waiho ratou i muri i a koutou, hei tohunga mo te ao nei; hei tohunga hanga kaipuke, hei tohunga hanga whare, hei tohunga ruri whenua, hei tohunga mahi rongoa, hei tohunga whatu kakahu, hei tohunga tui hu, hei tohunga tahu toki—hei tohunga hoki mo nga tini mahi a te pakeha. Na, kia tika hoki te whakaaro ki nga Kai—tohutohu. E whakaako ana ia i a koutou tamariki, e mahi ana koutou i te oranga mona; He utu ki a ia e tika nei te utu." Kati te hoko Paura—pu mata—ko o koutou taonga, me rongoa, hei hoko mea mo a koutou tamariki, mo ta ratou mahi hou, mo ta ratou mahi tohunga.

Tenei hoki tetahi. Ko nga Mohiotanga o te Pakeha kia riro i a koutou tamariki; te reo pakeha—te tuhituhi pakeha, nga pukapuka pakeha, nga mohiotanga o te pakeha ki nga tini mea katoa. E taea te korero ena mohiotanga? Titiro ki ona Kaipuke tima—ki ona Kaata tima, ki ona Mira, ki ona Karaka, ki ona Perehi ta

pukapuka, ki ona mea katoa—kia maha—maha noa atu. Na! kia riro enei mea i a koutou tamariki, ka tahi ka tino rangatira—kia ki o ratou ngakau i enei mea,—na ka tahi ka mutu te whawhai—ara, ka tahi ka kore rawa te ngakau tutu, te hiahia whawhai. Kei mea koutou e kore enei mea e riro i a koutou tamariki—kahore, ka riro ano i a ratou ki te ako. E tika ana, e kore e riro katoa i te tau kotahi, otiia, me mahi, me ako, me kura, me manawanui, me ngakau nui. Kua mohio ano etahi ki etahi o enei mea—kua mohio ki te kamura ware, kua mohio ki te mahi paamu, ki te mahi whiti, ki te huri paraoa—ina—kia whai ngakau koutou ki enei mea, ka kitea katoatia. E hoa ma, kia penei ta tatou mahara ki a koutou tamariki, kia whakatupu pakeha.

2. Kia tika hoki te Mahara ki o koutou kainga, ara, ki o koutou nohoanga. Titiro ki o te pakeha kainga, e noho huihui ana, ara e noho taone ana; otiia, e noho tika ana—he whare ano mo tena tangata me tona hoa, me o raua tamariki—he ruma ano mo nga matua, he ruma ano mo ia tamariki, mo ia tamariki—he ruma ano mo te manuhiri; e kore e moe huihui, koia tena e te whanau—kia pena koutou. Waihoki, ko nga kai tiaki, ko nga katipa, ko nga kai whakawa, hei pehi i te kino. Ka kino tetahi tangata, ka tahae ranei, ka kohuru ranei, e kore e oho katoa te tangata; e whakaaro ana ki nga katipa, nga kaiwhakawa, kua oti te whakarite hei tami i te kino. Haere ana nga katipa, hopu marie ana i te tangata hara, kawae marie ana ki te kaiwhakawa—whakawhaka maretia ana e ia—whakarite marie ana i te utu mo ana kino;—heoi ano,—ko te mano o nga tangata o te taone, e mahi tonu ana ia tangata, ia tangata, i taua mahi ake ano; e kore e oho katoa te kainga mo te hara o te tangata kotahi. Waihoki, e te whanau, kia penei he taone mo koutou,—kia penei he whare mo koutou,—ahakoa, he whare raupo, e pai ana—kei a koutou hoki te rakau, te toetoe, te raupo, te harakeke katoa; kia tika ai te noho, kia tika ai te moe; kati te moe huihui, kia kore ai tenei take o te whawhai. Whakaritea maretia o koutou tamahine, o koutou taitama, kia marenatia tikatia, kia pai hoki he whare mo raua; kia pai ai te noho, kia tika ai. Me ki atu hoki ki te pakeha, kia whakaritea he katipa, he kaiwhakawa mo o koutou taone. Ko etahi o o koutou tangata, hei katipa, ko o koutou Rangatira, hei whakawa, hei pehi i te kino. Otiia, kia tika te whakaaro o te tangata ki te mana o te katipa, o te kaiwhakawakia rongu, kia tupato, kia whakaae, kua e whakakake, kua e turi, kua e pakeke. Kia penei, e kore e tupu te kino i roto i a koutou.

3. *Kia tika te Mahara ki te Whenua.* Kahore he pai o te whenua takoto kau. Kihai te Atua i hanga i te whenua, hei takoto kau. Kia mahia e te tangata, kia nohohia e te tangata, te pai ai. I tukua mai o koutou tupuna e Te Atua, hei noho i tenei Motu. Mei tika ta ratou noho—mei kore te kino—penei, kua kapi i a koutou—nei ra, e takoto kau ana te nuinga. Koia nga iwi ke o tawahi i titiro mai ai i enei tau kua mahue nei, i whakaaro ki te nuinga o te whenua e takoto kau ana, ki te torutoru o te tangata e memeha haere ana, na, ka mea, "maumau te whenua mo te takoto kau, me tuku etahi o tatou hei noho." Whakaaro ana a Ingarani ki ona Mihanere kua tae ke mai, kei haere mai he iwi ke, whakararuraru ai i a tatou, koia ratou i haere mai, hei noho i te whenua, hei tiaki i a tatou, hei whakarangatira i a koutou. Na, mea ana nga pakeha, ko etahi o te whenua nei, mo ratou, ko etahi, mo koutou. E tika ana, ina hoki, i tukua mai ai tenei whenua, e Te Atua kia koutou, kia whakakapia e koutou, otiia, kihai kapi i a koutou, koia i tika ai, kia kawea mai tetahi iwi ke, hei whakakapi i tetahi wahi; e tika ana, kia haere mai nga pakeha o Ingarani, no te mea, no reira nga Mihanere, nga pukapuka, nga taonga, kua riro mai. Otiia, e kore nga pakeha e mea, kia tango maori i te whenua, kahore; e mea ana, kia hoko marie i tetahi wahi mona. Ka pai tena! I mua, i te haerenga o nga tangata o Iharaira ki Kenana, kihai Te Atua i mea, kia hokona taua whenua e ratou, kahore; i mea Te Atua, me tango noa, me patu noa nga tangata o reira—he iwi kino hoki. Waihoki, i nga tini haerenga o nga iwi ki nga tini whenua, kihai i mea kia hokona. E tango noa ana, noho noa iho ana, riro noa atu ana i a ratou. Tena ko tenei—he tino atawhai no Ingarangi ki a koutou, i mea ai, me utu tetahi wahi o to koutou whenua. Otiia, kei mea koutou, kia nui noa atu te utu; kahore, kihai o koutou tupuna i utu, kihai hoki koutou i utu i tenei whenua, No Te Atua ano nga whenua katoa, mana e tuku ki tana iwi i pai ai. Nona hoki nga iwi katoa. Kahore hoki he pai o te whenua, na te mahi i pai ai. Hoko ana te pakeha i te tahi whenua e takoto kau ana—na, e iti ana te utu; otiia, ka tahuri ia, ka paamutia tana whenua, ka taonetia, ka waputia, ka kaupuketia, na, ka tahi ka tino pai tana whenua, katahi ka nui te utu me ka hokona atu e ia ki tetahi pakeha ke; otiia, e hara i te utu mo te whenua—he utu ia, rao nga mahi, mo te paamu, mo te taone, mo te wapu, mo nga kaupuke, mo nga mahi katoa, i pai ai tana whenua. Koia ahau ka mea ai, kua e mea, kia nui te utu, na te pakeha hoki te nuinga o te mahi, heoti ano ta koutou, he tuku atu i te whenua takoto kau, kia nga wari te utu, kia haere mai ai te pakeha, hei whakarangatira i a koutou.

Otiia, tenei te mea e raruraru ai koutou, e he ai koutou, ko a koutou he ano ki o koutou whenua. Kahore ano i ata rite te whakaaro o te tangata ki etahi whenua. Koia ahau ka mea ai, kia tika te Mahara ki tena. Hohoro te whakarite marie i te mea e watea ana. Me komiti marie, me whakarite marie nga whenua katoa, o ia kainga, o ia kainga. Nga tangata o tenei kainga, e whakarite marie ana i to tera tangata wahi, i to tera tangata wahi, me nga tangata o tera kainga, o tera kainga, e pena tonu ana. A kia tuhituhia hoki ki te pukapuka nga ingoa o nga tangata, me nga ingoa o tona kainga, o tona kainga—whakatikaia hoki nga rohe, kia ata takoto. Otiia, kua e tautohe; kia mahara, e nui ana te whenua—e nui ana mo tena tangata, e nui ana mo tena, e nui ana mo koutou katoa. E hara hoki te whenua i te tino taonga nui, kia tautohetohe ai te tangata; koia ahau ka mea ai, ka kore te rite i te komiti marie, me waiho marie, aua e tohe, aua e whawhai, e kore e rite i te whawhai, waiho kia takoto

ana, e kore e riro, e takoto tonu ana. Tenei ake pea te rite ai. Waihoki, ka haere mai te taua, hei tango i to koutou oneone, *tukua atu*—kaua e whawhaitia—*tukua atu, tukua atu*, e kore rawa e riro. Ahakoa, nohohia ana e ia, ngakia ana e ia, kaingatia ana e ia, e kore rawa e riro i a ia, tenei ake, tenei ake,—heoti ano te whakaaro mou i naiane, *ko te tangata kia ora, ko te tangata kia ora*—e kore e mate te whenua, e kore hoki e riro te whenua—tenei ake ia te hoki mai ai ki a koutou. Kei te ki mai pea te tangata, "me pehea ka hoki mai ai, me ka tuku noa ahau i taku kainga." Na, tenei taku whakaaro—ka kore te rite tetahi mea i te Komiti—a, e kore ano hoki e rite i te whawhai—na, *me Komiti nui nga Rangatira katoa*, koia tenei ka tuhituhia nei.

4. *Kia tika te Mahara ki tetahi Runonga Rangatira mo koutou.* Na, ko te tikanga tenei o nga iwi Rangatira katoa, i nga tau katoa. Kei Ingarani, kei Paranahi, kei Amerika, kei konei hoki—e huihui ana nga rangatira o ia kainga, o ia kainga, e huihui ana ki te tahi kainga nui. Ko to Ingarani, kei Ranana—ko to Paranahi, kei Parihi, ko to Amerika, kei Wahitone—ko to nga Pakeha o Nui Tireni, kei Akarana. Na, ta ratou i huihui ai, koia tenei; hei whakatakoto tikanga mo nga kainga, mo nga whenua, mo nga tangata, o o ratou kainga katoa. Na, mehemea, kihai i rite tetahi mea i nga komiti nonohi, i nga kaiwhakawa o nga kainga, na, ma tenei Runanga Rangatira e whakarite. Otiia, kei mea koutou, ka haere nui nga tangata katoa; ka-hore, e haere kotahi ana, tenei Rangatira i tona kainga—tenei Rangatira i tona kainga—e haere ana ko tona kotahi, ahakoa, kei tawhiti tona kainga, ko tona kotahi e haere ana. Te tino huihuinga, na, e nui ana, e rua pea rau o nga Rangatira. Na, e Runanga ana, i tenei ra e huihui ana—i tenei ra e huihui ana, e korero ana, e whakariterite ana, a marama noa e whakariterite ana, kia rite ra ano nga mea katoa, na, ka tukua nga pukapuka tikanga mo nga tangata katoa Koia ahau ka mea ai, kia penei he Runanga mo nga Rangatira Maori. Otiia, e kore pea e rite kia kotahi Runanga—he whenua roa hoki, kahore hoki he Hariota Tima, hei kawae i a ratou, penei me Ingarani. Koia ahau ka mea ai, kia toru Runanga, kia wha! Kia kotahi mo Ngapuhi, kia kotahi mo Waikato—kia kotahi mo Taranaki—kia kotahi mo tera atu wahi, kia kotahi mo tera atu wahi. Na, hei te Raumati whakamene ai—otiia, kaua e pokanoa etahi—me whakarite marie nga tangata haere—kia kotahi o tenei kainga, kia kotahi o tenei kainga; kia kotahi hoa mona kia tokorua ranei. Na, kaua e hapai pu, me haere noa atu. Ka tae ki te kainga, i whakaritea hei whakamenenga, na, ka tatari ki era atu. Ka rupeke mai. Na, ka timatangia te mahi ki te Karakia, ka whakaritea tetahi, hei kai tuhituhi, hei Hekeretare, ko etahi hoki, hei hoa mona, hei tuhituhi ki te pukapuka i nga tikanga katoa e whakaritea e te Runanga. Na, ka korero tena Rangatira, i nga mea e hiahia aua ia, kia whakaritea e te Runanga, me tera atu, me tera atu. Otiia, me korero takitahi, kei raruraru. Na, mehemea, kahore ano i rite tetahi mea, i komititia e tetahi o nga komiti nonohi, Kaiwhakawa ranei i nga kainga—na—ma tenei Runanga Rangatira e whakarite, e whakatakoto tikanga. Na mehemea, he whenua i tangohia, i komititia ranei—i pakangatia ranei, a kahore ano i rite, na, ma tenei Runanga e whakawa, e whakarite, e whakatakoto tikanga. Na, ka puta ke te whakaaro o etahi o nga Rangatira, ka puta ke te whakaaro o etahi—na, me tatau marie nga whakaaro o tetahi taha, o tetahi taha, a, ka tokomaha o tetahi taha, ma te tokomaha e whakatakoto he tikanga, a ma te tokotorotoru e whakaae ki to te tokomaha tikanga tuturu. Na, tena te tahi mea he, kei te Ihutaroa, ma tenei Runanga Rangatira e whakarite; kei Paeroa hoki tetahi—kei tera atu wahi kahore ano i rite, kei tera atu wahi kahore ano i rite. Otiia, kei te Pakeha te tino tikanga mo tenei mea, mo te Rimanga Rangatira, koia ahau ka mea ai, me patai atu ki te pakeha. Ko te tikanga whakamutunga e tuhituhia e ahau, koia tenei, ko te tuarima.

5. *Kia tika te Mahara ki te Pakeha.* Kei mea tetahi tangata, i haere mai te Pakeha hei hoa whawhai; kahore, i haere mai hei hoa aroha. Mahara ki tona pito taenga mai, kihai i haere mai nga hoia, hei whawhai i reira—haere mai ana ko te Kawana, ko nga Rangatira, ko nga Ruri Whenua, ko nga kai mahi—Heoi ano. No muri nei, ka tupu te kino, ka tahi ka tikina he hoia, hei tiaki. Hua noa, i haere kau mai ai, kua mutu te kino o te tangata maori, ra, ka kitea, he kino—na, katahi ka riro mai nga hoia, hei tami i te kino. Otiia, kei mea koutou, heoi ano nga hoia, o te Pakeha; kahore ra hoki, tena ano ana Mano Tini; me te mano tini tuauriuri waioio o nga tangata noho noa! Na, mehemea, i whakaaro te Pakeha. kia haere mai hei hoa riri, hei whawhai, hei tango noa i o koutou whenua, hei whakangaro i a koutou, penei, kua haere nui mai i mua. Waihoki, i naiane, ka kite nei te pakeha i te kino; na, mehemea, kua hiahia kia whawhai, kia huna i te tangata maori, penei, kua mano tini mai nga hoia, kua kapi katoa te whenua, kua ngaro ke te tangata maori. Nei ra, ka torutoru nei nga hoia, hei pehi kau i te kino kia mutu, koia ahau ka mea ai, he aroha kau ta te pakeha, e aroha tonu ana. Otiia, e te whanau kia tika ta koutou ma hara; ka kino tonu nga rangi, ka ua tonu, na, ka puta nga waipuke, a ka nui haere te ua, ka nui haere hoki nga waipuke—na, mehemea—ka ua tonu, ka kino tonu—na—ka ngaro katoa te whenua i tena hanga i te waipuke. Waihoki, ko te pakeha; ka nui haere te kino o te tangata maori, ka nui haere mai te hoia, hei waipuke mo te whenua nei. Kei ki mai koutou, ka ngaro i a koutou te Pakeha; kahore ra hoki; tera e mimiti i a koutou te Moana? Tera e mimiti i a koutou tetahi o nga awa nonohi?—Tena, whakamatauria;—Huihuia katoatia nga hapu o Nui Tireni, me tona nuinga, me tona nuinga; me nga wahine, me nga tamariki—me nga kuri, me nga poaka: Huihuia katoatia ki tetahi awa—ki Waikato pea—ki Wanganui pea—ki Kaipara pea—tena, patupatua nga wai o tena awa—inuinumia nga wai o tena awa—utuutuhia—kawekawea ki uta—tahutahuna—whakamatematea—e koutou katoa, kahoa—i te ao, i te po, i tenei ra, i tenei ra, marama noa, [unclear: au] noa, tera e mate?—tera e mimiti? Kahore ra hoki, e pupu tonu mai ana i tona puza ake ano, e puke

tonu ana, e rere tonu ana, e ora tonu ana! Rere, ko te rite tenei o te Pakeha! Mehemea, ka tahuri katoa nga hapu o Nui Tireni ki te whakamate i te pakeha, a ngaro katoa enei pakeha e noho nei. Te Kawana, nga rangatira, nga tangata katoa—me nga kaipuke, riro katoa i a koutou—mate katoa—*tera kei muri ano*. Pena me te awa i whakamatea—puke ake ana ana wai, ka nui, ka kaha,—te pakarutanga mai, na, ngaro katoa. Waihoki ko te pakeha, e pupu mai ana i tona puna i tawahi—hui mai, hui mai—na—kei hea he whenua hei turanga? Koia ahau ka whakaaro ai ki nga pakanga nei—ki nga tangata hikaka nei e whawhai nei ki te pakeha—he aha te mutunga? E ngaro te pakeha i a ia? E taea a Taranaki te kerī, e te tamaiti whanau hou? Kei hea he whenua hei tikinga tangata hei hoa mona—hei tikanga paura—pu—mata, mona. Huaatu, kei te Pakeha te paura, te pu, te mata, nga tini mea whawhai katoa, me te mano tini o te tangata. Koia ahau ka mea ai, e kore rawa e ngaro te Pakeha. Tena, kowai koia e ngaro? Ka mutu pehea koia te mutunga o te mahi nei, me ka tohe tonu te tangata maori? Heoi ano ra, ko te mutunga tenei, ko te tangata maori ka ngaro; ngaro, ngaro rawa!! Otiia, e kore e whakangaromia kautia e te Pakeha, te iwi pai, me te iwi kino—kahoreko ratou anake e tutu ana, waihoki, ka tutu nui, ka wha- whai nui, ka ngaro nui! E mate ano etani o nga pakeha me etahi kua mate nei—otiia, te mate noa ai tona mano, hei aha mona tena mano—tera atu ona mano tini e kore e mimiti. Tena ko te tangata maori, ka mate etahi o ratou—tokorua pu ranei—tokotoru pu ranei—kei hea he motu ke hei tikinga tangata mona, hei hapai i nga pu o era kua mate, hei takitaki i o ratou mate. Kahore ra hoki, ka memeha noa iho, ka ngaro noa iho. Kahore o te Pakeha hiahia whawhai, otiia ka pokanoa te tangata iwi ke ki a ia, ka pehea? Heoi ano ra, ka whakatika ano, taea hoki te aha i te mahi o te pokanoa? Titiro ki a Ponupate. He tangata maia tena tangata ki te whawhai—he iwi nui tona iwi—me o ratou paura me o ratou pu me o ratou taonga katoa—otiia kihai i ora i a Ingarani. Tohe ana tena tangata ki te whawhai, mano tini ona hoia i mate i nga parekura—tohe tonu ana tohe tonu—na, ka whati—ka mau, ka riro i te pakeha—riro—riro herehere tena tangata nui—riro herehere me te taurekareka e herea nei e koutou. Kawea rawatia e te pakeha o Ingarani i runga i te kaipuke, kawea ana ki *Hatarina*, he Motu i waenga moana. Na, kei reira e noho moke moke ana—kei reira e tangi kau ana ki tona kainga, kua mahue—ki tona rangatiratanga kua kore—ki ona mano tini o nga tangata maia, kua maumauria e ia ki te whawhai—tau noa e tangi ana—tau maha e noho herehere ana ki taua motu, a mate noa tona tinana. Na, ka kite ia i te utu mo te kino! No naiane ano hoki i tae mai nga pukapuka o tawahi e korero ana i te whawhai nui o *Inia*. Kei reira etahi pakeha e noho ana penei me konei; whakatika ana nga tangata whenua hei whawhai ki te pakeha—hei patu i te pakeha, hei pana i te pakeha—na, whakatika ana hoki te pakeha. Te huihuinga, na *e ono te kau nga mano o te tangata whenua!* Whawhai ana i te ahiahi po noa, whawhai po ana ao ake—te mutunga, ka ngaro o te tangata whenua, *kotahi te kau o nga mano!!* Heoi, ka riro i te pakeha te wikitoria. I mate ano te pakeha, kihai pena te tokomaha me te tangata whenua, e rua mano. Otiia, e kore te pakeha e ngaro. Waihoki, ka whakatika to konei tangata whenua ki te pakeha, na, ko taua tu ra ano. Ka ngaro, ko te tangata whenua, ka riro i te pakeha te wikitoria, ka riro i te pakeha te papa,

Na, kei mea koutou, e hiahia ana te pakeha ki te whawhai—kahore—engari ki a ia, me ka kino te tangata maori ki a ia, me hoki ia ki tawahi, me waiho te whenua nei mo te tangata maori—otiia, tena tona whakaaro i tohe tonu ai ia ki te noho,—koia tenei—kei hoki ia, ka haere mai ai nga iwi ke whakangaro kau ai i a koutou. Koia ahau ka mea ai kia tika te Mahara ki te pakeha. Waiho kia noho ana—tukua tetahi whenua ki a ia, puritia hei hoa aroha mo koutou—ka pai hei hoa aroha—tena, hei hoa riri, ka kino, ka ngaro koutou; engari hei hoa aroha—hei whakarangatira i a koutou; tukua ki a ia te tikanga mo nga mea katoa, kei a ia te mohiotanga, kei aia te kaha, kei a ia te taonga, kei a ia te Rangatiratanga mana ka tika ai te Kawanatanga o to koutou motu. Kihai tika i a koutou i mua—tona tikanga i mua—he he—he kuware—he whakangaro tangata. Katahi ka ora te whenua nei—katahi ka ora koutou, me o koutou tamariki—ka tahi ka kite i te rangatiratanga mo koutou—he mea, ka whakamahuatia nga tikanga maori, ka tangohia nga tikanga pakeha. Ko nga Pakeha Mihanere hei whakatakoto tikanga mo te karakia, mo te wairua, mo te Atua, mo tera ao; ko te Kawana koki, me nga Rangatira mohio, hei whakatakoto tikanga mo nga mea o tenei ao, mo te tinana, mo to whenua, mo nga taonga, mo nga hanga katoa o tenei ao. Koia matou ka mea ai, i mua, i te taenga mai o tera Kawana kua mate, me whakaae koutou ki te Kawanatanga o te Pakeha. I penei hoki o matou whakaaro i reira,—Na te he o o koutou tikanga mo te karakia, mo te wairua, mo te Atua, i he ai a koutou mahi mo tera ao; na te he hoki o o koutou tikanga mo nga mea o tenei ao, i he ai ta koutou mahi ki tenei ao, i kore ai ta koutou rangatiratanga ki tenei ao. Waihoki, kua whakaae koutou ki o matou tikanga karakia, hei Rangatiratanga mo koutou ki tera ao; me whakaae hoki koutou ki nga tikanga o te Kawana, hei Rangatiratanga mo koutou ki tenei ao. Koia tena e te whanau, ko te tino tikanga tena mo koutou. Kei mea koutou, he Kawana tenei mo te Pakeha anake. Huaatu ko te mahi a te Kawana, hei tiaki, hei whakarangatira i a matou, hei tiaki, hei whakarangatira i a koutou hoki. Koia ahau ka mea ai, kei wehi kau ki te Kawana, kei wehi kau ki te pakeha, heoi rawa ano te mea e pai ai koutou ki tenei ao, ko nga tikanga o te Pakeha, e te whanau, e te whanau, whakarongo mai ki taku kupu, he kupu pono koa, he kupu mohio, he kupu aroha. He pakeha ano ahau, otiia, kua ki atu ra kotahi ano tatou—e noho mahara ana ahau, e noho matau ana—e hara aku kupu i te kupu kuware—he kupu pono—he kupu tika, koia ahau ka tohe nei ki a koutou kia piri ki te pakeha, kua e wehewehe, kua e turi, kua e pakeke, kua e whakakake, e

ngari tukua ki te pakeha te whakaaro, kei a ia te tikanga tika, whakaaetia katoatia nga tikanga o te pakeha. Kua noho te pakeha ki tenei whenua—e kore rawa e taea te pana, kei a ia te kaha, te taonga, te rangatiratanga, ina, kia piri ki a ia—kia whakakotahitia, kia whakarite ki a ia, kia whakatupu pakeha tonu. Kia noho pai ai, kia noho ora ai, kia noho marie ai, kia noho rangatira ai, kia noho tika ai. Otiia, kei mea koutou, e whakapai ana ahau ki nga mahi kino o te Pakeha—kahore—kei tango koutou i ena mahi. Tena ano ta te pakeha mahi he, puremu, tahae, inu rama, haurangi, whakatupu kuri—na, engari ena, kia tupato ki ena mea, kaua e tango i ena tikanga; no Hatana ena tikanga, no te Reinga, a, e to ana i aua tangata ki tera kainga mate. Tena ko nga tikanga papai o nga Rangatira—ina—*tangohia, puritia, u tonu, tupu tonu, a mate noa*, na, ka kite koutou, me o koutou tamariki—ka kite koutou i te Rangatiratanga mo koutou, ka kore noa iho te whawhai, ka tupu te tangata, ka kapi te whenua, ka meinga tenei *Motu, ko Ingarani Tuarua*, a ko a koutou tamariki, hei *Rangatira Pakeha katoa!!*

Heoi, kua hoha pea koutou kua roa hoki taku tuhituhi. Otiia, kotahi tenei Upoko e toe nei—me tuhituhi marie—me korero marie e koutou, Kia manawa nui—i ki atu ra i te timatanga, "ahakoa roa korerotia ra," kihai ahau i mea, kia penei te roa, otira, e taea e tatou te aha, i tenei hanga raruraru, i te whawhai? Kei aha hoki te roa noa ai tenei pukapuka, kua roa ke hoki te whawhai, kua roa ke te kino, ka pai kia meinga tenei hei whakamutunga.

Na, kua tuhituhia, *Nga take o te Whawhai, Nga kino o te Whawhai, Nga Tikanga e mutu ai te Whawhai*,—na, ko te Upoko whakamutunga tenei, ko nga pai o te Kongo Mau.

III. KO NGA PAI O TE RONGO MAU. Otira, kua oti ano etahi o nga pai te tuhituhi, heoi, me tuhituhi ano; e kore hoki e mutu. Me nga kino o te Whawhai, e kore e taea te korero, me nga pai hoki o te Rongo Mau, e kore hoki e taea te korero. Na, i korerotia ai nga kino o te whawhai, kia rapu ai te tangata ki nga tikanga e mutu ai tena hanga; waihoki, me korero nga pai o te Kongo Mau, kia u ai tona ngakau ki aua tikanga pai. Otiia, kei hea te kupu, hei whakaatu i te tini, i te nui o nga pai o te Rongo Mau? He pai mo te tinana—he pai mo te wairua—he pai mo tenei ao, he pai mo tera ao atu—he pai mo te tangata ora—he pai mo te tangata mate. Maha noa atu nga pai o te Rongo Mau—e kore e taea te kohikohi. Heoi, me tuhituhi etahi, ma koutou hoki e whukaaro, e rapu, e mahara etahi.

1. Na, te tahi pai o te Rongo Mau, koia tenei, *Ka kore nga kino o te Whawhai!* Rere, korerotia ano ena kino kua tuhituhia raka! Whakaarohia ena kino! He mea iti koia kia kore ena kino? He mea iti kia kore te raruraru, kia kore te maumau, kia kore te huna tangata, kia kore te tangi, kia kore te mamae, kia kore te ahi whanariki, kia kore nga kino o te reinga, kia kore te tawai a Hatana, kia kore te riri o te Atua, kia kore te whakama, te wehi a te ra whakawa, kia kore te whakangau o te mamae, ake, ake, ake? Ki au, he pai nui tenei. Ka pai kia kore ena kino, kia kite ai te tangata i te pai, ka rokohanga te waka o te tangata i waenga moana, ka puta nga kapua—ka kapi te rangi—ka ngaro te ra—ka pupuhi te hau, ka ua te ua—ka tu te ngaru, ka eke te wai, ka totohu te waka, ka tutu nga ika, na, ka pouri te tangata, ka whakaaro—e, ka horomia oratia ahau e nga taniwha o te moana! tena ka puta ki tetahi kokorutanga marino—ka kore te hau, ka kore te ua, ka kore te ngaru, ka kore te taniwha—ka puta te ra—na—ka hari te tangata, he oranga ngakau, he oranga tinana hoki. Waihoki kia kore nga kino o te whawhai, katahi ka kite te tangata i te oranga mona mo te tinana, mo te wairua—katahi ka kitea he rangatiratanga mona.

2. Kia kore te whawhai, na, katahi ka tika te whakaaro o te tangata ki nga tikanga mo ona mea katoa—*ara, katahi ka ata takuto he tikanga mo nga mea katoa*. No te mea, e whakaaro ana tena iwi, tena iwi, ki te whawhai, koia te ata wakarite marie ai nga mea he. Ka rangona he kino, he puremu ranei, he kanga ranei, he kohuru ranei, he tango whenua ranei—na, ka oho te ngakau whawhai, oho noa—whawhai noa, kihai takoto he tikanga. Engari, kia mahue rawa te whawhai, na, ka komititia marietia te kino, ka whaka wakia marietia, ka whakaritea marietia ranei e te Runanga Rangatira—na, ka tahi ka ata takoto he tikanga, katahi ka tatu te ngakau o te tangata.

3. Kia kore te whawhai, *katahi ka hua he taonga mo te tangata*. E mahi marie ana i tona whare, i tona kainga, i tona mara, me ana mahi katoa; e mahi marie ana i nga mahi o te pakeha, me nga utu, ka riro marie ano i a ia—kahore ona wehi, kahore ona pouri, kahore ona tupato kei takatakahia ana kai e te taua, kei murua tona whare, kei tangohia ona taonga. Kahore i warea ki te hanga pa, kahore i whati tona tuara i te amohanga rakau mo tona pa, kahore e maumauria ona tao- nga mo te paura, pu, mata. E hoko marie ana tena tangata i ona taonga—tena tangata i ona taongae hoko marie ana tena tangata i tona whenua, tena tangata i tona whenua—na—katahi ka hua he taongaka tahi ka hua he kai—kai pakeha—kai maori—kai ma nga tamariki, ma nga kaumatua—he kakahu hoki mo nga tamariki, mo nga kaumatua, katahi ka pai nga whare, katahi ka pai nga kainga, ka tahi ka ahua Rangatira nga tangata katoa.—Rere, kia penei te tu o te tangata maori, katahi ka tino paingia e te pakeha, katahi ka kitea tona pai, tona atawhai ki a koutou, katahi koutou ka whiwhi ki te pai o tona Rangatiranga.

4. Tetahi pai o te Rongo Mau. *He huanga Tangata*. Na te kino i iti haere ai koutou—haunga ano nga tangata i mate i te whawhai—ko te raruraru, ko te kai kore, ko te kakahu kore, ko te kino o te whare, ko te

matemate o nga tamariki i te tiaki kore mo ratou. E mea ana ahau ki nga tamariki matemate nei, na te kino o te kai, na te kino o te kakahu, na te raruraru o ona kai tiaki i mate ai. Ko nga turoro hoki, na te penei i mate wawe ai, nga kaumatua, ka pa te mate, kahore he kai, kahore he rongoa, kahore he weruweru, kahore he whare, kahore he mea e pai ai te takoto o te turoro, takoto ana i runga i te moenga maro—whariki maku, kakahu paru, kahore he horoi, kahore he pere, kahore he taapu, kahore he ipu—kahore hoki he huka, he ti, he kai ngawari, e pai ai te turoro—heoi ano, ka hohoro te hemo—tae rawa atu te pakeha kua nui noa atu te mate, kua hemo ranei. E tama ma, no enei mea i iti haere ai koutou. Tena ka mutu te whawhai, mutu rawa—ka mau te rongoa, mau rawa—na, katahi ka watea te tangata ki te mahi i nga mea katoa, katahi ka marama tona ngakau ki nga mea katoa e pai ai te tangata, katahi ka tika te hoko i nga mea e ora ai ana tamariki, nga kaumatua hoki—katahi ka tika te whakaaro ki nga mea mo nga turoro, kia ora ake—na—katahi ka orate tangata, katahi ka hua he tangata mo te ao nei. Rere, e kore oti koutou e pai, kia tapu he uri hei noho i te whenua i muri i a koutou, hei pupuri i o koutou ingoa? Ina, me whakamutu te whawhai kia noho pai ai te tangata—kia mahi pai ai te tangata, kia tupu pai ai te tangata.

5. Tetahi atu pai o te Rongo Mau, koia tenei—*katahi ka tatu te ngakau o te tangata ki te kura, ki te ako, ki nga mohiotanga katoatanga e Rangatira ai te tangata*. Kua tae mai nga pakeha hei whakaatu i nga mohiotanga ki a koutou—me pehea i te raruraru. I kuware o koutou tupuna, me o matou tupuna—raruraru tonu ana tetahi i te whawhai—raruraru tonu ana tetahi i te whawhai—ka mutu ta matou mahi whawhai—na, katahi ka riro i a matou, nga mohiotanga o nga iwi ke, katahi matou ka tupu hei iwi Rangatira, hei iwi mohio. Waihoki ko koutou—e raruraru tonu nei, e whawhai tonu nei, e kuware tonu nei,—na—ka whakamutua te kino, te whawhai—ka noho pai te tangata, ka tahuri ki te ako marie i nga tikanga mohio o te pakeha, katahi ka tupu hei iwi mohio, hei iwi Rangatira—ka riro i a koutou nga mohiotanga o te Pakeha. Katahi ka paingia koutou e nga iwi katoa.

6. Tenei hoki tetahi Pai o Te Rongo Mau, *Ko te Pai no tera Ao*—ara—ko te pai mo te Wairua. Mo te tinana nga pai kua korerotia nei, mo tenei ao—otii, mo te Wairua ano tetahi, ina hoki, ka noho pai te tinana ka pai hoki te ngakau. I hanga tahitia raua e te Atua, waihoki, e tika ana kia whakaaro tatou kia raua tahi. E tika ana, kia tiaki tatou i o tatou tinana, kia atawai—kia whakaaro—kia whakarangatira tatou i o tatou tinana i tenei ao; kihai hoki te Atua i hanga i te tangata hei taurekareka, i hanga te tangata e te Atua hei rangatira mo tenei ao, mo tera ao atu; koia ahau ka mea ai, kia whakatupu rangatira te tangata, kia wakaretea te kino, kia paingia ai ia e te Atua. Kei te Atua hoki te tino tikanga o nga taonga o tenei ao, o nga painga katoa mo te tinana, mo te wairua. Otiia, ko te tino mea nui, koia tena ko te Wairua,—ko te tino rangatiratanga o te Atua mo te Wairua ki tera ao atu. Koia hoki te kupu o te Karaiti "Matua rapu i te rangatiratanga o te Atua me tona tikanga, a ka ho atu ki a koutou enei mea katoa." Otiia, me pehea te "rapu"—ara me pehea te mahi o te wairua, me ka raruraru te tangata i te whawhai? E kore e tika, he mea whakamate tena i te whakapono,—e kore e haere tahi te whakapono me te whawhai; koia ahau ka mea ai, ko te tino Painga o te Rongo Mau koia tenei—katahi ka tika te whakaponokatahi ka tika te mahi mo te wairua mo tera ao. Rere, ko te Rangatiratanga tena mo te tangata,—ko tona kainga pumau tena. Mehemea, e noho tonu ana i tenei ao e kore e pai kia noho kino, kia noho mate: Mehemea, e kore e haere ke, he ao ke—e kore e pai kia kuware tonu, kia he tonu: tena, e haere ana tatou ki te *Ao Wairua*, te ao e noho tonu ai te tangata, e pumau tonu ai tona noho—ina—kia tika ta tatou mahi mo to tatou kainga pumau. Na, ko te tino mahi tika mo tera ao koia tena, kei te pukapuka o te Atua, kei nga tikanga o te whakapono. He tikanga pehea nga tikanga o Te Atua? He tikanga pehea nga tikanga o te whakapono? He tikanga whawhai? He tikanga raruraru? Huaatu, he tikanga aroha, he tikanga hohou rongoa, he tikanga rangimarie. Ko te Atua, te Atua o Te Rongo Mau.—Ko Ihu Karaiti, te Kingi o te Rongo Mau—Ko te Wairua Tapu, te Wairua o te Rangimarietanga, ara, te Wairua o te Rongo Mau. Waihoki ka u tatou ki nga tikanga o te Rongo Mau, ka meinga tatou he tamariki no Te Atua, a ko Te Atua hei Matua mo tatou. Tena hoki ta te Karaiti kupu, kei a Matiu 5, 44, 45, Na, e mea atu nei ahau ki a koutou, Arohaina atu o koutou hoa whawhai, kia pai te korero ki a ratou e kanga ana ki a koutou, kia atawhai ki a ratou e mauahara ana ki a koutou, a inoi atu mo ratou e wakatoa noa ana ki a koutou, a e aru ana ki a koutou; Kia meinga ai koutou he tamariki ki to koutou Matua i te Rangi. Tena, he mea iti koia tena? He mea iti kia meinga ai tatou he tamariki no Te Atua, a ko Te Atua hei matua mo tatou? He mea nui wakarahara.—heoi rawa ano te mea nui ko tenei,—mo tenei ao, mo tera ao atu, ina hoki te kupu o Paora 1 Koriniti, 8, 17, "Ki te mea he tamariki, e whiwhi ano tatou ki ona mea; e whiwhi tatou ki nga mea o Te Atua, e whiwhi tahi tatou me te Karaiti." Tena hoki tetahi, 1 Koriniti, 3, 21, 22, "No koutou hoki nga mea katoa, nga mea o naianei, nga mea o amua atu, no koutou ano katoa." Tena hoki ta Rawiri, 84, 11, "Ko Ihowa Te Atua, hei ra, hei karo; ka homai e Ihowa he atawhai, he kororia; a e kore rawa e pupuri atu i te tahi *mea* pai mo ratou a haere tika ana." Tera atu hoki nga kupu papai mo nga tangata e mahi tika ana i nga mahi o Ihowa te Atua o te Rongo Mau. Ko Ihowa hei Matua mo ratou, hei tiaki mo ratou, hei homai i nga mea papai o tenei ao mo ratou—mo te tinana, mo te wairua. *Ko ia* hoki Te Atua, te tino Rangatira o tenei ao, o tera ao atu.—Nona nga koura, nga hiriwa, nga taonga katoa. Mana e homai ki te tangata, ka tahi ka whiwhi.—Mana e kaiponu atu, e kore rawa e riro i te tangata. Koia tena, e te whanau, kia whakarere te

whawhai, kia houhia te rongo—kia mau tonu te rongo, kia watea koutou ki te mahi i nga mahi o Te Atua aroha, kia u tonu koutou ki ona tikanga,—na—katahi koutou ka meinga he iwi mona, ka tahi koutou ka whakawhiwhia e ia ki tona atawhai nui, ka tahi koutou ka tino meinga he iwi Rangatira mo te ao nei, Waihoki ka tata te tinana ki te mutunga o tona nohoanga i te ao maori nei—ka pa te mate ki a ia, ka kau i te awa o te mate ki tera taha ki tera ao, ma te Atua o te Rangimarietanga e whakamarama te ngakau, mana e whakamarie te ngakau. Ka mahara te tangata tika ka hemo tona tinana, ka mahue i a ia tona kainga, ona taonga, ona whanaunga, ka riro ia ki te ao Wairua, ka haere tona tinana ki te urupa,—nako te aha koia hei okiokinga mona? Ko te aha hei haringa mona? Ko tona maia ki te whawhai? Ko nga tupapaku i mate i a ia? Ko te matangohi i riro i a ia? Kahore, kahore! Tena ke tona okiokinga—tona haringa,—Ko Ihu Karaiti te Kingi o te Rongo Mau, ko tona whakaetanga ki a ia, ko tona piringa ki a ia, ko tona unga ki a ia; no te mea, kua oti ia te whaka- tika ki te whakapono,—na—he maunga rongu tona ki te Atua na Ihu Karaiti, a e hari ana ia, e tumanako ana ki te kororia o te Atua. E mahara anakua oti ana kino te muru. Ko Ihu Karaiti tona Kingi,—Ko Ihowa tona Matua,—ko te Rangi tona kainga,—na—e haere hari ana, e haere marama ana, ki tona Rangatiratanga, Ahakoa, ko ona whanaunga e tangi ana mona ka riroko tona hoa, ko ana tamariki, e piri ana ki a ia, e mahara ana ko Ihowa hei tiaki i a ratou,—hei arahi ano i a ratou ki te kainga,—ko reira ratou whakamene ai—noho tahi ai—hari tahi ai, ake, ake, ake. Na, ka haere,—na, ka whiti,—na, ka u ki te kainga o te Matua,—na, ka huihui mai nga anahera,—na, ka waiata,—na, ka hari, na, ka tae ki te aroaro o tona Ariki,—na, ka rangona te kupu, "Haere mai e te tangata i paingia e taku Matua, nohoia te rangatiratanga kua oti te whakarite mou no te orokohanganga o te ao." Na, ko reira tino kite ai i te tikanga o tena kupu, "E hari ana te hunga hohou rongu: ka huaina ratou ko nga Tamariki o Te Atua." "Kia kite koutou i te peheatanga o te aroha hua homai nei e te Matua kia karangatia ai tatou, ko nga tamariki o Te Atua—a kahore ano i kitea noatia hei aha ranei tatou amua: otira e mohio ana tatou, ka puta mai ia ka rite tatou ki a ia, ka kite hoki tatou i a ia me ia nei ano." E—e kore e taea te korero, no te mea, kahore ano te kanohi i kite, kahore ano te taringa i rongu, kahore ano hoki te ngakau i mahara ki nga mea papai kua oti te whakarite e Te Atua mo ratou e aroha ana ki a ia. Heoi ra,—ko nga tangata o Hatana e mahi ana i ana mahi, e haere ana ki tona kainga, e rite ana ki a ia i te kino, i te mamae, i te matenga mutunga kore. Ko nga tangata o te karaiti e mahi ana i ana mahi, e tika ana ki tona kainga, e noho ana i tona Rangatiratanga e rite ana ki a ia, i te pai—i te hari—i te kororia—i te oranga tonutanga. Waihoki, a te ra whakawa, ka kitea te wehewehenga o te hunga whawhai, o te hunga hohou rongu. Ka whakapehapeha kau te tangata whawhai i naianei, ka mea "e pai ana te mate—mate ana—mate ana i ru- nga i tona pakanga," tena, ka ara ruai a te ra whakamutunga me nga tupapaku i mate i tona pakanga—na, ko reira kite ai i te he o to ratou pakanga. Ka ara mai te hunga tika ki te orangatonutanga—ka ara mai te hunga kino ki te whakama ki te whakarihariha, ki te mamae e kore e mutu. Ko reira kite ai i te ponongatanga o ta Paora kupu, Roma 2, 7. 8. 9. He riri—he riri nui mo te hunga totohe, e kore nei o rongu ki te pono, otira e rongu ana ki te kino, He mamae, he pouritanga mo nga wairua katoa o te tangata e mahi ana i te kino, "Otira he orangatonutanga, mo ratou e tohe marie ana ki te mahi pai, e rapu nei i te kororia, i te honore i te orangatonutanga; he kororia, he honore, he marietanga mo te tangata katoa, e mahi ana i te pai.' Rere, he karauna mo ratou, he kingitanga, he Rangatiratanga ora tonu—he Rangatiratanga mau tonu, he Rangatiratanga hari tonu, he Rangatiratanga marama tonu, he Rangatiratanga kororia tonu, ake, ake, ake! Mo wai? Mou, e te tangata turi?—mou, e te tangata whawhai? Kahore, kahore. Mo te hunga hohou rongu—mo ratou e mahi ana i nga tikanga o te Rongo Mau.

Tena e te whanau, kia tika koia pea te whakaaro! E mea ana koutou ki o koutou whenua. Rere, te kupu o Te Karaiti, Matiu 5, 5.: "E hari ana te hunga rangimarie; ma ratou hoki e noho te whenua." Koia tena, ko te Rongo kia Mau. Mo tenei ao, mo tera ao—mo koutou, mo o koutou tamariki. Ko te Rongo Mau, ko te Rongo Mau, ko te Rongo kia Mau.

Heoi Ano,

Ko te Pukapuka o Hopa.

Upoko I.

He tangata ano i te whenua o Uhu, ko Hopa tona ingoa; i pakari ano taua tangata, i tika hoki, i wehi ano ia ki te Atua, i matakū ki te kino.

2 A, whanau ana ona tamariki tane toko whitu, me nga kotiro toko toru.

3 Ko ana kararehe ano, e whitu mano hipi, etoru mano kamera, erima rau topu o nga okiha, erima rau o nga kaihe uha, a, he kainga nui whakaharahara ano; koia i nui ai tenei tangata i nga tangata katoa o te ita.

4 A, ka haere ana tamariki tane ki o ratou whare kai ai i a ratou hakari, ko tetahi ano i tona ra, ko tetahi i

tona ra; ka tukua atu te karere ki o ratou tuahine toko toru, *kia haere mai* kia kai tahi, kia inu tahi me ratou.

5 A, ka pahure ano o ratou ra hakari, ka tukua he karere e Hopa ki a ratou kia whakatapua ratou, a, ka ara ake ia i te ata, ka tahu i nga tahunga tapu mo ratou, he mea whakarite ki a ratou katoa: ka mea hoki a Hopa, Kua hara pea aku tamariki, kua whakarerea te Atua e o ratou ngakau. I penei ano a Hopa i nga ra katoa.

6 ¶ Na, he ra ano i haere mai ai nga tamariki a te Atua ki te aroaro o Ihowa, na, ka haere mai hoki a Hatana i waenga nui i a ratou.

7 Ka mea atu a Ihowa ki a Hatana, I haere mai koe ihea? Na, ka ki mai a Hatana ki a Ihowa, ka mea, I te haere ano i te whenua, i te haere ki runga, i te haere ki raro.

8 A, ka mea a Ihowa ki a Hatana, Kua whakaaro tou ngakau ki toku pononga ki a Hopa, ekore e rite ki a ia nga tangata o te whenua, he tangata pakari he tangata tika, e wehi ana ki te Atua, e matakua ana ki te kino?

9 Ka ki mai a Hatana ki a Ihowa, ka mea, oti e mahi ana a Hopa ki te Atua mo te utu kore?

10 Kahore ano koe i hanga noa i te taiepa mona, mo tona whare, mo ana mea katoa hoki, i nga taha katoa? Kua whakapaingia ekoe te mahi a ona ringaringa, a, kua tini ana kararehe i te whenua.

11 Tena ko tenei, whakamarokia tou ringaringa, kia pa ki ana mea katoa, ko reira kanga ai ia ki a koe, i tou aroaro.

12 A, ka mea a Ihowa ki a Hatana, Na, ka *tukua atu nei* ki tou ringaringa ana mea katoa; otira, kei pa tou ringaringa ki tona tinana. Na, ka haere atu a Hatana i te aroaro o Ihowa.

13 ¶ A, he ra ano ka kai ka inu waina nga tamariki tane me nga tamahine a Hopa, i te whare o to ratou whanaunga matamua:

14 A, ka puta mai te karere ki a Hopa ka mea, I nga oki- ha e parau ana, me nga kaihe e kai tata ana,

15 Ka puta mai nga Hapiana, ka mau, haere ana: a, kua patua hoki e ratou nga pononga ki te koinga o te hoari; ko ahau anake i ora mai ki te korero ki a koe.

16 A, i a ia ano e korero ana, ka puta mai tetahi, ka mea, Kua taka iho te kapura a te Atua i runga i te rangi, a, kua wera nga hipi me nga pononga, a, pau iho; ko ahau anake i ora mai ki te korero ki a koe.

17 A, i a ia ano e korero ana, ka puta mai hoki tetahi ka mea, Ka whakatakotoria e nga Karariana kia toru kauae, na, ka huaki ki nga kamera, ka mau, haere ana; a, kua mate nga pononga i te koinga o te hoari; ko ahau anake i ora mai ki te korero ki a koe.

18 A, i a ia ano e korero ana, ka puta mai tetahi, ka mea, E kai ana, e inu waina ana ou tamariki tane, me ou tamahine i te whare o to ratou whanaunga matamua:

19 A, ka puta mai taua pokaka nui i te koraha, ka pa ki nga kokongaewha o te whare, a, hinga ana te *whare* ki runga ki nga tamariki, a, kua mate ratou; ko ahau anake i ora mai ki te korero ki a koe.

20 A, ka whakatika a Hopa, ka haehae i tona kakahu, ka waru i tona upoko, ka hinga ki raro ki te whenua, ka karakia.

21 Ka mea, I puta kau mai ahau i te kopu o toku whaea, a, ka hoki rawa kore ahau ki reira: na Ihowa i homai, na Ihowa ano i tango; a, kia whaka paingia ano te ingoa o Ihowa.

22 A, kihai hara a Hopa i anei mea katoa, kihai hoki i whakakuware ki te Atua.

Upoko 2.

Ai tetahi ra ano, ka haere mai nga tamariki o te Atua ki te aroaro o Ihowa, a, ka whakauru mai ano a Hatana i waenganui i a ratou, kia whakakite ano i a ia ki a Ihowa.

2 A, ka mea a Ihowa ki a Hatana, I haere mai koe i hea? Na, ka mea mai a Hatana ki a Ihowa, i te haere ano i te whenua, i te haere ki runga, i te haere ki raro.

3 A, ka mea a Ihowa ki a Hatana, kua whakaaro tou ngakau ki toku pononga ki a Hopa, ekore e rite ki a ia nga tangata o te whenua, he tangata pakari he tangata tika, e wehi ana ki re Atua e matakua ana ki te kino? e mau tonu ana ia ki te tikanga, ahakoa mea mai koe ki a au kia ririria pakupakutia ia.

4 Na, ka ki mai a Hatana ki a Ihowa, ka mea, He hiako mo te hiako, a, e pai ana te tangata kia ho atu i ana mea katoa kia ora ai tona tinana.

5 Tena ko tenei, whakamarokia tou ringaringa kia pa ki tona wheua ki tona kikokiko, ko reira kanga ai ia ki a koei tou aroaro.

6 A, ka mea a Ihowa ki a Hatana, Ka, kei tou ringaringa ia; otira, kei mate ia.

7 ¶ A, ka haere a Hatana i te aroaro o Ihowa, ka whakapangia e ia a Hopa ki te whewhe, ki te raparapa o ona waewae, tae noa ano ki tona tumuaki.

8 A, tango ana ia i te pakoretanga ipu, hei waru i a ia; a, noho iho ana ia ki nga pungarehu.

9 ¶ Na, ka mea mai tona wahine ki a ia, E tohe tonu ana koe ki tou tikanga? kanga ra ki te Atua kia mate koe.

10 A, ka mea atu a Hopa ki a ia, E rite ana tau korero ki ta tetahi o nga wahine kuware e korero nei. E tika koia? Hei pai anake ta tatou e tango ai i te ringaringa o te Atua, aua ranei he kino? A, kihai a Hopa i korero kino

i anei mea katoa.

11 ¶ Ano ka rongō nga whanaunga toko toru o Hopa ki tenei kino katoa kua pa ki a ia, ka haere mai ratou i o ratou kainga; ko Iraipaha te Timanaite, ko Pirirara te Huhaite, ko Howhara te Neamataite, kua mea hoki ratou kia haere ki te tangi ki a ia, ki te whakamarie i a ia.

12 A, ka anga ake o ratou kanohi i tawhiti, kihai i matau i a ia; na, ka karanga ratou ka tangi; ka haehae ratou i o ratou kakahu, ka rui i te puehu ki runga ki o ratou upoko ki te rangi ano hoki.

13 A, noho iho ana ratou ko Hopa ki te whenua ewhitu nga ra, ewhitu nga po; a, kihai korero tetahi o ratou ki a ia; i kite hoki ratou e nui pu ana tona pouri.

Upoko 3.

Muri iho i tenei, ka hamama te mangai o Hopa ka kanga ki tona ra.

2 Ka korero a Hopa, ka mea,

3 Kia ngaro te ra i whanau ai a hau, me te po ano i penei ai te korero, kua to, he tamaiti tane.

4 Waiho taua ra he pouritanga; aua te Atua e titiro iho i runga ki reira, aua te maramatanga e whiti ki runga ki reira.

5 Waiho ki reira te pouritanga me teatarangio te mate; kia kapi ia i te kapua; ko te kokouritanga o te rangi hei whakawehi ki reira.

6 A, ko taua po, kia hopukina e te pouri; aua ia e karapitia ki nga ra o te tau; aua ia e taua i te taunga o nga marama.

7 Na, kia mahue taua po, aua tetahi reo hari mo reira.

8 Ko ratou e kanga ana ki te ra, kia kanga ki reira, ko ratou e mea ana kia puta te tangihanga.

9 Kia pouri nga whetu o tona kakauritanga; kia titiro ia ki te maramatanga, a, kua e kitea; kua ia e kite i te takiritanga o te ata:

10 Mo te mea kihai i wha- kakapiia nga tatau o te whenua o toku whaea, kihai i araia oku kanohi kei tangi.

11 He aha ra te mate ai ahau i toku whanautanga? he aha ranei te marere ai toku wairua i taku putanga mai i te kopu?

12 He aha i noho ai a hau ki nga turi? i whangainga ai ahau ki nga u?

13 ¶ Penei, kua takoto noa ahau, kua rangimarie, kua moe: a, kua okioki ahau,

14 Matou ko nga kingi, me nga kaiwhakawa o te whenua, i hanga ai nga wahi mokemoke mo ratou.

15 Matou ko nga piriniha i whai koura, i whakakiiia ai o ratou whare ki te hiriwa:

16 Kia pena me te whanautanga mate roto kihai i pakari, kua kahore ahau; ano he tamariki kihai kite i te ao.

17 Ka mutu i reira te whakato i te kino; ko reira okioki ai te nenge.

18 Ko reira nga pononga okioki tahi ai; ekore e pa mai ki a ratou te reo o te whakatuma.

19 Kei reira ano te nui me te iti; a, e atea ana te pononga i tona rangatira.

20 He aha i homai ai te maramatanga ki te tangata e whakamomori ana, he aha i ora tonu ai te tangata e kawa ana te ngakau;

21 E tatari nei ki te mate, a, te tae mai; e keru nui nei ki aia, ano he raonga ngaro *i raro i te whenua*;

22 E hari pu ana ratou e koa ana, ina kite ratou i te urupa?

23 He aha i marama ai te tangata kua ngaro tona huarahi, kua taiepatia e te Atua?

24 Kahore ano ahau i kai noa ka puta taku tangi, ko aku auetanga, kua pakaru ki waho, ano he wai *puke*.

25 Ko te mea ano i wehi nui ai ahau, kua pa ki a au, ko te mea i maku ai ahau, kua tae mai ki runga ki a au.

26 Kihai au i ora, kihai i okioki, kihai i rangimarie; otira kua pa te pouri.

Upoko 4.

Na, ka ki ano a Iraipaha te Timanaite, ka mea,

2 Ki te mea ko matou kia korero ki akoe, ekore koe e pouri? otira, e taea e wai te pupuri i tona reo?

3 Na, tokomaha au i whakaako ai, a, whakakahangia ana ekoe te ringaringa ngoikore.

4 Na ou kupu ano i ora ai te tangata e hinga ana, nau ano i kaha ai te turingonge.

5 Tena ko tenei, kua tae mai nei ki akoe, a, kua hemo koe; ka pa nei ki akoe, a, kua pouri koe.

6 E hara oti tenei i tou wehi, i tou whakapono, i tou tumanako tonu, me te tikanga o au ritenga?

7 Ka mea atu ahau ki akoe, kia mahara koe, nonahea ranei i mate ai te tangata tika, i tineia ranei tehunga tika kihea?

8 Ki taku titiro ano, ko ratou e parau ana i te hara, e rui ana i te kino, ka hauhake ratou i ta ratou ano.

9 Ka mate ratou i te haanga a te Atua, a, na te hau o ona pongaponga i pau ai ratou.

10 Ko te tangi o te raiona, ko te reo o te raiona riri, me nga niho o nga raiona kaha, kua whati.

- 11 Kua mate te raiona tawhito i te kai kore, ko nga kua o te raiona kaha, kua ma rara ke.
- 12 Na, he mea ano i puta puku mai ki a au, a, ka rongo maheahea toku taringa.
- 13 I nga whakaaro o nga moe o te po, i te parangiatanga o te tangata i te moe,
- 14 Ka pa mai ki a au te mataku, me te whakaitatanga i *tui* ai oku wheua katoa.
- 15 Na, ka puta mai taua wairua ka pahure tata i toku kanohi, ka pa te hohore ki a au, ka tutu oku tara.
- 16 Na, tu mai ana, otira kihai i kitea tona ritenga, he kahua ano i titiro ai oku kanohi, hore he tirituri; a, ka rongo ahau i te reo, ka mea mai,
- 17 E nui atu ranei i to te Atua tika ta te tangata mate tika? e hira ake ranei te ma o te tangata, i te ma o tona kai hanga?
- 18 Na, kihai ia i whakawhirinaki ki ana pononga: ka whakakuware ia ki ana anahera.
- 19 Tena ko te hunga e noho ana i nga whare oneone, e tu ana i te puehu, e whakamatea ana e te huhu?
- 20 E whakamatea ana ratou i te ata, tae noa ki te ahiahi: ka mate tonu ratou, ekore e maharatia.
- 21 Ekore ranei e hemo o ratou pai i roto i a ratou? ka mate ratou, na, hore rawa he matauranga.

Upoko 5.

- Me karanga ra, ki te mea e rongo tetahi ki akoe, a, ki tehea o nga tangata tapu e titiro ai koe?
- 2 Ka mate hoki te tangata haurangi i te riri, ko te hae hei patu i te tangata kuware.
 - 3 Kua titiro ahau ki te haurangi, e tupu ana, muri iho, ka kino ahau ki tona whare.
 - 4 Kihai i tata ana tamariki ki te ora, e whakakahoretia ana i te kuwaha, kahore tetahi hei whakaora.
 - 5 Ka pau ta ratou witi i te *hunga* hiakai, ka kohikohia i roto i nga tataramoa, ka horongia o ratou orange e te hunga pahua.
 - 6 ¶ Ahakoa ekore e puta te mamae i te puehu, me te kino ekore e puta ake i te oneone;
 - 7 E whanau ana ano te tangata ki te pouri, ano he korakora e rere ana ki runga.
 - 8 Ki te mea i pena ahau, ka rapu ahau ki te Atua, a ma te Atua te ritenga ki a au.
 - 9 E meingatia ana e ia nga mea nunui ekore e kitea; me nga mea whakamiharo ekore e taea te tatau.
 - 10 E homai ana i te ua mo te whenua, me nga wai ano mo nga mara.
 - 11 Kia whakaarahia ratou kua taka; ko ratou hoki kua tangi kia hapainga ki te orange.
 - 12 E kotia ana e ia te whakaaro o te hianga, kei puta te mahi a o ratou ringaringa.
 - 13 Ka retia e ia te hianga ki a ratou maminga ake: ka whaka wairangitia te whakaaro a te tohe,
 - 14 Ka tapoko ratou ki te pouri i te awatea, ka whawha noa i te awatea ano he po.
 - 15 Otira e whakaorangia ana e ia te hunga rawakore i ta ratou hoari, i ta ratou mangai ano, i te ringaringa hoki o te kaha.
 - 16 Na ko na i tumanako tonu ai te *hunga* rawakore, i mutu ai te mangai o te kino.
 - 17 ¶ Na, ka ora te tangata e whiua ana e te Atua; ina, Aua koe e whakakino ki te whiunga a te Atua kaha.
 - 18 Ka whakamamaetia hoki e ia, ka houhia ano; ka patua e ia, a, ko ona ringaringa hei whakaora.
 - 19 Mana koe e whakaora i nga pouritanga eono: a, i te whitu ano ekore e pa te kino ki a koe.
 - 20 Mana koe e whakaora i te kaikoretanga; i te taua, i te kaha ano hoki o te hoari.
 - 21 Ka araia koe i te whiunga a te arero; a, ekore ano koe e mataku ki te whakangaronga ua pa.
 - 22 Ka kata koe ki te whakangaronga, me te mate kai; ekore ano hoki e wehi ki nga kararehe o te whenua.
 - 23 Ko nga kowhatu o te oneone hei hoa mou; ka mau ki a koe te rongo a nga kararehe o te whenua.
 - 24 Ka kite ano koe i tou tapena kara e rangimarie ana; ka haere koe ki tou whare ekore koe e he.
 - 25 E matau ana koe ki te tokomahatanga o au tamariki, ko ou uri, ano he tarutaru no te whenua.
 - 26 Kia tino pakari ano koe ka tae ki tou urupa, kia rite ki te puranga witi i tona ngahuru.
 - 27 Na, koia tenei, kua rapua e matou, a, ka rite; whaka rongo mai, kia matau koe, hei pai mou.

Upoko 6.

- A Ka korero a Hopa, ka mea,
- 2 Mehemea i tino paunatia taku tangi, me toku pouritanga kia hapainga tahitia ki te paunatanga!
 - 3 Ka kitea te nuinga o tona taimaha i to nga onepu o te moana; koia te puta ai toku reo.
 - 4 Kua tu hoki ahau i nga kokiri a te Atua kaha, ko te whakama tenga a *ena kokiri* e whakamimiti ana i toku wairua: ko nga whakamataku a te Atua kua pakarumaiki a au.
 - 5 E tangi ranei te ka ihe puihi i tana whai kaitanga? E tangi ranei te okiha i runga i tana kai?
 - 6 Etaea te kai te mea kinaki kore, ki te kahore he tote? e reka noa ranei te wahi ma o te hua manti?
 - 7 Ko nga mea i kawa ai toku ngakau, kua waiho hei kai whakapouri moku.
 - 8 Kia rite taku inoi; kia tukua mai e te Atua te mea e hiahia ai ahau!
 - 9 Na, kia pai te A tua kia whakakahoretia ahau; kia whakapakia tona ringaringa, kia mate ahau!

10 Ko reira au rangimarie ai; a, ka whakapakeke ahau i a au i te pouritanga: aua ia e tohutohu; kihai hoki ahau i *huna* i nga kupu a te Atua tapu.

11 He aha toku kaha kia tumanako tonu ai ahau? he aha toku mutunga kia roa ai toku oranga?

12 E rite ana ranei toku kaha ki to nga kowhatu? he parahi ranei toku kikokiko?

13 Kahore rawa ranei aku wahi? kua mahue rawa ranei au i te matauranga?

14 ¶ Ka tika kia arohaina te tangata mate i tona whanaunga: tena, e whakarerea ana eia te wehi o te Atua kaha.

15 Kua hianga oku whanaunga, ano he wai mimiti; ka rite ra hoki ki nga wai o nga awa e mimiti ana;

16 E mangu ana i te haupapa, e ngaro ana te hukarere:

17 Ka whakamahanatia ka rewa, ka werawera, ka memeha i to ratou kinga.

18 Ko te haerenga o to ratou huarahi e puta ke ana; ka hemo haere ratou, ka kahore noa iho.

19 I rapu nga tira o Tima, i tatari ano nga hunga o Hipa ki aua *wai*.

20 I raruraru ratou mo to ratou tumanakotanga; ka puta ratou ki reira ka whakama.

21 Ka rite ano koutou ki tera; e kite ana koutou ki toku takanga, a, ka wehi.

22 I inoi ranei ahau kia homai ki a au? kia homai he utu moku i a koutou mea?

23 *I penei ra nei au*, kia whakaorangia ahau i te ringaringa o te hoa whawhai? tetahi utu kia riro mai ai au i te ringaringa o te kaha?

24 Meinga mai ra, kia mutu ai taku korero; whakakitea te mea i he ai au.

25 E kaha ana te reo tika! otira, he aha te tikanga o ta koutou tohe.

26 Ka mea koutou kia riria nga kupu me nga korero a te tangata e whakamomori ana, e rite ana ki te hau?

27 Ae ra, e whakangaro ana koutou i nga pani; ka keru koutou i te poka mo to koutou whanaunga.

28 Kati rapea, titiro mai; e kite ano koutou, ki te mea he teka taku.

29 E hoki rapea, kei meinga tenei he kino; ae ra, me hoki ano, ko taku tikanga tenei.

30 He hara koia kei toku arero? ekore ranei toku ngakau e kite i nga mea pake?

Upoko 7.

Kihai ranei i meinga he taima whawhaitanga mo te tangata i te ao? ekore ranei ona ra e rite ki nga ra o te tangata e mahi ana ki te utu?

2 Ka hiahia nui te pononga ki te marumarutanga, ka tatari hoki te kai mahi ki tona utu:

3 Kua pena ano hoki ngamarama teka noa moku, ko nga po hoha ano kua homai moku.

4 Ka takoto iho ahau ka ui, ko ahea au ara ai, rite ai ra nei te po? a, e takoto tonu ana ahau, a—ao noa te ra.

5 Kua kakahuria toku kikokiko ki te kutukutu me te piringa puehu, kua pahihore toku hiako, kua whakarihariha.

6 Kua hohoro rawa oku ra, a, hore he tumanakotanga.

7 Mahara mai ra, he hau kau toku oranga, ekore e kite ake toku kanohi i te pai.

8 Ko te kanohi o tera i kite mai i a au, heoi ano ona kitenga i a au: ka tau mai ou kanohi ki a au, a, ka kahore nei ahau.

9 Ka pau te kapua ka mahea; ka rite ra te tangata e haere iho ana ki te urupa, ekore e hoki ake.

10 Ekore ia e hoki mai ki tona whare, a, heoi ano ona kitenga o tona kainga i a ia.

11 Koia ahau ka korero ai; kia korero au i te pouritanga o toku wairua; ka amuamu ahau i te kawanga o toku wairua.

12 ¶ He moana ranei ahau, he tohora ranei, i meinga ai e koe te kai whanga mai ki a au?

13 No taku meatanga kia whakamarietia ahau e toku moenga, kia whakaitia toku mamae e toku okiokinga;

14 Ko tau mahi tera hei whakawehi i a au ki nga moe, ka whakawehingia ahau ki nga kitenga o te po.

15 Koia i pai ai toku wairua ki te notinga me te mate, ehara oku wheua.

16 Ka whakaririka ahau; ekore au e pai kia ora tonu: waiho ahau; he tekateka noa ano oku ra.

17 He aha te tangata i whakanuia ai ekoe? i whakangakau ai koe ki a ia?

18 I haere tonu ai koe ki aia i nga ata, whakamatautau i aia i nga momeniti katoa?

19 Ko ahea haere ai koe i a au, waiho ai ahau kia horo i taku buhare?

20 Kua hara ahau; me pehea ahau ki akoe, E te kai whakaora i te tangata? He aha i waiho ai ahau hei puhanga mou, i taimaha ai ano a hau i a au?

21 A, he aha ra te murua ai ekoe taku hara, te whakarere ai i aku kino? penei ka moe ahau i te puehu; a, ka rapu koe ki a au a te ata, otira kua kahore ahau.

Upoko 8.

A No ka ki mai a Pirirara te Huhaite, ka mea,

2 Kia pehea te roa o tou meanga i anei mea? e rite ai nga kupu o tou mangai ki te hau nui?
 3 E whakahe ranei te Atua ki te whakawa? E whakahe koia te Atua kaha ki te tikanga?
 4 Na, he hara ano na ou tamariki ki a ia, i whakarerea ai ratou e ia, mo a ratou kino;
 5 Ki te mea ka rapu wawe koe ki te Atua, ka inoi koe ki te Atua kaha;
 6 Kia ma koe kia tika; na, ka whakatika ia mou, ka hanga i te whare o tou tikanga *ki* a ora ai.
 7 Ahakoa iti tou timatanga, ko a te mutunga, nui haere ai.
 8 ¶ Ka mea atu ahau ki a koe, me ui atu ekoe te whakapaparanga o mua, ka rapu ai koe ki o ratou matua:
 9 (No nanahi hoki tatou, a, hore rawa kia matau, mo te mea he atarangi kau o tatou ra i te whenua;)
 10 Ekore ranei ratou e ako ki akoe, e korero, e whakapuaki i nga kupu o o ratou ngakau?
 11 E ahei ranei te kopupungawha te tupu ake i te paru kore? E ahei ranei te raupo te tupu ake i te wai kore?
 12 E mangu ana ano tona tupu, ki ano ikotia noatia, kua maroke wawe ia i nga tarutaru katoa.
 13 E penei ana te ritenga o ratou katoa e whakarere ana i te Atua; ko te tumanakotatanga tonutanga a te tangata tinihanga e whakakahoretia.
 14 Ka kotia tona whakaaro, ko te whare pungawerewere hei okiokinga mona.
 15 Ka whakawhirinaki ia ki tona whare, otira ekore e tu; e puritia ano ia e ia, otira ekore e pumau.
 16 Mangu tonu ia i te ra, ka tupu tona manga i tona mara.
 17 Ka tupu ona pakiaka ki te puke, ka kite ano i te wahi kowhatu.
 18 Ko te mea ka hutia ia e ia i tona tunga, ko reira mea ai tona wahi, kihai ahau i kite i a koe.
 19 Na, ko te haringa ia o tona wahi, a, ka tupu ake etahi atu i te oneone.
 20 ¶ Na ekore te Atua e whakarere i te tangata tika; a, ekore hoki ia e tango ki te ringaringa o te kai mahi i te kino:
 21 Kia ki ra ano tou mangai i te kata, me ou ngutu i te hari.
 22 Ko ratou e riri noa ana ki a koe, ka whakakakahuria ki te whakama; ka whakakahoretia te kainga o te hunga hara.

Upoko 9.

Ano ka ki atu a Hopa, ka mea,
 2 Ko ia ra hoki tena; otira, kia pehea ka tika ai te tangata i te aroaro o te Atua?
 3 Ka whakawa mai ia ekore e taea te mea atu, he teka tetahi o aku hara i te mano.
 4 Ka matau tona ugakau, he kaha nui tona kaha; ko to wai whakaaro te puta, ina pakeke ki aia?
 5 Ka nekehia e ia nga maunga, a, te kite ratou; ka hurihia ratou i tona riri.
 6 Ka nekehia e ia te whenua i tona wahi, a, ngaue noa ana ona tunga.
 7 Ka mea ano ia ki te ra, na, ekore e ao; ka hiritia eia nga whetu.
 8 Ka horahia eia te rangi, ka haere hoki ia i runga i nga ngaru o te moana.
 9 Ka hanga eia a Aketura, a Oraiona, me Matariki, me nga wahi o te tonga.
 10 Ka meinga e ia nga mea nunui ekore e taea te rapu, me nga mea whakamiharo, e kore e taea te tatau.
 11 Na, ka pahure tata ia i a hau, a, te kite ahau i aia: ka haere atu ia, otira, ekore au e kite.
 12 Ka tangohia eia, a, ma wai ia e riri? kowai kia mea atu ki a ia, He aha tau e mea?
 13 Ekore te Atua e whakamutu i tana riri, ka piko iho i aia nga hoa whaka pehapeha.
 14 A, me pehea toku korero atu ki a ia, kia komiritia tetahi maku kupu hei tohe ki a ia?
 15 Ahakoa tika ahau, ekore au e ahei te tohe ki aia, me inoi kau raia ahau ki toku kai whakawa.
 16 Mei karanga ahau, a, kua homai ia ki ahau, na, ekore au e whakapono kua rongu mai ia ki toku reo.
 17 Ka whatiia ahau e ia ki te awha, ka mea noa ano ia i oku tuunga kia maha.
 18 Ekore ia e pai kia hoki toku manawa, otira, ka whakakiia ahau ki te kawa.
 19 Ka korero ahau i te kaha, na, ka kaha ia: ki te whakawa ranei, na, ma wai e tuku tetahi taima kia korerorero ai?
 20 Ki te mea ahau he tika toku, na, ma toku mangai ake ka kitea ai aku he; ka mea ahau e pakari ana, na, ka kitea taku tohe.
 21 Ki te mea ahau kua pakari au, na, he te matau ano noku ki toku wairua; ka whakakino ahau ki toku orange.
 22 ¶ He mea kotahi tenei, koia i korerotia ai e ahau; e whakakahoretia ana e ia te hunga pakari me te hunga kino.
 23 Ki te mea ka pa whakarere te whiu, ka kata ia ki te whakawakanga o te *hunga* harakore.
 24 Kua tukua te whenua ki te ringaringa o te hunga kino: ka hipokina e ia nga kanohi o nga kaiwhakawa o te *whenua*; ki te kahore, na, keihea ia, a, kowai ia?
 25 E puta atu ana te horo o oku ra i to te karere horo; ka hemo ra, ekore e kite i te pai.
 26 Kua pahure, ano he kai- puke tere, ano he kahu, e rere ana ki tana kai.

- 27 Ka mea ahau kia wareware ahau ki toku mamae, kia whakarerea toku pouri, kia whakamarie i a au ano;
 28 Ka matakū ahau ki aku pouri katoa, ka matau ahau ekore ahau e meinga ekoe he tangata tika.
 29 Ka kino ahau, a, he aha ka mahi noa ai ahau?
 30 Ki te mea ka horoi au i a au ano ki te wai o te hukarere, kia tino ma ai oku ringa;
 31 E kopiroa ano ahau ekoe ki te wharua, a, ka riri ra kia au oku kakahu.
 32 Ina, ehara ano hoki ia i te tangata, kia mea atu ai au ki aia, kia haere tahi ai maua ki te whakawa.
 33 A, kahore he wawao i waenga i a maua, kia pa mai ona ringaringa ki a maua ngatahi.
 34 Kia tangohia eia tona whiu i a au, aua tona wehi e whakamataku i a au.
 35 Ko reira korero ai ahau, ekore e matakū i a ia; otira, kihai i pene i ki a au.

Upoko 10

Kua hoha toku wairua ki te oranga; ka waiho e ahau toku pouritanga ki runga ki a au; ka korero ahau i te kawanga o toku wairua.

2 Ka mea atu ahau ki te Atua, Aua ahau e meinga he tangata hara; whakakitea mai te mea e tohe nei koe ki a au.

3 E pai ana koe ki te riri ki a au? ka whakakino koe ki te mahi a ou ringaringa, E pai ranei koe ki te rimanga o te kino?

4 He kanohi kikokiko ranei ou? e titiro ana ranei koe ki ta te tangata titiro?

5 E rite ranei ou ra ki nga ra o te tangata? e rite ranei ou tau ki nga tau o te tangata,

6 I ui ai koe ki taku kino, i rapu ai i taku hara?

7 E matau ana ra koe e hara kore ana ahau; otira ekore tetahi e ahei te whakaora i tou ringaringa.

8 Na ou ringaringa ahau i hanga, oku wahi katoa; otira, e whakakahoretia ana ahau e koe.

9 Mahara mai rapea ki tau hanganga i a au i rite ai au ki te oneone, a, e whakahokia ranei ahau ekoe ki te puehu?

10 Kahore ranei koe i riringi i a au, ano he waiu? kua kurukuruwhatutia ahau, ano he pata pakeke.

11 Nau ahau i whakakakahu ki te hiako me te kikokiko; i taiepatia hoki ahau ki nga wheua me nga uaua.

12 Kua tukua mai ekoe ki a au te oranga me te aroha: a, na tou taenga mai, te mate ai toku wairua.

13 I huna ano enei mea ki roto ki tou ngakau; kua kite ano a hau, kei akoe.

14 Ki te mea ka hara ahau, na, ka tutohutia ano ahau e koe, a, ekore? au e ora i toku hara.

15 Ki te mea ka hara ahau, na, kei ahau ano te kino; a, ahakoa tika ahau, ekore e ara toku mahunga. Kua ki ahau i te raruraru; na, me titiro mai ano koe ki toku pouritanga;

16 E kake ana. Ka arumia ano ahau ekoe, ano he raiona riri, a, muri iho ka miharo a hau ki akoe.

17 Ka hono tonu au whakawakanga i a au, ka whakanuia ano tau riri ki a au; ka mate ano ahau i te tinihanga me te taua.

18 ¶ Na, he aha koia i homai ai ahau ki waho i te kopu? E pai ana mei tukua ake te wairua, ha, ekore e kite tetahi kanohi i a au!

19 Na, penei, kua kahore noa iho ahau; kua kawea ahau i te kopu ki te urupa.

20 He teka tenei, he torutoru oku ra? kati ra, waiho ahau, kia rangimarie ai au i tetahi wahi,

21 Kei wha haere ahau ki te wahi ekore ai au e hoki mai, ki te whenua o te pouri, me te atarangi o te mate;

22 Ki te whenua o te pouri, e tino pouri rawa ana; ki te atarangi o te mate, kahore o reira tikanga, ko te maramatanga e rite ana ki te pouritanga.

Upoko 11.

A No ka ki mai a Howhara te Ne amataite, ka mea,

2 Aua ranei te mano tini o te kupu e whakahokia atu? A, kia meinga te tangata ngutu hei tangata tika?

3 Ma ou hangare ka ka mutu ai te kupu a te tangata? a, ka tawai koe, kahore koia he tangata hei korero kia whakama ai koe?

4 Kua penei ano koe, Ka tika toku korero, ka ma ahau i tou aroaro.

5 ¶ Otira, ma te Atua ano te korero, kia hamama tona mangai ki a koe.

6 Mana e whakaatu ki akoe nga mea ngaro o te matauranga, puta rawa atu i tenei kua kitea! Kia matau koe, kahore ano i nui noa te riri a te Atua ki te nuinga o au hara.

7 E kite koe i te Atua me ka rapu koe? E pakari ranei tau matauranga ki te Atua kaha?

8 Ko te tiketike ka pa ki te rangi, He aha tau e mea ai? ko te hohopu, puta iho ki raro iho i te reinga: he aha tau e matau ai?

9 Ko te whangangatanga, tera rawa atu i te roanga o te whenua, tera atu tona whanui i to te moana.

10 Ki te mea ka kotia e ia, ka taupokia ranei, ka kohikohia ranei, na, Kowai e ahei te tukaha ki aia?

- 11 Ka matau ia ki te tangata waha: e kite ana ano hoki ia i te kino; na, ekore ranei ia e whakaaro?
- 12 E mea ana te tangata waha, e matau ana ia, ahakoa whanau te tangata, ano he kua kaihe puihi.
- 13 Kia taka ano koe i tou ngakau, kia whakamaro ano i tou ringaringa ki aia.
- 14 Ki te mea he hara kei tou ringaringa, na, whakarerea rawatia atu, a, kaua e waiho te kino i ou tapenakara.
- 15 Ma kona ano ka whakaanga ake koe i tou kanohi, a, hore ona ira; ka kaha hoki koe, kahore ou mataku.
- 16 Ka ware ware hoki koe ki tou pouritanga, ka pena te maharatanga me te waipuke kua mimiti.
- 17 A, ko te maramatanga o tou kaumatuatanga e puta atu *ano* i te morungatanga o te ra; ka puta koe, ano ko te putanga o te ra i te ata.
- 18 A, ka ora koe, ka tumanako tonu nei hoki; a, ka kerī koe, ka okioki, i te rangimarietanga.
- 19 Ka takoto iho koe, kahore tetahi hei whakamataku i akoe; a, he tokomaha te rapu pai mai i akoe.
- 20 Otira, ka pirau nga kanohi o te hunga kino, ekore ratou e ora, ka mutu to ratou tumanakotanga, ano ko te maretetanga o te wairua.

Upoko 12.

- Ano ka ki a Hopa, ka mea,
- 2 Koia ra hoki, ko koutou nga tino tangata, a, ka mate koutou, na, mate katoa ano me te matauranga.
 - 3 Otira, he matauranga hoki toku, me to koutou; kihai nohinohi ahau i a koutou: Ina! kowai i kuware ki ena mea?
 - 4 Ka rite ahau ki te tangata kua tawaiia e tona whanaunga, i toku inoinga ki te Atua, me tona meinga mai: ko te tangata tika e mahi tika ana, kua kataina rawatia.
 - 5 Ko te tangata meake paheke ona waewae, e rite ana ki te rama kua mahue i te tangata mangere.
 - 6 E ora ana ano ia nga whare o nga tahae, a, ka ora ratou e tutu nei ki te Atua; e whakakiiia ana o ratou ringaringa e te Atua.
 - 7 ¶ Tena ko tenei, kia ui *koutou* ki nga kararehe, ma ratou koe e whakaako; a, ko nga manu o te rangi, ma ratou e korero mai ki akoe.
 - 8 Me ui ranei te whenua, a, mana e mea mai: a, ma nga ika o te moana e whakapuaki mai ki akoe.
 - 9 Kowai ranei te tangata ekore e matau ki ena mea katoa, e, na te ringaringa o Ihowa tenei?
 - 10 Kei tona ringaringa te wairua o nga mea ora katoa; me te manawa o; nga tangata katoa.
 - 11 Ekore oti te taringa e whakamatautau i nga kupu? me te mangai i tona kai?
 - 12 Kei nga tupuna te tikanga; a, kei te roanga o nga ra te matauranga.
 - 13 Kei a ia te tika me te kaha; kei a ia te rimanga me te matauranga.
 - 14 Na, ka wahia e ia, na, e kore e taea te hanga; ka paia e ia te tangata, na, kahore he putanga.
 - 15 Na, ka puritia eia nga wai, na, kua mimiti ano: ka whakapakarutia mai e ia nga *naipuke* ki waho, a, ka huri ratou i te whenua.
 - 16 Kei aia te kaha me te matauranga: nona te tangata i hiangatia, me te tangata hianga.
 - 17 Ka whakaraua e ia te hunga runanga, ka whakakuware hoki i nga kai whakawa.
 - 18 Ka wetekia e ia te herenga o nga kingi, ka whitikia hoki o ratou hope ki te whitiki.
 - 19 Ka arahina e ia nga piriniha i te marutanga; ka hurihia hoki te *hunga* kaha.
 - 20 Ka tangohia e ia te korero a te pono, ka riro i a ia te matauranga o nga kaumatua.
 - 21 Ka whakataurekareka ia ki nga piriniha, ka wetekia e ia te whitiki o te kaha.
 - 22 Ka kite ia i nga mea hohonu o te pouritanga, ka whakaputaia mai hoki ki te maramatanga te atarangi o te mate.
 - 23 Ka whakatokomahatia e ia nga tauwiwi, a, whakamatea iho ana: ka whakanuia eia nga tauwiwi, a, whakahokia ana ano.
 - 24 Ka whakakahoretia e ia te ngakauo te tino iwi o nga iwi o te whenua, a, ka whakalhae rea hoki ratou ki te koraha, kahore he ara.
 - 25 Ka whawha noa ratou i te pouri kahore he marama, ka meinga e ia kia haere whakahinga, ano he tangata kua inu.

Upoko, 13.

- Na, kua kite toku kanohi ki tenei katoa, kua rongo hoki toku taringa, kua matau.
- 2 Ko a koutou e matau ai, kua matau hoki ahau; kihai a hau i nohinohi i a koutou.
 - 3 He pono kia [*unclear: korero a*] ki te Tinokaha, e hiahia ana hoki ahau kia kororerero maua ko te Atua.
 - 4 Otira, ka poka koutou i te teka, he rata paikore koutou katoa.
 - 5 Kati rapea o koutou mangai! hei matauranga mo koutou.
 - 6 Kia rongo ki oku whakaaro, kia rongo ki nga korero tohe a oku ngutu.

- 7 Oti, e korero kino koutou mo te Atua? ka korero hianga ranei koutou mona?
- 8 Ka whakapai koutou ki a ia? hei korero mo te Atua a koutou korero?
- 9 E pai ana kia rapua koutou e ia? ka tawai tetahi tangata ki tetahi, kia penei ta koutou tawai ki a ia?
- 10 Ka riria koutou e ia ki te mea e huna ana a koutou hianga mo te tangata.
- 11 Ekore koutou e wehi ki tona pai? ko tona mataku ekore e tau ki runga ki a koutou?
- 12 Ka rite a koutou maharatanga ki te pungarehu, ko o koutou tinana, *ka rite* ra ki nga tinana oneone.
- 13 Kei turituri, waiho ahau kia korero, he aha ranei e pa mai ki a au.
- 14 He aha i ngaua ai e ahau toku kikokiko, i tukua ai toku oranga ki toku ringaringa?
- 15 Ahakoa patua au e ia, e whakawhirinaki ano ahau ki a ia; otira, e meingatia ano oku ritenga ki tona aroaro.
- 16 Ko toku oranga hoki ia; ekore te tangata tinihanga e puta mai ki tona aroaro.
- 17 *Kia* rongo pu koutou ki *taku* korero, me taku kupu ki o koutou taringa.
- 18 Na, kua whakarite ahau toku ritenga; ka matau ahau e meinga ahau hei tangata tika.
- 19 Kowai te haere mai ki te tohe i a au? Ki te mea ka mutu taku korero, ka mate.
- 20 Kei rua au mahi ki a au: na, ekore ahau e huna ki akoe.
- 21 Tangohia atu tou ringaringa ki tawhiti atu: kei wehi ahau i tou wehi.
- 22 Ko reira karanga mai ai koe, a, ka o atu ahau: kia korero ranei ahau, a, mau e mea mai.
- 23 E hia ranei aku kino, aku hara? meinga ahau kia kite ahau i aku kino i aku hara.
- 24 He aha i huna ai koe i tou kanohi i a au, ka meinga ahau hei hoa whawhai mou?
- 25 E whatiia e koe te rau *rakau* e puhia ana? ka aru koe i te tarutaru maroke?
- 26 Ka kawa nga mea i tuhia ekoe ki a au, ka whakahoutia nga hara o toku taitamarikitanga.
- 27 Kua panga ekoe oku waewae ki te hereherenga, ka tirohia hoki oku haerenga; ka tutohungia ekoe nga rekereke o oku waewae.
- 28 Ka pau ia, ano he mea pirau, me te kakahu kua kainga e te huhu.

Upoko 14.

- Ko te tangata i whanau i te wahine he ruarua ona ra, a, he rahi ona mamae.
- 2 E tupu ake ana ia, ano he puawai, a, e kotia iho ana; ka rere atu ia me te atarangi, a, ekore e pumau tonu.
- 3 A, ka titiro mai ou kanohi ki a au, ka homai ahau kia whakawakia ekoe?
- 4 E taea e wai te homai te mea ma i roto i te mea paru? Kahore.
- 5 Mo te mea kua whakaritea ona ra, kei akoe te taunga o ona marama, kua whakaritea ekoe te roanga o tona oranga, a, ekore ia e roa atu.
- 6 Waiho ia kia okioki, kia rite ra ano tona ra, ano he tangata mahi mo te utu.
- 7 ¶ Ka tuakina te rakau ki raro, ka tumanako toau tatou kia pihi ano, a, ekore e pau tona manga hou.
- 8 Ahakoa tawhitotia ona pakiaka i te whenua, ahakoa mate tona putake i te oneone;
- 9 Na, ma te haunga o te wai ka pihi ai ia, ka pihi ona manga, ano he mahuri.
- 10 Otira, ka mate te tangata, ka ngoikoretia: ae ra, ka marere te wairua o te tangata, na, ko hea ia?
- 11 Ka hemo te wai o te moana, ka mimiti te waipuke ka maroke:
- 12 Waihoki, ka takoto iho te tangata, a, ekore e ara ake: a, ekore e ara, ekore e whakatika ake i to ratou moenga, kia hemo ra ano nga rangi.
- 13 Mauahau e huna ki te urupa, kia ngaro ahau, kia pahure ra ano tau riri, kia titohutia ekoe tetahi taima moku, kia mahara mai ai koe ki a au!
- 14 Kia mate te tangata, a, ka ora ake? kia tatari ano a hau i oku ra katoa, kia tae ra ano ki toku aranga.
- 15 Mau e karanga mai, na, ka o ahau ki akoe; e hiahia ano koe ki te mahinga a ou ringaringa.
- 16 ¶ Otira, e taua ana ekoe oku haerenga, kahore ano ranei koe i matakitaki ki oku hara?
- 17 Kuahiritia oku hara ki te putea, ka tuia ekoe oku kino.
- 18 He pono ra, ka horoa te maunga ka memeha, ka nekehia te kowhatu i tona wahi ano.
- 19 Ka tere nga kowhatu i nga waipuke; ka whakaparemotia ekoe nga mea e tupu ake ana i te puehu o te whenua; ka whakakahoretia ekoe te tumanakotanga a te tangata.
- 20 Ka kaha tonu koe ki a ia, a, ka pahure ia, ka whakaahuatiaketia ekoe tona kanohi, ka tonoa ekoe kia haere.
- 21 Ka tupu ake ona tamariki, a, ekore ia e matau; ka tukua iho ratou, otira, ekore ia e kite i a ratou.
- 22 I aia ano tona kikokika, ka mamae ia, a, ka tangi tona wairua i roto i a ia,

Upoko 15.

Ano ka ki a Iraipaha te Timanaite, ka mea,

- 2 Kia korero koia te tangata matau ki te kupu hangareka, ka whakaki i tona kopu ki te marangai?
- 3 Kia kororerero ia ki te kupu huakore? me nga kupa kahore nei he painga?
- 4 Ka whakarerea ekoe te wehi, ka whakakahore i te inoi ki te Atua.
- 5 Ko tou mangai hei whakapuaki i tou kino, a, kua pai koe ki te arero o te hianga.
- 6 Kua whakaaturina tou kino e tou mangai ano, ehara i a au, ae ra, e whakapae ana ou ngutu ki akoe.
- 7 Ko koe ranei te tuatahi o nga tangata i whanau? kua hangaa ranei koe i mua atu o nga maunga?
- 8 Kua rongu koe ki te mea huna a te Atua? ko koe anake ranei te tangata whakaaro?
- 9 He aha te mea e kite nei koe ekore matou e kite? He aha ou mea e matau nei kahore i a matou?
- 10 Kei a matou ano nga hina me nga tino tupuna, e nui rawa ana i tou matua.
- 11 E nohinohi ana ki akoe nga whakamarietanga a te Atua? he mea huna ranei ou?
- 12 He aha i kawea ai koe e tou ngakau? he aha te mea e whakakeko nei tou kanohi?
- 13 I kino ai tou wairua ki te Atua, i whakapuakina ai nga kupu pena i tou mangai?
- 14 He aha te tangata, i ma ai ia? aia ranei i whanau i te *wahine* kia tino tika?
- 15 Na, ekore ia e whakawhirinaki ki ona tangata tapu; na, ko nga rangi hoki ekore e ma ki tana titiro.
- 16 Tena ko te tangata whakarihariha e paru ana, e inu ana i te kino, ano he wai?
- 17 ¶ Maku e mea atu, whakarongo mai: a, ko te mea i kite ai ahau kia korerotia atu;
- 18 I korerotia e nga tangata matau i a ratou matua, kihai i huna:
- 19 Te hunga i homai ai ki a ratou te whenua, kahore he manuhiri i roto i a ratou.
- 20 E haere mamae ana te tangata kino i ona ra katoa: ka ngaro ki a ia te potonga o nga tau ki te tangata whakatuma.
- 21 Ko te reo o nga whakamataku, kei tona taringa ano: i tona oranga ano, ka puta mai te taua ki aia.
- 22 Ekore ia e penei, e, ka hoki mai ia i te pouri, a, ka taria ia mo te hoari.
- 23 Ka haere noa ia hei rapu i te kai, ka mea, Kei hea ia? ka matau ia, kua patata te ra o te pouritanga.
- 24 Ko te pouri me te mamae hei whakawehi i a ia; ka kaha ena mea ki a ia, ano he kingi e whakatika ana ki te taua.
- 25 Mo te mea, e whakamarokia ana tona ringaringa ki te Atua, ka tukaha ano hoki ki te Atua.
- 26 Ka huaki ia ki te Atua, ki tona kaki, ki nga pakeketanga o ona arai.
- 27 Ka whakanui hoki ia i te ngako ki tona kanohi, ka meinga kia rahi te ngako ki ona kaokao.
- 28 Otira, ka noho ia ki nga kainga mahue, ki nga whare ekore e nohoia e te tangata, meake hinga.
- 29 Ekore ia e whai taonga, ko ana mea ekore e waiho ki a ia; a, ekore ano ia e ahei te whakapumau i tona painga i te ao.
- 30 Ekore ia e riro i roto i te pouri; ko te mura hei whakamaroke i ona manga, a, ma te manawa o to te Atua mangai e hoki ai ia.
- 31 Kei whakawhirinaki ki te hangareka o te tangata kua tinihangatia, mo te mea, ko te hangareka hei utu mona.
- 32 Ekore e tae ki tona taima kua kotia, ekore e mangu tona manga.
- 33 Ka marere i a ia ona kerepi ekore e pakari, ano he waina: ka marere tona puawai, ano he oriwa.
- 34 Ka whakamatea te whakaminenga o te tinihanga, ka pau i te kapura nga tapenakara o te utunga whakapati.
- 35 Ka hapu ratou i te whakato, ka whanau he kino, ka whakaritea e o ratou ngakau te hianga.

Upoko 16.

- Ano ka ki a Hopa ka mea,
- 2 Kua tini aku mea pena i rongu ai a hau: he kai whakamarie whakato, koutou katoa.
 - 3 E mutu koia nga kupu hangareka? he aha i tutu ai koe, i korero ai?
 - 4 E taea ra hoki te pena e a hau, ki te mea i penei o koutou wairua me toku wairua nei; e ahei ra hoki ahau te kohikohi i nga kupu kino mo koutou, ka oioia ai toku mahunga ki a koutou.
 - 5 Penei, ka whakakahangia koutou e toku mangai; ko te mahi a oku ngutu hei whakamarie i a koutou.
 - 6 Ahakoa korero ahau ekore toku pouri e hemo: a, ka mutu ahau, ka rangimarie ranei?
 - 7 Otira, nana ahau i whakangenge: nau i whakakahore oku hoa katoa.
 - 8 Nau ahau i whewhenge ai, i whakapae mai ki a au; ko toku tuoi e whakakino ana ki toku kanohi.
 - 9 Ka haea ahau eiai tona riri, ka kaweriri ia ki a au: ka whakapakiri ano i ona niho ki a au; ka whete nga kanohi o toku hoa riri ki a au.
 - 10 Kua hamama to ratou mangai ki a au; kua papaki ratou ki toku paparinga hei tawai ki a au; kua whakamine mai ratou ki te riri ki a au.
 - 11 Kua tukua ahau e te Atua ki te hunga Atua kore; kua tukua hoki ahau ki te ringaringa o te hunga kino.
 - 12 I rangimarie ahau, otira, kua whatiia ahau e ia: kua hopu ia i toku kaki, ka ngaua titaritaritia ahau, kua

whakaturia ahau hei koperetanga mana.

13 Kua karapotia ahau e ona kai kopere, ka wahia e ia oku kaokao, kihai i tohutohu; ka ringihia e ia toku pawa ki te whenua.

14 Ka honotonu tana whawhati i a au, ka peke mai kia au, ano he tangata nui whakaharahara.

15 Kua tuia e ahau te kakahu taua ki toku hiako, kua poke toku taringapihi i te paru.

16 Kua kino toku kanohi ite tangihanga, kei oku hurukai-kamo te atarangi o te mate.

17 Kahore he tahae i oku ringa i pa mai ai: e tika ana hoki taku inoi.

18 E te whenua, Kei huna Koe i oku toto, kei puta taku tangi.

19 Tena ko tenei, kei te rangi toku kaiwhaki, kei runga ano toku tuhituhinga.

20 Kua mahue au i oku whanaunga: otira, ka riringi toku kanohi i nga roimata ki te Atua.

21 E pai ra, kia inoi tetahi ki te Atua mo te tangata, ano he tangata e tohe ana mo tona whanaunga!

22 Waihoki, ekore ehia ake tau, ka haere ahau ki te wahi ekore ai au e hoki mai,

Upoko 17.

Ka marere toku wairua, kua pau oku ra, ko nga *urupa kua* rite moku.

2 *Kahore* he kai tawai i au? ekore toku kanohi e kite i to ratou whakatakariritanga?

3 Tukua iho ra, meinga ahau kia pono taua; kowai ra e hariru ai maua?

4 Kua whakakuware koe i to ratou ngakau kei matau; koia te whakanuia ai ratou ekoe.

5 Ko te tangata e whakapati ana i ona whanaunga, ka pirati nga kanohi o ona tamariki.

6 Kua meinga ahau e ia hei tawainga ma te tangata; oti ra, i waiho ahau i mua he haringa ma ratou.

7 Ko oku kanohi ano, kua pouri i te tangi, ka rite oku whakaaro ki te atarangi.

8 Ka miharo nga tangata tika ki tenei, ka tukua te tangata tika ki nga tangata tinihanga.

9 Ka tohe ano te tangata tika ki tona tikanga, a, ko te tangata e ma ana ona ringaringa, ka tupu haere tona kaha.

10 Tena ko koutou katoa, hoki atu ra, a kia whakaaro mai ano: kahore ano au i kite i tetahi o koutou e matau ana.

11 ¶ Kua pahure oku ra, ko oku whakaaro kua whati, me nga whakaaro ano o toku ngakau.

12 Ko oku mamae hei whaka roa i te po: poto ake ano te ao ka po.

13 Ki te tatari ahau, na, ko te urupa hei whare moku: kua hangaa toku moenga e au ki te pouri.

14 Kua penei ahau ki te pirati. Ko koe hei matua moku: na, ki te toke ano, Ko toku whaea, ko toku tuahine.

15 Waihoki, keihea taku tumanakotanga? kowai ka kite i taku tumanakotanga?

16 Ka haere iho ratou katoa ki nga moenga o te urupa, ina ka okioki tahi matou ki te puehu.

Upoko 18.

Ano ka ki a Pirirara te Huhaite, ka mea,

2 Ko allea mutu ai a koutou kupu? kia mahara, na, ka korero matou.

3 He aha i meinga ai matou he kararehe, he hunga whakaaro kore i tou aroaro?

4 Ka haea tona wairua e ia i tona riri; ka mahue ranei te whenua mou? e neke atu ranei te kowhatu i tona wahi?

5 Na, e tineia te rama o te hunga kino, ekore e kitea nga korakora o tona kapura.

6 Ka pouri te maramatanga o tona tapenakara, ka tineia ngatahitia raua ko tona rama.

7 Ka araaia te haerenga o tona kaha, ka hinga ia i tona whakaaro ake ano.

8 Na ona waewae ake ano i mau ai ia i te reti, ka haere ia ki runga ki te rore.

9 Ka mau tona rekereke i te mahanga, ka kaha ki a ia te tangata pahua.

10 Kua takoto ki te whenua te rore mona, me te mahanga mona ki te huarahi.

11 Ka puta ki a ia nga whakamataku i nga taha katoa, ka mahi ona waewae ki te oma.

12 Ka hemo tona kaha i te hiakai, ka tata ki tona taha te kai whakamate.

13 Ka pau te kaha o tona hiako: ko te putanga matamua o te mate hei whakapau i tona kaha.

14 Ko ana mea katoa e tangohia i roto i tona whare; a, ka kawea ia ki te kingi o nga whakamataku.

15 Ka noho te whakamataku ki tona whare, mo te mea, ehara i aia *te whare*; e akiritia te whanariki ki runga ki tona whare.

16 Ka maroke ona pakiaka o raro, ka kotia hoki ona [*unclear*: ma] nga i runga.

17 Ka whakakahoretia [*unclear*: ton] rongo i te whenua, a, [*unclear*: kahora] mona ingoa i te kainga.

18 Ka whiua ia i te maramatanga ki te [*unclear*: pouritanga], arumia, a, puta noa i te ao.

19 Ekore ia e whai tamariki whai whanaunga, a, [*unclear*: kaho] he toenga mona i ona whare.

20 Ko te hunga ano [*unclear*: mu] ri i a ia, ka miharo ano ki [*unclear*: to] ra, ka pena me ratou o [*unclear*:

mua] a ia, i matakū pu.

21 Ka penei ano te [unclear: no] nga o te hunga kino, a, ko te wahi tenei o te hunga ekore e matakū ki te Atua.

Upoko 19.

Ano ka ki a Hopa ka mea,

2 E pehea te roa o [unclear: koutau] whakatoī ki toku wairua, ka whatiia hoki ahau ki te kupu?

3 Kotahi nei tekau o a [unclear: kou] whakapaenga ki a au; ekore koutou e whakama i ta [unclear: kout] pakeke ki a au.

4 Na, ki te mea kua he [unclear: a] kei au ano toku he.

5 Ki te mea ka tohe [unclear: kout] ki te whakakake ki a au, a, ka whakahuatia ano toku rongu kino:

6 Na, kia rongu koutou, Na te Atua ahau i whakahinga iho, i karapotia ahau eia ki tona kupenga.

7 Na, kua karanga ahau [unclear: mo] toku kino, otira, kahore ano rangona mai: ka nui taku ka- ranga, otira, kahore he whakawa.

8 Nana toku huarahi i arai kei puta ahau, kua tukua e ia te pouritanga ki oku ara.

9 Kua huia e ia toku kororia, kua tangohia te karauna i toku mahunga.

10 Kua whakakahoretia ahau eia i nga taha katoa, a, kua riro ahau: a, ko toku tumanakotanga kua hutia, ano he rakau.

11 Kua whakautia tana riri ki au, a, kua penei ia, hei hoa whawhai ahau mona.

12 Ka haere mai ana taua, ka kerī i te maioro ki a au, a, ka karapotia toku tapenakara.

13 Kua kawea ketia eia oku whanaunga ki tawhiti, a, kua whakatangata ke oku hoa ki a au.

14 Kua kahore toku hapu, a, kua wareware ki a au oku tino hoa.

15 Ko nga tangata o toku whare, me aku hawini, e he ana ki a au: hei manuhiri a hau ki a ratou.

16 I karanga ahau ki toku pononga, otira, kihai ia i o mai; ka inoi ahau ki a ia i toku mangai.

17 Kua piro toku mangai ki toku wahine, ahakoa whakahuatia nga tamariki o toku tinana.

18 A, i tawai mai ki au nga tamariki kino; ahakoa whakatika ahau, ka korero kino mai ratou ki a au.

19 Kua riri ki a au oku hoa i korero huna ai matou: a, ko ratou i aroha ai ahau, kua tahuri kino mai ki a au.

20 Kua piri oku wheua ki toku hiako, me toku kikokiko, ko te wahi oku i ora, ko te hiako o oku niho.

21 Aroha mai, aroha mai, e oku whanaunga, mo te mea, kua pa te ringaringa o te Atua ki a au.

22 He aha koutou ka riri mai ai ki a au, me te Atua, ekore e na ki toku kikokiko.

23 E pai ra me i tuhituhia oku kupu, kia tuhituhia ki te pukapuka!

24 Kia kotia ki te pene rino me te mata ki te kowhatu, kia pumau tonu.

25 Kua matau ra hoki ahau, e ora ana toku Kaiwhakaora, a, ka tu mai hoki ia a te ra whakamutunga ki te whenua:

26 Ahakoa pau ngatahi toku hiako me toku tinana, tera ano toku kitenga i te Atua i toku kikokiko.

27 E kite ahau, i oku kanohi pu ano, haunga te tangata ke: nui ake toku ngakau te hiahia ki a ia.

28 Ka tika me i penei koutou, He aha i riri ai tatou ki a ia, kei a ia ano te take o te kupu.

29 Kia matakū koutou i te hoari: na te riri i pa mai ai te mamaetanga o te hoari, kia matau ai koutou ki te whakawa.

Upoko 20.

Ano ka korero a Howhara te Neamataite, ka mea,

2 No reira i whakaaro ai toku ngakau kia korero, i porangi ai ahau.

3 Kua rongu ahau ki toku whakakinonga, a, na te matauranga o toku ngakau i mea ai ahau kia korero.

4 Ekore koe e kite i tenei, i mua, i te tangata ano i te whenua?

5 E poto ana te haringa o te kino, a, ko te haringa a te tangata tinihanga mo te mo meniti anake.

6 Ahakoa kake tona rangatiratanga ki te rangi, ahakoa pa tona mahunga ki nga kapua.

7 E mahue rawa atu ia, ano he paru nona: ka penei ano ratou i kite i a ia, Keihea ia?

8 E memeha ra hoki ia, ano he moe, a, ekore e kitea; ae ra, e arumia ano ia, ano he moe no te po.

9 Ko te kitenga a te kanohi i a ia, heoi ano; a, heoi ano kitenga a tona wahi i a ia.

10 Ka rapu ona tamariki kia hari ai te hunga rawakore, a, ko ona ringaringa hei whakahoki i o ratou taonga.

11 Ka ki ona wheua i te kino o tona taitamarikitanga, e takoto ngatahi iho me ia ki te whenua.

12 Ahakoa reka te hara ki tona waha, ahakoa kuhua e ia ki raro ki tona arero;

13 Ahakoa tohungia e ia, [unclear: e] kore e mahue i a ia, otira, [unclear: k] waiho tonu ki tona mangai;

14 Ka meinga te kai o [unclear: ro] tona kopu, hei pawa [unclear: naka] i roto i a ia.

15 I horongia e ia nga [unclear: ta] nga, a, e whakaruakina [unclear: a] ano e ia: Ma te Atua e [unclear:

mak] nga taonga ki waho i [unclear: to] kopu.

16 Ka inu ia i te wai whakamate o nga nakahi, ko te [unclear: are] ro o te neke hei patu i aia.

17 Ekore ia e kite i nga awa, i nga waipuke, i [unclear: nga] awa o te honi me te pata.

18 Ko te mea i mahia e ia e tukua atu, ekore e horongia e ia: kia rite ki ona taonga te utu, a, ekore ano ia e hari.

19 Mo te mea kua tahae ia, kua whakarerea te hunga rawakore: i tangohia e ia te whare kihai ia i hanga.

20 He pono ra, ekore e [unclear: ta] tona manawa, ekore ia e kaha te tiaki i te mea i hiahia aia.

21 Ekore e toe tetahi o [unclear: a] kai, koia te rapu ai te ta [unclear: tang] i ona taonga.

22 Ahakoa whai rawa ia, e raruraru ano ra hoki ia: e pe ano ki a ia nga ringaringa ka toa o te whakatoi.

23 A ka mea ia kia whaka ki i tona kopu, na, ka panga e te Atua tona riri nui whaka harahara ki a ia, ka uaina ia, i a ia e kai ana.

24 Ka oma ia i te ringaringa rino, ma te kopere tira etua ai ia, puta atu.

25 Ka unuhia, ka [unclear: maunu i] tinana; ae ra hoki, ka [unclear: manu] te hoari kanapa i tona pawa: ka pa te tuiri ki a ia.

26 Ka tutohungia mona nga pouritanga katoa i ona wahi hama: ka pau ia i te kapura Kihai i puhia; ka mate te [unclear: tangata] e toe ana i tona whare.

27 Ko ie rangi hei whaki mai ona kino; a, ka whakatika te whenua ki aia.

28 E riro ano nga mea o tona whare; a, ka tere haere ona mea a te ra o te riri.

29 Na te Atua tenei ritenga mo te tangata kino, ko te putunga hoki kua tutohungia e ie Atua mona.

Upoko 21.

Ano ka korero a Hopa, ka mea,

2 Whakarongo pu mai ki taku reo, ko o koutou whakamarietanga tenei.

3 Iaua, kia korero ahau; a, muri iho i aku korero, ka tawai mai.

4 Ko taku amuamu, i ahu [unclear: u] ranei ki te tangata, a, na reira i aha, te pouri ai toku ngakau?

5 Titiro mai, miharo mai, meinga te ringaringa ki te ma[unclear: gai].

6 No toku maharatanga ano wehi ai ahau, kua hopukina oki toku kikokiko e te [unclear: tu]

7 Na te aha ra i ora tonu te *hunga* kino, a, koroheke pa, a, ka nui a ratou kaha?

8 Ka pumau o ratou uri ki

a ratou, me o ratou tamariki i to ratou aroaro.

9 Kahore he mataku i o ratou whare, kihai i pa te whiunga a te Atua ki runga k a ratou.

10 Ka eke ta ratou puru, ka whanau *tonu* a ratou kau, ekore e mate roto nga kuao.

11 Ka puta a ratou tamariki, ano he kahui hipi, ka haka a ratou tamariki.

12 Ka tango ratou i te timipera me te haapa, ka hari i te reo o te putorino.

13 Ka whai taonga ratou i o ratou ra, a, ekore e wheau ka haere iho ki te urupa.

14 Koia i mea ai ratou ki te Atua. Haere atu; ekore matou e hiahia ki ou ritenga.

15 Hei aha te Atua kaha, e mahi ai matou? he aha te utu mo matou, ki te mea ka inoi matou ki a ia?

16 ¶ Na, kahore he pai i o ratou ringaringa: kei tawhiti atu i ahau te runanga o te kino.

17 Ka hono tonu te pirautanga o te rama o te hunga kino! Ka hono tonu te paanga o te kino ki a ratou! ka tuhaina e te *Atua* nga mamae i tona riri.

18 Ka rite ratou ki te kakau e *puhia* ana e te hau, me te kopaki ina kawea e te pokaka.

19 E tutohungia ana e te Atua *te utu* o ana hara mo ana tamariki: ka utua ia e ia, a, ka matau ia.

20 E kite ano ona kanohi i tona matenga, ka inu ia i te riri a te Atua kaha.

21 He aha tona pai ki tona whare i muri i aia, i te kotinga rawatanga o ona marama i te waenganuitanga?

22 Kowai kia whakaako ki te Atua ki te matauranga? e whakawakia ana e ia te hunga whakakake.

23 He tangata ano ka mate i te pakaritanga o tona kaha, i roto ano i tona marietanga rawatanga,

24 Ka ki tona tinana i te ngako, ka ngawari ona wheua i te hinu *o roto*.

25 He tangata ano ka mate i te kawanga o tona wairua, ekore e reka tona kai.

26 Ka rite ta raua takotoranga iho ki te puehu; ka kapi ratou i te kutukutu.

27 Na, kua kite au i o koutou whakaaro, me o koutou ritenga he moku.

28 Ina, kua penei koutou, Keihea te whare o te piriniha? me nga nohoanga o te kino?

29 Kihai ranei koutou i ui ki a ratou e haere ana i te huarahi, a ekore koutou e matau ki a ratou tohu?

30 Kua tutohungia te hunga kino mo te ra o te whakamatenga? ka tukua mai ratou ki waho ki te ra o te riri.

31 Kowai hei whakapuaki i tona ritenga ki tona aroaro? Ma wai ia e utu mo ana mahinga?

32 A, e kawea ano hoki ia ki te urupa, ka [unclear: takoto ia] reira.

33 Ka reka ki a ia nga [unclear: ker]tu o te awaawa, ka kumea [unclear: bg] tangata katoa i muri [unclear: i aia], te mano tini i mua i aia.

34 He aha i hangareka [*unclear: ai*] koutou whakamarie, he he [*unclear: a*] kei to koutou korero.

Upoko 22.

Ano ka ki a [*unclear: Iraipaha*] Timanaite, ka mea.

2 Hei painga koia te [*unclear: tang*] ta mo te Atua, kia rite ki [*unclear: t*] te tangata painga mona ake?

3 Na tou tikanga [*unclear: ra*] hari ai te Atua kaha [*unclear: ra*] hei taonga mona tau hanga i tou ritenga kia tika?

4 He wehi ranei nona [*unclear: i*] ai koe e ia? ko korua [*unclear: nga*] ranei kia whakawa?

5 ¶ Kihai [*unclear: ranei i*] hara? me ou kino kihai [*unclear: ra*] i tino nui rawa?

6 Kua tango noa koe i [*unclear: te*] i tou whanaunga, [*unclear: kua*] ekoe nga kakahu o te hunga rawa kore.

7 Kihai koe i whakainu i te hunga mate wai, a, kihai koe i whangai i te *hunga* kai.

8 Tena ko te tangata [*unclear: wh*] ringaringa, i a ia te whenu a, nohoia ana te *whenua* e [*unclear: t*] tangata rangatira.

9 I turi koe ki te inoi a [*unclear: nga*] pouaru, i whatia hoki nga [*unclear: ri*] ngaringa o nga pani.

10 Koia koe i karapotia ai [*unclear: ki*] nga rore, a ka pa whakarere mai ki a koe te mataku.

11 Te pouritanga nui, a, te kite koe; ka ngaro koe i nga wai nunui.

12 Kahore ranei te Atua i runga i te rangi? a, kia kite koe ki te tawhiti o nga whetu, kei runga rawa!

13 A, ka mea koe, He aha i matau ai te Atua? e kite ranei ia i roto i te kapua mangu?

14 Ko nga kapua mangu hei whakangaro i aia, te kite ai ia; kei te rangi ano hoki ona haerenga.

15 Kua mahara pu ranei koe ki te huarahi ta whitō i haere ai nga tangata kino?

16 I kotia iho i te taima, i ngaro to ratou tunga i te waipuke:

17 I mea ratou ki te Atua, Haere atu i a matou: he aha ta te Atua kaha e mea ai ki a ratou?

18 Otira, i whakakīia o ratou whare e ia ki nga mea papai: tena ko te runanga a te *kino*, kei tawhiti atu i a au.

19 Ka kite nga tangata tika, ka hari; ka kataina putia ratou e nga tangata tika.

20 Ko to matou kainga, kahore ano i whakamatea, tena, ko to ratou toenga, kua pau i te ahi.

21 Whakaaro koe ki te Atua, kia rangimarie ai koe; ko i reira puta mai ai te pai ki a koe.

22 Kia tango rapea koe ki te ture i tona mangai, a, kia whaoa ona kupu ki tou ngakau.

23 Ki te mea ka tahuri koe ki te Atua, ko reira ora ai koe: mau e panera ki tawhiti nga hara i tou tapenakara.

24 Ko reira whaoa ai e koe te koura, ano he puehu, me nga koura o Opira, ano he kowhatu no nga awa.

25 Ko te Atua kaha, hei pa mou, a, ka nui te hiriwa ki a koe.

26 Ko reira koe whiwhi ai ki tou haringa ki te Atua Kaha; ka whakaanga ake i tou kanohi ki te Atua.

27 Ka hanga koe i tou inoi ki a ia, ka rongō ia ki a koe, a, ka rite hoki au i korero ai *ki a ia*.

28 He mea ano, mau e titohu, na, ka pumau ano ki a koe; a, ka whiti te marama ki runga ki ou haerenga.

29 Ka hinga iho te tangata, ka mea koe, Tenei te hapainga; mana ano e whakaora te tangata kua pouri ona kanohi.

30 Mana e whakaora te whenua o te hara kore, a, na te ma o ona ringaringa i ora ai.

Upoko 23.

Ano ka ki a Hopa ka mea,

2 I tenei ra pu ano e nui ana toku mate: puta atu ano toku whiunga i toku tare.

3 E pai ra, me i matau ahau ki te wahi e kitea ai ia; kia tau ahau ki tona nohoanga.

4 Ko reira korero ai ahau i tona aroaro, ka maha nga kupu o toku mangai.

5 Ko reira kite ai ahau i nga kupu i ki mai ai ia, ka matau hoki ki tana e korero ai ki a au.

6 ¶ E tohe mai ranei ia ki a au i tona kaha nui? Kahore, otira, e homai e ia te kaha ki a au.

7 Ko reira pai ai te tohe a te *tangata* tika ki a ia; ko reira ora tonu ai ahau i toku kaiwhakawa.

8 ¶ Na, ka haere ahau ki mua, otira, kahore ia *i reira*; a, ki muri ano, otiia, ekore au e kite i a ia.

9 Ki te ringaringa maui e mahi nei ia, otira, ekore ahau e kite i a ia: ka huna ia i a ia ki te ringaringa matau, te kite ai au i a ia.

10 Otira, e matau ana ia ki te tikanga i a au: a, ka mutu tona whakamatautau i a au, na, ka puta ahau, ano he koura.

11 ¶ Kua u toku waewae i ona takahanga, i tika tonu a hau ki ona huarahi, kihai i poka ke.

12 A, kihai ahau i whakarere i nga tononga a ona ngutu; ko toku pai ki nga kupu o tona mangai, puta atu i toku pai ki taku kai.

13 ¶ Otira, kotahi ano ona whakaaro, a, e taea e wai te whaka kahore? ko tana e hiahia ai ia, e meinga ano e ia.

- 14 E whakapakaritia ana e ia toku putunga: ka maha nga mea pena i a ia.
15 Koia ahau i aue ai i tona aroaro: ka mahara ahau, ka wehi ki a ia.
16 Na te Atua i whakangawari toku ngakau, a, ka pouri ahau i te Atua Kaha:
17 Kihai hoki i whakamatea ahau e te Atua kua rokohanga e te pouri, kahore ano i ngaro noa te pouri i toku kanohi.

Upoko 24.

He aha ra te kite ai i [unclear: on] ra, te hunga e [unclear: mata] ana ki a ia? mo te mea [unclear: eko] e ngaro i te Atua Kaha [unclear: nga] taima.

2 Ka meinga ketia nga [unclear: tak] whenua e etahi; ka [unclear: tang] e ratou nga kahui *hipi*, ka whangainga.

3 Ka whiua ketia e ratou [unclear: t] kaihe a nga pani, ka tango ratou i te okiha a nga pouaru hei utu maukau.

4 E araia ana e ratou te huarahi o te hunga rawakore; ko nga moka o te [unclear: when] piri tahi ana.

5 Na, me nga kaihe [unclear: puh] te koraha ta ratou haerenga ki te mahi; ka ara wawe [unclear: ki] patu: ko te koraha kai [unclear: ai ra] tou me a ratou tamariki.

6 E tangohia ana e [unclear: ra] ona witi i te mara; ka [unclear: pah] tia nga mara waina e te hunga hara.

7 Na ratou i moe [unclear: kau ai] hunga kakahu kore, [unclear: kaho] he hipokitanga mo te [unclear: mak] riri.

8 Ka maku ratou i nga [unclear: p] ka ka o nga maunga, ka [unclear: h] ki nga kowhatu, hei [unclear: wha] maru i a ratou.

9 Ka tangohia e ratou nga pani i te u, ka tango i te utu maukau ate hunga rawakore.

10 Na ratou i haere kau ai *te hunga* kakahu kore, ka riro i a ratou te paiere *witi* a te *hunga* hiakai.

11 E hanga hinu ana i roto i o ratou pa, ka takahi i o ratou pukoro waina, he mate wai to ratou.

12 Ka tare nga tangata i te pa, ka tangi te wairua o te *hunga* i patua: otira, kahore ano te Atua i mea noa, he hara to *ratou*.

13 No te hunga e whakakake ana ki te maramatanga ratou; ekore ratou e matau ki ona tikanga, ekore e pumau i ona ritenga.

14 Ka ara te kaikohuru i te *aonga* o te ra ka patu i te hunga e mate ana, e rawakore ana, a, i te po ano, ka mahi ia? ki te tahae.

15 Ka tatari te kanohi o te puremu ki te kakauritanga, i ka mea, Ekore te kanohi e kite mai: ka hipoki i tona kanohi.

16 A, ka pouri, ka keru ratou, ka tomo ki nga whare i tutohutia e ratou i te awatea, ekore ratou e mahi i te awatea.

17 ¶ Na, ko te ata, ko te atarangi *ia* o te mate ki a ratou; ki te kitea ratou, ka pa te tuiro o te atarangi o te mate.

18 Kahohoro ia, ano he waipuke, ka mauaharatia to ratou wahi i te whenua: ekore ia e kite i nga ritenga o nga mara waina.

19 Ko te paki, me te werawera, hei whakapau i nga wai o te hukarere, ka pena ano te urupa, ki te hunga kua hara.

20 Ka wareware ki a ia te whaea; ka reka te kai a nga kutukutu i a ia; ekore ia e maharatia, ake, ake; ka whati te kino, ano he rakau.

21 Ka kino tona mahi ki nga pakoko ekore e whanau, a, ekore e mahi pai ki nga pouaru.

22 Ka kumea e ia nga *tangata* kaha ki tona kaha: ka whakatika ia, na, kahore he tangata e matau ki te orange.

23 Ahakoa whakawhirinaki ia ki a ratou kua tukua mai ki a ia, e titiro tonu ana ona kanohi ki a ratou ritenga.

24 E taima nohinohi e kake ai ratou, na, ka hemo, ka tukua iho: e tangohia ana ratou me era atu katoa, ka toronaihitia ratou, ano he witi kua pakari.

25 He tika oti tenei? na, kowai hei whakateka ki a au, ka mea mai, he hangareka aku kupu?

Upoko 25.

A No ka ki a Pirirara, te Huhaite, ka mea,

2 Kei a ia te Rangatiratanga me te wehi; e hanga ana e ia te rangimarietanga i ona wahi tiketike.

3 E taea te tatau ona taua, a, kowai te tangata ekore e kite i te morungatanga o tona ra?

4 Ka, me pehea ka mea ai, E tika ana te tangata ki te Atua? me pehea ranei ka ma ai, te tangata i whanau i

te wahine?

5 Tirohia te marama, ekore e whiti; na, ekore e ma nga whetu ki tana titiro.

6 Tena ko te tangata, te toke! me te tamaiti o te tangata, te toke!

Upoko 26.

Ano ka ki a Hopa, ka mea,

2 Kua pehea tou whakakaha i te tangata ngoikore? E pehea ana tau whakaora i te tangata kahore ona kaha?

3 Kua pehea tou whaka ako i te kuware? a, kua rahi tou whakapuaki i te tikanga!

4 Kua korero nei koe ki a wai? I ahu mai i a koe te wairua o wai?

5 Ka tupu ano nga mea mate i raro iho i nga wai, me o reira mea ora hoki.

6 Ki tana titiro, e takoto kau ana te reinga, a, hore he ngaromanga mo te mate.

7 E horahia ana eia te rangi ki te wahi puare, ka whakairia te whenua ki runga ki te kahoretanga noatanga.

8 E takaia ana e ia nga wai ki ana kapua pouri; a, kihai te kapua i pakore iho.

9 E purutia atu ana e ia te aroaro o tona torona; ka hipokia ki tana kapua.

10 Kua taiepatia nga wai ki te kaha, kia mutu ra [unclear: ano] me te po.

11 Ko nga pou o te rangi [unclear: e] ngaueue ana, e uhe ana i [unclear: t] riri.

12 Ka wehea e ia te [unclear: m] ki tona kaha, a, na tona [unclear: m] tauranga i patu haere ai ia [unclear: i] *hunga* whakakake, a, puta [unclear: n] atu.

13 Na tona Wairua ano, whakapaipaingia ai nga [unclear: ran] na tona ringaringa ano i [unclear: han] ai te nakahi pikopiko.

14 Na, ko etahi enei [unclear: o] mahinga: he wahi [unclear: noh] ano? otira, e taea e [unclear: wai] whakaaro, te [unclear: whatitiri o] Atua kaha?

Upoko 27.

A Ka tohe ano a *Hopa* ki tana ki, ka mea,

2 E ora ana te Atua [unclear: kaha] kahore ai he whaka [unclear: wakang] moku; me te Atua [unclear: kaha] kawa ai toku wairua;

3 Na, kei au ano toku ral [unclear: nawa], a, ko te wairua ano [unclear: o] te Atua kei oku [unclear: pong] nga;

4 Na, ekore oku ngutu [unclear: e] korero kino, ekore toku [unclear: aro] e korero hianga.

5 Ekore ahau e mea, he [unclear: ti] ta koutou, ekore e hemo [unclear: to] tikanga, a, mate noa.

6 Ko taku tikanga ka puritia e ahau, ekore e tukua [unclear: at] ekore toku ngakau e whakakino i a au i toku oranga.

7 Kia rite toku hoa whawha ki te tangata kino, ko [unclear: te] hoki e whaka tika ana ki [unclear: u], kia pera me te tangata ka kore.

8 He aha hoki te tumanakoinga o te tangata hianga, hakoia whiwhi ia, ua tangohia te Atua tona wairua?

9 E rongorangi te Atua ki ana tangi, ua pa te kino ki aia.

10 E hari ranei ia ki te Atua kaha? e pumau ranei tana [unclear: noi] ki te Atua?

11 Maku koutou e whaka [unclear: ko] ki te ringaringa o te Atua: ko te mea kei te Atua kaha, ekore e huna e ahau.

12 Na, kua kite ra hoki [unclear: kouou] katoa, a, he aha koutou ka tino hangareka ai?

13 Ko te putunga tenei mo te tangata kino i te Atua, me te [unclear: nati] ano mo te *hunga* whakamate, e homai eia ki a ratou.

14 Ki te mea e tokomaha ana tamariki, na, mo te hoari ratou, a, ekore e makona ana [unclear: mariki] i te taro.

15 Ko ona ano e toe ana, e tanumia ano ki te mate, a, e kore ona pouaru e tangi.

16 Ahakoa purangatia nga [unclear: riwa], ano he puehu, ahakoa whatua nga kakahu kia rite kite oneone;

17 Mana ano e hanga, otira, e kakahuria e te tangata tika; ko te *hunga* tika hoki, hei taha i nga hiriwa.

18 E hanga ana e ia tona whare, ano he huhu, ano he wharau e hanga ana e te kai tiaki *mura*.

19 E takoto iho te tangata whai taonga, otira, ekore e whai huhunga; ka titiro kau ake ia, a, kua kahore.

20 Ka mau nga whakamataku i a ia, ano he waipuke, ka tahaetia ia e te pokaka i te po.

21 Ka puhia ketia ia e Urokaraiona, ka riro ia: ano he awhiowhio, hei ope i a ia i tona wahi.

22 Ma te Atua ia e epa, ekore e tohutohu: ka nui tona hiahia kia maunu i tona ringaringa.

23 Ka pakipaki nga ringaringa o *nga tangata* ki a ia, ka whakahihitia ia i tona wahi.

Upoko 28.

- Tera ano te putanga o te hiriwa, a, he wahi ano to te koura e tahuna ana kia pai.
- 2 Ko te rino, e tangohia ake ana ia i te whenua, a, e tahuna ana te parahi i te ko whatu.
- 3 Nana ka whai whakamutunga ai te pouri, a, rapua ana e ia te pakaritanga katoatanga; nga kowhatu o te pouritanga, me te atarangi o te mate.
- 4 Ka pakaru ake te wai ki nga tangata; nga wai i wareware ai te waewae: ka mimiti ano, ka pahure ano i nga tangata.
- 5 E tupu ake ana te kai i te oneone, a, ka hurihia ake i raro i reira nga mea pena me te kapura.
- 6 Ko nga kowhatu o reira ko te takotoranga o nga hapaira! kei reira te puehu o te koura.
- 7 He huarahi ano, kahore ano i kite noa tetahi o nga manu, kahore ano i kite noa te kanohi o te kahu.
- 8 Kahore ano i haere noa nga kuao o te raiona; kahore ano te raiona riri i puta ki reira.
- 9 Ka whakamarokia tona ringaringa ki te kowhatu, e hurihia ana e ia nga maunga i o ratou tunga.
- 10 Ka haua e ia nga kowhatu hei awa, ka kite tona kanohi i nga mea tino pai katoa.
- 11 E purutia ana e ia nga waipuke kei pakaru; a, ko nga mea ano i ngaro ka whakaputaia e ia ki te maramatanga.
- 12 ¶ Otira, kohea kitea ai te whakaaro marama? a, keihea te wahi o te matauranga?
- 13 Ekore te tangata e matau ki te ritenga o te utu mo *tena mea*, ekore e kitea i te whenua o te ora.
- 14 Ka mea te hohonu, Kahore i a au, ka mea ano te moana, Kahore i a au.
- 15 Ekore e riro mai i te koura: ekore e paunatia te hiriwa hei hoko ki aia.
- 16 Maumau ia kia whakaritea ki te koura o Opira, ki te onika utu nui, ki te hapaira.
- 17 Ko te koura me te hauhunga ekore e rite ki a ia, ekore ia e riro ki nga ipu koura pai.
- 18 Ekore e whakahuatia te korara me nga peara; mo te mea e puta atu ana te pai o te matauranga i nga rupi.
- 19 Ekore e rite ki a ia [*unclear: te*] topaha o Itiopia, ekore e whakaritea ki a ia te tino koura.
- 20 Na, keihea te wahi e puta mai ai te tohunga tanga? [*unclear: a*], keihea te wahi o te matauranga?
- 21 Ina kua ngaro ia i nga kanohi o te *hunga* ora, kua piri pu hoki i nga manu o te rangi.
- 22 Ka mea ano a Aparona raua ko Mate, Kua rongo [*unclear: o*] maua taringa i tona ingoa.
- 23 E matau ana te Atua i tona ritenga, e kite ana [*unclear: ki*] ia ki tona wahi.
- 24 Mo te mea e [*unclear: titiro*] hoki ia ki nga topito o te ao; e kite ana hoki i nga wahi katoa i raro i te rangi.
- 25 Kia hanga te taimahatanga mo nga hau; a, paunatia ana e ia nga wai ki te mehua.
- 26 I tona hanganga i ritenga mo te ua, me te ritenga mo te uira o te whatitiri.
- 27 No reira i kitea ai e ia, i korerotia ai, a, taka ana e ia; ara i rapua ano e ia.
- 28 A, ka mea ia ki te tangata. Na, ko te wehi o te [*unclear: Ariki*], tohungatanga; ko te mahuetanga o te kino te matauranga.

Upoko 29.

- A Ka tohe ano a Hopa ki tana ki, ka mea,
- 2 Me i penei me nga marama ka mahue nei, me nga ra i tiaki ai te Atua i a au;
- 3 I te tiahotanga o tona rama ki toku mahunga, na tona rama i puta ai ahau i te pouri;
- 4 Me i penei me au i toku taitamarikitanga, i te whakaminenga o nga tangata o te Atua ki toku tapenakara;
- 5 I te wahi i noho ai te Atua ki a au, i te wahi e noho ana oku tamariki ki ahau.
- 6 I te horoinga o oku waewae ki te pata, me te ringihanga mai ki au o nga awa hinu i te wahi kowhatu.
- 7 I taku haerenga atu ki te kuwaha i te pa; i taku whakapainga i toku nohoanga i te huarahi.
- 8 I kite nga taitamariki ki ahau, ka piri; ka whakatika nga kaumatua, ka tu ki runga.
- 9 I mutu te korero a nga piriniha, i meinga te ringaringa ki o ratou mangai.
- 10 I ngaro ano te reo o nga rangatira, ka piri o ratou arero ki te taha ki runga o o ratou mangai.
- 11 Ka rongo te taringa ki a au, ka whakapai mai; ka kite te kanohi i a au, ka whaki mai ki a au.
- 12 Mo taku whakaoranga i te hunga rawakore i tangi; me nga pani, me te hunga kahore he whakawhirinakitanga.
- 13 Ko tera i ora noa i te mate, ka whakapai ki a au: Naku i waiata ai te ngakau o te wahine pouaru i te hari.
- 14 I kakahuria e ahau te tikanga, ka oti au te ka kahu; i rite toku whakawa ki te kakahu pai, me te karauna.
- 15 Ko ahau hei kai arahi mo te *hunga* matapo, hei waewae ahau mo nga kopiri.
- 16 Ko au hei matua mo nga tangata rawakore; a, ko te mea te matau ahau, i rapua e ahau.
- 17 A, whatiia ana e ahau nga kauae o te kino, tangohia ana nga mea pahua i ona niho.
- 18 Na, ka mea ahau, hei toku ohanga ahau mate ai, a, me te onepu ano te maha o oku ra.
- 19 I tupu toku pakiaka ki nga wai; i kapi hoki oku manga i te tomairangi, a, ao noa te ra.
- 20 I hou tonu toku kororia i roto i a au, I hou ano toku kopere i toku ringaringa.
- 21 I whakarongo ano nga tangata ki ahau, i tatari ano, i whakarongo tonu ki taku ako.

- 22 Ka mutu taku korero, kihai ratou i korero; ka tau toku reo ki runga ki a ratou.
 23 I tatari hoki ratou ki a hau, ano he ua; ka kohera o ratou mangai, ano he *hiahia* ki te ua o muri.
 24 Ka kata ahau ki a ratou, kihai ratou i whakakake, kihai i whakapouritia te maramatanga o toku kanohi.
 25 Naku te ritenga mo koutou, ka noho ahau hei rangatira; ko ahau te kingi o te taua, ka pena me te hunga whakamarie i te hunga tangi.

Upoko 30.

Tena ko tenei, kua tawaia ahau e nga tamariki, ko o ratou matua, kihai i tika kia meinga e au, hei kai whangai mo nga kuri i tiakina ai aku hipi.

- 2 Hei aha moku te kaha o nga ringaringa o ratou ekore e kitea te kaumatuatanga?
 3 Na te rawakore ano, na te mate kai, i pouri ai ratou; oma ana ki te koraha i mua, ki te wahi mokemoke kahore he ngakinga.
 4 Ka kohikohi i nga tarutaru kawa, i te taha o nga puia, me nga pakiaka hunipa, hei kai ma ratou.
 5 I peia ratou ki waho o nga tangata, (ka whakatupatoria mo ratou ano he tahae;)
 6 Ka noho ki nga pari o nga awaawa, ki nga ana o te whenua, ki nga kowhatu.
 7 Ka tangi ratou i roro i te ururua, i noho tahi ratou i raro i te tataramoa.
 8 He tamariki ratou no nga kuware, he tamariki hoki no te ware; tera atu to ratou kino i to te oneone.
 9 A, ko au nei ano, ta ratou waiatatanga; ko au hei tawainga ma ratou.
 10 Ka whakarihariha ratou ki a au, ka oma ki tawhiti, ekore e wehi ki te tuha ki toku kanohi.
 11 Na te mea kua wewete ia i taku aho, kua whakamamae i a au, koia i wetekia ai e ratou te parai te i toku aroaro.
 12 Ka whakatika mai i toku ringaringa matau nga taitamariki, ka whakahinga i oku waewae, ka rauiritia o ratou maioro hei whakamate i a au.
 13 Ka whakakino ratou i toku ara, ka whakanui i toku mate, kahore he hoa moku.
 14 Ka haere mai ratou, ka pakaru nui mai ano he waipuke, ka pehi mai ratou hei whakamate.
 15 Kua pa mai te wehi: ka aru ratou i toku wairua, ano he hau: ka mahea toku orange, ano he kapua.
 16 Waihoki, ka maringi toku wairua i roto i a au; ka mau ahau i nga ra o te mamaetanga.
 17 Ka okaia oku wheua i roto i a au i nga po; kahore he maretanga mo oku uaua.
 18 Na te kaha nui i whai pirau ai toku kakahu, ka piri ki a au, ka penei me te kaki o toku koti.
 19 Kua panga ahau e ia ki te paru, kua rite hoki au kite puehu me te pungarehu.
 20 Ka tangi ahau ki a koe, a, ekore koe e rongu mai; e whakatika ana ahau, otira, e kore koe e anga mai.
 21 Kua pakeke mai koe ki a au; e kahakina ana ahau ki tou ringaringa kaha.
 22 Ka hapai koe i a au ki te hau; nau ka eke ai au ki reira; ka hemo toku kaha.
 23 Kua kite au, ka riro au i a koe ki te mate, ki te whare hoki i meinga mo nga tangata katoa.
 24 Otira, ekore e whakamarokia tona ringaringa ki te urupa, ahakoa tangi ratou i tona whakamatenga.
 25 Kihai ranei au i tangi mona, i aia e pouri ana? kihai ranei au i aroha mo te *hunga* rawakore?
 26 I a au e titiro ana ki tetahi pai, ka puta mai i reira te kino: i a au ano e tatari ana ki te marama, kua puta mai te pouri.
 27 I koropupu ano toku manawa, kihai hoki i tatu; i a raia ahau e nga ra o te pouritanga.
 28 I haere tangi kau ahau, kahore he ma ramatanga: i whakatika ahau, ka tangi i roto i te whakamenenga.
 29 Hei whanaunga ahau mo nga kiwi, hei hoa mo nga koukou.
 30 Kua mangu nei ano toku *hiako*, kua ka hoki oku wheua i te pawerawera.
 31 Kua meinga toku haapa hei whakamomoritanga, me toku okana hei reo mo ratou e tangi ana.

Upoko 31.

- Kua hanga ta mana kawenata ko oku kanohi, he aha ina ka titiro ai ahau ki te kotiro?
 2 He aha hoki te putunga a te Atua i runga? te wahi ranei o runga a te Atua kaha?
 3 Ekore ranei e pa te whakamatenga ki te *hunga* hara? me te mamaetanga nuitanga ki te kai mahi i te kino?
 4 Ekore ranei ia e kite i oku haerenga, ka tatau ano i oku whakarakanga.
 5 Me he mea kua haere au me te tinihanga, ara ki te mea kua hohoro oku waewae ki te hianga;
 6 Na, kia paunatia ahau e ia ki te patina tika, kia kite te Atua i toku tikanga.
 7 Ki te mea, kua hikoi ke toku waewae i te ara, Kua aru ranei toku ngakau ki oku kanohi, ki te mea kua poke oku ringaringa;
 8 Penei, ka rui ahau, ka kai te tangata ke; ara kia hutia ake aku whakatupunga.
 9 Ki te mea kua he toku ngakau i te wahine, kua whakapapa ranei au i tahaki o te whatitoka o te tangata noho tata;

- 10 Na, ka pai kia huri paraoa toku wahine ma te tangata ke, kia takoto iho ranei tetahi atu ki aia.
- 11 Mo te mea, he hara nui tenei; ara he kino nui ki nga kaiwhakawa.
- 12 He kapura tena e ka, a, pau ake: ka hutia e *tera* aku whakatupunga ka toa.
- 13 Ki te mea i pakeke ahau ki taku pononga tane, ki taku pononga wahine ranei, i a raua i tohe mai ki a au;
- 14 Na, ka pehea ahau, ua whakatika te Atua? a tona taenga mai hoki, kia pehea taku e mea atu ai?
- 15 Ehara ranei i te kaihanga i a au i hanga ai ia i roto i ye kopu? ehara ranei ia i hanga ai maua ngatahi i te kopu kotahi?
- 16 Ki te mea kua puritia e ahau te hunga rawakore, kei puta ta ratou hiahia, naku ranei i pau ai nga kanohi o nga pouaru;
- 17 Ki te mea kua pau i a au anake toku wahi, a, kahore nga pani i kai tahi;
- 18 (No toku nohinohinga i noho tahi ai maua, ano he matua, no te tiaki i aia ahau i te putanga mai i te kopu o te whaea:)
- 19 Ki te mea kua kite au i te matenga o etahi i te kakahu kore, he hunga rawakore kahore he kakahu;
- 20 Ki te mea kahore ano i whakapai noa mai tona ngakau, ki te mea kihai ia i mahana i nga huruhuru o oku hipi;
- 21 Ki te mea kua patu ahau i nga pani i toku nohoanga i te whare whakawa;
- 22 Penei, kia motu ke toku ringaringa i toku pokowhiwhi, kia whati hoki toku ringaringa i te wheua.
- 23 Ko te whakamatenga a te Atua i wehi ai au; na tona tiketike, te manawanui ai au.
- 24 Ki te mea kua waiho e a hau te koura hei tumanakotanga moku, kua mea ranei ki te koura pai, ko koe hei okiokinga moku;
- 25 Ki te mea i hari ahau mo te nuinga o aku taonga, mo te mea kua whiwhi nui toku ringaringa;
- 26 Ki te mea ka titiro au ki te ra e whiti mai ana, te marama ranei e puta mai ana me tona maramatanga;
- 27 A, ka hiahia puku ano toku ngakau, kua momi ranei au ki toku ringaringa;
- 28 Na, he hara nui tena, e meingatia e te kai whakawa: penei, kua whakahe ahau ki te Atua o runga.
- 29 Me he mea i hari ahau ki te whakamatenga o tera i kaweriri mai ki a au, ki te meai whakatika ahau i tona hopukanga e te kino;
- 30 Kihai i tukua toku mangai kia kanga ki tona wairua;
- 31 Ki te mea i tahae au ki nga tangata o toku whare i a ratou e penei mai ana, Homai tetahi kinaki, kahore ano matou i makona;
- 32 (Kihai i moe te manuwahiri ki waho: i uakina oku tatau ki nga tira.)
- 33 Me i whaka wareware a hau i oku kino, ano ko Arama, ka huna i taku hara ki roto ki toku ngakau:
- 34 I matakau ranei au kite taua nui, i wehi ranei au ki te whakakinonga a nga hapu, te puta ai au ki waho o te kuwaha?
- 35 Whakarongo mai tetahi ki ahau! Na, ko taku hiahia tenei, kia whakaae mai te Atua kaha ki a au; he pai kia tuhituhia e toku hoa whawhai tetahi pukapuka:
- 36 Kia meinga e ahau ki toku pokowhiwhi, kia puritia e ahau, hei karauna moku.
- 37 Maku e korero ki aia te, maha o aku whakara kanga: ka haere tata atu ahau ki aia, ano he piriniha.
- 38 Ki te mea kua tangi toku whenua i a au, ka amuamu ranei nga ngakinga;
- 39 Ki te mea kihai i utua e ahau ki te moni te paunga o i tona kaha, i meinga ranei e au nga tangata o te kainga kia mate:
- 40 Penei, kia tupu ake te puwaha, hei witi: me nga tarutaru kino hei paare. Ko nga kupu o Hopa, kua mutu.

Upoko 32.

- Aka mutu te tohe a nga; tangata tokotoru nei, mo te mea, ki tona whakaaro, e tika ana ia.
- 2 Mei reira ka toro te ngakau o Iraihi, te tamaiti o Parakera te Puhaita, no nga whanaunga o Rama i riri tona ngakau ki a Hopa, mo tana meatanga, e tika ana tona wairua i te aroaro o te Atua.
- 3 I riri hoki ia ki ona whanaunga tokotoru, mo te mea, kahore a ratou kupu whakahoki, he whakapae kau a ratou ki a Hopa.
- 4 I tatari ano a Iraihi kia mutu te korero a Hopa, mo te mea, i kaumatua ake ratou i aia.
- 5 A, ka kite a Iraihi, kahore he kupu whakahokinga a nga tangata tokotoru nei, ka puta tona ngakau.
- 6 Na, ka ki a Iraihi te tamaiti a Parakera te Puhaita, ka mea, He tamariki ahau, he tino kaumatua koutou, koia a han i wehi ai, a, te puta taku whakaaro.
- 7 Ka mea au, ma nga ra e korero, ma te maha o nga tau e whakaako ki te tohungatanga.
- 8 Otira, he wairua to te tangata: a, ko te haanga a te Atua kaha ki roto, i whai matauranga ai ratou.
- 9 Ekore nga tangata nunui katoa e matau: ekore hoki e matau nga kaumatua ki te whakawa.
- 10 Koia ahau i mea ai, Whakarongo mai ki a au; maku hoki e korero taku whakaaro.
- 11 Na, i tatari ahau ki o koutou kupu; i whakarongo ahau ki o koutou matauranga, i a koutou e rapu ana ki

nga kupu.

- 12 Ara, i whakarongo ahau ki a koutou, a, na, ekore e he a Hopa i a koutou, kahore ano i utua ana kupu:
- 13 Kei penei koutou, kua kite matou i te matauranga, na te Atua ia i turaki, ehara i te tangata.
- 14 Na, kahore ano ia i korero mai ki a au; ekore hoki au e korero atu i a koutou kupu ki aia.
- 15 Ka miharo ratou, heoi ano te whakahokinga: ka mutu a ratou korero.
- 16 Ano ka tatari ahau, (kihai ratou i korero, i whakarongo kau mai, kahore he kupu;)
- 17 Na, ka mea ahau, Maku ano taku wahi, maku e whakapuaki taku whakaaro.
- 18 He maha aku kupu, ko te wairua i roto i a au e whakahiahia ana i a au.
- 19 Na, e rite ana toku kopu ki te waina e purua ana; ka whano ka pakaru, ano he pounamu hou.
- 20 Maku e korero, kia ora ahau; ka hamama toku waha, ka korero.
- 21 Ka mea atu ahau ekore au e wehi ki te tangata, aua a hau e ho atu i nga ingoa whakapati mo te tangata.
- 22 Ekore au e kite ki te ho atu i nga ingoa whakapati mo te tangata; ka riro wawe au te tango e te kai hanga

i a au.

Upoko 33.

Tena, e Hopa, whakarongo mai ki aku kupu, kia rongu ano ki aku korero katoa.

2 Na, ka hamama toku waha, ka korero toku arero i toku mangai.

3 Ko aku kupu ko te tikanga o toku ngakau, ka tika te korero o oku ngutu ki te matauranga.

4 Na te wairua o te Atua a hau i hanga, a, na te haanga a te Atua kaha i homai ki au te oranga.

5 E ahei koe te whakahoki mai, na, me whakarite ou kupu i toku aroaro, whakatika.

6 Na, ko au hei hoa korero mou: he mea hanga hoki au e te Atua ki te oneone.

7 Ekore ra koe e matakau ki te wehi oku, ekore hoki toku ringaringa e taimaha ki runga ki a koe.

8 Kua korero ano koe i toku aroaro; kua rongu ahau ki te reo o au kupu, kua penei,

9 Ka ma ahau, hore aku kapenga; e hara kore ana a hau, kahore hoki he kino i roto i ahau.

10 Otira, e whakapae ana ia ki a au, ka mea ia, ko tona hoa whawhai ahau.

11 Kua maka e ia oku waewae ki te hereherenga, e whakapapa ana ia i oku haerenga.

12 Na, kihai i tika tena a au: maku e mea atu, e nui ake ana te Atua i te tangata.

13 He aha tau e tohe ki aia? ekore ia e whakapuaki mai i ana ritenga.

14 Nga korerotanga a te Atua, katahi, karua, ekore te tangata e mohio.

15 I te moe ano, i te whakakitenga o te po; ina parangianga tangata, i nga tune whatanga i te moenga;

16 Ko reira whakapuaretia ai eia nga taringa o te tangata, ka hiritia hoki to ratou whakamatauranga.

17 Kia puritia te tangata i ana mahi, kia ngaro ai te whakakake a te tangata.

18 E puritia ana e ia tona tinana kei riro ki te urupa, me tona oranga kei mate i te hoari.

19 E mate ana hoki ia i te mamae i runga i tona moenga, me ona tini wheua i te mamae nui.

20 A, ka whakarihariha ia ki te taro, ka kawa tona waha ki nga mea reka katoa.

21 Ka hemo tona kikokiko, ekore e kitea; ko ona wheua i ngaro kua puta kau ki waho.

22 E whakatata ana tona tinana ki te urupa, me tona oranga ki te mate.

23 Ki te mea he karere tona, he kaiwhakamaori, ahakoa kotahi anake o te mano, hei whakaatu i te tangata ki te tikanga

24 Penei, ka aroha ia ki aia, ka mea, Whakaoranga ia kei haere iho ki te poka, kua kite au i te utu.

25 Ka whakahoutia tona kikokiko, ano he tamari ki; ka hoki ia ki nga ra o tona tamarikitanga;

26 Mana e inoi ki te Atua, a, ka pai ia ki aia; ka kite hoki ia i tona kanohi, ka hari; mo te mea e utua e ia te tangata mo tona tikanga.

27 Ka titiro ia ki te tangata, a, ka whaki tetahi, ka mea', Kua hara ahau, kua be i ahau te mea i tika, a, kibai pai,

28 Penei, ka wawao ia i tona wairua kei hekeiho ki te wharua, a, ka kite tona oranga i te maramatanga.

29 Na, be tini nga peneitanga a te Atua ki te tangata,

30 Kia whakahokia mai tona wairua i te wharua, kiamarama i te maramatanga o te oranga.

31 Mahara mai, e Hopa, whakarotigo mai ki au: kati tau, kia korero abau.

32 Ki te mea e whai kupu ina koe, meinga mai: korero, mo te mea, e pai ana ahau kia tika koe.

33 Ki te kahore, na, me whakarongo mai ki a au: kati tau, a, ka ako au i akoe ki te matauranga.

Upoko 34.

Ka korero ano a Iraihi, ka mea,

2 Kia rongu ki aku kupu, e koutou, e nga tangata matau; whakaanga mai te taringa ki abau, e koutou e matau ana.

- 3 E whakamatautau ana te taringa ki te kupu, me te mangai e reka ana ki te kai.
- 4 Kia pai tatou ki te whakawa: kia kite tatou katoa i te mea e pai ana.
- 5 I penei ano a Hopa, e tika ana abau, na te Atua te whakawakia ai abau.
- 6 Kia whakakino noa ranei abau ki toku tikanga? He rahi toku tungai te kopere i runga i te hara koretanga.
- 7 Kowai te tangata e rite ana ki a Hopa, e inu ana i te tawai ano he wai?
- 8 E haere tahi nei ratou ko nga tangata mabi kino, ka haere tahi rae nga tangata bara.
- 9 Kua mea ano ia, Kahore he pai mo te tangata me ka hari ia ki te Atua.
- 10 Waihoki, kia rongu koutou ki a au, e nga tangata matau nui nei; kia atea te hara i te Atua, rae te kino i te Atua kaha.
- 11 E utua hoki e ia te mahi a te tangata, a, ka kite te tangata katoa rite tonu ki a ratou ritenga.
- 12 Ara, e kino a te Atua mahi; ekore hoki te Atua e whakahe i te whakawakanga.
- 13 Kowai hei mea ki aia kia tiaki ia i te whenua? Na wai ra nei i whakarite te ao katoa?
- 14 Ki te mea ka whakangakau ia ki te tangata, katangohia ano ki aia tona wairua me tona manawa;
- 15 Penei, ka mate nga kikokiko katoa, ka oneonea ano hoki te tangata.
- 16 Ka matau koe, na, kia rongu ki tenei: whakarongo ki te reo o aku kupu.
- 17 Hei rangatira koia tera e kino ana ki te tikanga? ka whakapae ranei koe ki tera e tino tika ana?
- 18 Kowai ka mea ki te kingi, ka he koe? ki nga rangatira ranei, Ka kino koutou?
- 19 Ekore ia e wehi ki te tinana o nga kingi, ekore e rahi ake tona pai ki te tangata whai taonga, i tona pai ki te tangata rawa kore: he mahinga hoki ra tou katoa na ona ringaringa.
- 20 E pa whakarere to ratou mate, a te waenganui po wehi ai te iwi, haere ana: e kawea hoki nga tino kaha e te ringaringa kore.
- 21 Kei te titiro ona kanohi ki nga ritenga a te tangata; ka kite ia i ana haerenga katoa.
- 22 Kahore he pouritanga, he atarangi ranei o te mate, e ngaro ai nga kai malli i u kino.
- 23 Ekore ia e whakanui i tana utu kirunga ki te tangata: kei whakawa ia ki te Atua.
- 24 Ka irò ka whati te tini o nga tangata kaha, ka meinga he tangata ke ki to ratou wahi.
- 25 Koia ka matau ai ia ki a ratou mahi, ka hurihia ratou e ia i te po, a, ka maru ratou.
- 26 Ka patu ia i a ratou, i nga tangata kino, i te aroaro o e talli;
- 27 Mo te mea i tahuri ratao i a ia, ka hoki; ekore e mahara ki ana ritenga:
- 28 A, na ratou ano ka pura atu ai te tangi a te hungi rawakore ki a ia, a, ka rongu ia ki te tangi a te hunga kua maru.
- 29 E whakarangimarietia e ia, na, ma wai e whakararuraru? ka huna ranei ia i tona kanohi, na, kowai te kite ia ia? ki te tokomaha ranei, ki te tangata kotahi ranei.
- 30 Kei kaha te tangata tenga hei reti i te tangata.
- 31 E pai ra kia meinga kite Atua, Kua iro ahau, ekore an e tohe.
- 32 Ko te mea ekore e kitea e ahau, mau e whakakitemai: ki te mea he kino toku, he oi ano ka mutu.
- 33 Kia rite ranei ki tou whakaaro? ko te kai whakarite ia, ahakoa whakapai koe, ahakos whakakino; ehara ahau: a, mau hoki e korero mai tau e kite nei koe.
- 34 Ma nga tangata matau e korero mai, a, kia rongu te tangata tohunga ki ahau.
- 35 Kua korero noa a Hopa, hōre he matauranga, kahore he tikanga o ana kupu.
- 36 E pa, whakawakia a Hopa, a, mutu noa, kua korero ia, ano he tangata kino.
- 37 Ko te tutu hei karapiti mo tana hara, e papaki ana i ona ringaringa ki a tatou, ka tohe ano ki te Atua.

Upoko 35.

- Ka korero ano a Iraihiu, ka mea,
- 2 E mea ana koe ka tika tenei a au, e, e puta atu ana taku tikanga i to te Atua?
- 3 Ka mea koe, Hei aha mou? He aha te pai moku i te pai o oku hara?
- 4 Maku e whakahoki te kupu ki a koutou, ko ou tangata.
- 5 Titiro koe ki te rangi, kia kite; kia matakitaki koe ki nga kapua i runga rawa i a koe.
- 6 Ka hara koe, ka ahatia ia ekoe? e tini haere au kapenga, ka ahatia ia e koe?
- 7 Ki te mea e tika ana koe, he aha te mea e ho atu ana ki a ia? e whiwhi ranei ia ki te aha i tou ringaringa?
- 8 Ka mate pea te tangata pena me koe i tou hara; Ma ou tikanga ka ora ai nga tamariki a te tangata.
- 9 Na te tini o o ratou whakataimaha koia i tangi ai; ka tangi nui ratou, no te mea, he ringaringa no te kaha.
- 10 Kahore tetahi e mea ana, Keihea te Atua, a toku kaihanganga e homai ana i nga waiata i te po;
- 11 E whakaako nui mai ana ki a tatou, puta atu i tana ki nga kararehe o te whenua, nana nei ano i nui ai to tatou matauranga, i to nga manu o te rangi?
- 12 Ka tangi ratou i reira, kahore ia tetahi hei homai, hei tangi kau ano i te whakaputanga a nga tangata kino.
- 13 Ekore te Atua e whakarongo ki te tangi noa, ekore hoki te Atua kaha e anga mai ki reira.

14 Ahakoa mea koe ekore koe e kite i a ia, tena ano te whakawa kei tona aroaro. Kia whakawhirinaki ano koe ki a ia.

15 Na te mea kihai i pena, koia i haere mai ai me tona riri; otira, ekore ia e kite i tona matenga nuitanga.

16 A, e hamama noa ana a Hopa i tona waha; ka tini ana kupu huakore.

Upoko 36.

Ka tohe ano a Iraihiu, ka mea,

2 laua, maku ano e mea atu, he kupu ano aku mo te Atua.

3 Ka tikina e ahau aku whakamatauranga i tawhiti, maku e mea e tika ana te kaihanganga i a au.

4 Ekore ra e teka aku ko- rero: kei akoe te pakaritanga o te matauranga.

5 Na, e kaha ana te Atua, a, ekore e whakakino noa ki *te tangata*; e nui ana tona kaha, me tona matauranga.

6 Ekore ia e whakaroa i te oranga o te tangata kino; e ho atu ra ia i te tikanga ki te hunga rawa kore.

7 Ekore e pahure ona kanohi i te hunga tika: kei nga kingi ratou kei te torona; ara, ka whakapumautia ratou e ia, ake, ake; a, kei runga ano ratou.

8 A, ki te mea ka herea ratou ki te mekameka, ka mau ranei i nga aho o te mamae;

9 Ko reira whakakitea ai e ia ki a ratou ta ratou mahi, me a ratou kino rahi i kino ai ratou.

10 Ka whakapuaretia e ia o ratou taringa mo te ako, ka tonono ano kia hoki mai ratou i te kino.

11 E rongo ratou, a, ka mahi ki aia, ko reira pai ai nga ra mo ratou, ka hari ratou i nga tau.

12 Whaihoki kapake ratou, ko reira mate ai ratou i te hoari; a, ka mate kuware ra hoki ratou.

13 Ka purangatia te riri e te hunga ngakau hianga: ekore ratou e tangi i tana hereherenga i a ratou.

14 Ka mate taitamariki ratou; ko to ratou oranga kei rotoanokei te hunga pokenga.

15 E whakaorangia ana e ia te tangata rawakore i ton mate, a, okaokaia ana o ratou taringa i te mamaetanga.

16 Penei, kua whakaputai na koe e ia i roto i te wahi kiki ki waho ki te wahi atea kahore he kikitanga: ko nga mea hoki e tukua ki runga ki tou tepu, momona tonu.

17 Otira, i pai koe ki te whakawa a te tangata kino: ka hopukina koe e te whakawa, e te tika hoki.

18 Mo te riri hoki, kia tupato koe kei riro i tana taua ahakoa nui te utu mou, ekore koe e hoki mai.

19 E pai ranei ia ki ou taonga, ki ou koura me ou kab katoa? kahore.

20 Kei hiahia koe ki te *poe* maru nei nga tangata i o ratou wahi.

21 Kia tupato kei pai koe ki te kino: kua mea koe, e ngtri te kino i te mamae.

22 E hapainga ana e te Atua ki tona kaha: ko wai e rite ki a ia te whakaako?

23 Kowai hei whakaako i a ia? kowai e mea atu ki aia, e, kua hanga koe i te kino?

24 Kia mahara koe ki te whakapai ki ana mahi e kite nei te tangata.

25 E kitea ana e te tangata katoa; ahakoa tawhiti, e kitea ano e te tangata.

26 Na, e nui ana te Atua, a, kihai tatou i kite i a ia, a, ko te mahanga o ona tau ekore e taea te rapu.

27 Nana i nohinohi ai nga pata ua, ka maringi te ua, a, ngihangiha noa.

28 E ringihia mai ana e nga kapua, a, nui ana te ua ki runga ki nga tangata.

29 E kite ranei tetahi i te horahanga o nga kapua, i te harurutanga ranei o tona tapenakara?

30 Nana i tiaho ai te maramatanga o te uira ki reira, a, kapi ana te nuinga o te moana.

31 Ko ana ritenga ena mo te tangata, a, tukua mai ana e ia te nuinga o te kai.

32 Ka hipokina e ia te ra ki nga kapua, ka mea, kei puta mai i te arainga a te kupua.

33 Na te harurutanga i kitea ai, na nga kararehe, na te pukohu.

Upoko 37.

Na reira i wiri ai toku ngakau, i hapainga ake ai i tona wahi.

2 Whakarongo ra ki te haruru o tona reo, me te pakakinatanga e puta atu ana i tona manga i.

3 E whakaputaina ana e ia ki raro ki te rangi katoa, me tona uira hoki ki nga topito o te whenua.

4 Muri iho ka tangi te reo: he whatitiri tona reo pai, a, e kore e whakahohorotia te mutunga.

5 He whatitiri whakamiharo te reo o te Atua; ko ana mahi nui ekore e kitea e tatou.

6 Na, ka mea ia ki te hukarere, Hei te whenua koe; ki te ua punehunehu hoki, me nga pata ua nunui hoki o tona kaha.

7 Ka whakapepeketa e ia te ringaringa o nga tangata katoa; kia matau ai nga tangata katoa ki tana mahi.

8 Ka haere nga kararehe mohu ki o ratou ana, ka noho ki o ratou wahi.

9 E puta mai ana te awhiowhio i tona wahi, me te makariri ano i nga titorenga hau.

10 Na te mamaba o te Atua i puta mai ai te haupapa: ka kuiti haere te nuinga o nga wai.

11 Nana i ngenge ai nga kapua mangu i te ringihanga wai: ka moturaotuhia e ia ana kapua ma.

12 A, kopikopiko haere ana i ona whakaaro; kia rite i tana i korero ai ki a ratou i runga ake i te whenua i te

ao.

- 13 Nana i puta mai ai, hei whiu mo tona whenua, mo te aroha ranei.
- 14 Whakarongo mai ki tenei, E Hopa: tu mai ra, rapua nga mahi whakamiharo a te Atua.
- 15 E matau ana koe ki te wahi i hanga ai e te Atua, i whakatiahotia ai te maramatanga o tona kapua?
- 16 E kite koe i te whakairinga o nga kapua? i nga mahi whakamiharo ona e pakarinei tona matauranga?
- 17 Te mea i mahana ai ou kakahu i te marinotanga o te hau?
- 18 Na korua ranei ko te Atua i horahia ai te rangi, e pakeke nei, e penei ana me te whakaata?
- 19 Meinga mai te kupu e korero atu ai matou ki a ia; ekore matou e ahei te korero i te pouritanga.
- 20 E korerotia ranei ki aia, kua korero ahau? ki te korero te tangata, he pono ka horongia ia.
- 21 A, ekore e kitea te maramatanga i roto i nga kapua: na te takanga o te hau i paki ai.
- 22 Na, ka puta mai te paki i tona wahi: kei te Atua ano te mana nui.
- 23 Ko te Tino kaha rawa, ekore e kitea e tatou: e pai ana tona kaha, me tona whakawa, e nui ana te tikanga: ekore ia e whakamamae.
- 24 Koia ka pai ai te tangata ki a ia: ekore e paingia eia te hunga ngakau whakapehapa.

Upoko 38.

- Ano ka mea mai a Ihowa ki a Hopa i roto i te awhiowhio, ka mea,
- 2 Kowai tenei e whakapouri i te tikanga, kahore nei he matauranga ki nga kupu?
 - 3 Whitikiria tou hope kia pena me te tangata; ko ahau ka mea atu ki akoe, kia mea mai koe.
 - 4 Ihea koe, i a hau e whakatakoto ana i te orokohanganga o te ao? ki te matau koe, meinga mai.
 - 5 Na wai i tuhi, ki tematau koe? Na wai i whakamaro te aho ki runga?
 - 6 He aha te mea e tu nei ona pou? Nawai i whakatakoto tona kowhatu timatanga?
 - 7 I te wahi i waiata ai nga whetu o te ata, i karanga ai nga tamariki katoa o te Atua i te hari?
 - 8 Nawai i whakakapi te moana ki roto ki nga tatau, i tona putanga mai i roto i te kopu *te whenua*?
 - 9 I ahau e hanga ana i nga kapua hei kakahu mona, rae te pouritanga nui hei whitiki mona.
 - 10 A, keria ana toku wahi mona, ka hanga i nga tatau me nga whakarawa.
 - 11 I toku meatanga atu, Hei kona koe; kati i retra: hei konei puritia ai ou ngan whakapehapa.
 - 12 Nau ranei te ata i tono i nga ra katoa; i ako ranei i te takiritanga o te ata kia matau ai ia ki tona wahi;
 - 13 Kia puta ai ia ki nga topito o te ao, kia orna ai nga tahae i reira?
 - 14 Kua penei me te para kotore i te hira; ka tu ra, ano he kakahu.
 - 15 E puritia ana o ratou maramatanga i te hunga kino, ka whatiia hoki te ringaringa whataro.
 - 16 Kua tae ranei koe ki nga puna o te moana? kua haere koe kua rapu i te hohonutanga?
 - 17 Kua whakapuaretia ki a hoe nga whatitoka o te mate? tua kite ranei koe i nga tatau o te atarangi o te mate?
 - 18 Kua kite ranei koe i te whanuitanga o te ao? Ki te matau koe ki anei mea katoa, korerotia mai.
 - 19 Keihea te kainga e noho nei te maramatanga? me te pouritanga hoki, keihea tona wahi.
 - 20 Kia mauria e koe ki tona kaha, kia matau ai koe ki te huarahi o tona whare.
 - 21 Na te mea kua whanau koe i matau ai koe? na te mea kua maha ranei ou ra?
 - 22 Kua tapoko ranei koe ki nga wahi o re hukarere? kua kite ranei koe i nga wahi o te whatu?
 - 23 Kua tangohia e ahau mo te taima kino, mo te ra o te whawhai o te taua?
 - 24 Pehea ana te wehewehenga o te maramatanga e kapi ai te whenua i te marangai?
 - 25 Nawai i whakapuare te awa hei rerenga mo nga wai, te putanga ranei o te uira o te whatitiri;
 - 26 Kia ua ki runga ki te whenua tangata kore, ki te koraha hoki kahore nei he tangata;
 - 27 Kia maku ai te whenua kino e takoto noa ana; kia tupu ai nga pihi o te tarutaru ngawari?
 - 28 He matua koia to te ua? a, na wai i whakatupu nga pata tomairangi?
 - 29 I puta mai i roto i te kopu o wai te haupapa? me te haupapa o te rangi e ma ana, na wai i whakatupu?
 - 30 Kua kapi nga wai, ano he kowhatu, kua haupapatia hoki te mata o te hohonu.
 - 31 Mau ranei e roiroi nga mahi kakarao matariki, e wewete ranei te hereherenga o Oraiona?
 - 32 Mau ranei ka puta mai ai a Maharota i tona po, e ahei ranei koe te arahi i a Akatura ratou ko ana tamariki?
 - 33 Ka matau koe ki nga tikanga o te rangi? mau ranei tona rangatiratanga ki te whenua?
 - 34 E puta atu ranei tou reo ki nga kapua, kia ngaro ai koe i te nuinga o te ua?
 - 35 E taea ranei e koe nga uira te tono kia haere mai, kia mea mai ki a koe, Ko matou tenei?
 - 36 I whaoa e wai te matauranga ki nga wahi o roto? ara, nawai i homai te matauranga ki te ngakau?
 - 37 Ko wai e matau ki te tatau i nga kapua? Ma wai ra nei e puru nga pounamu o te rangi,
 - 38 I pakeke ai te puehu, i piri ai nga keretu?
 - 39 Mau ranei e hopu tetahi kai ma te raiona? mau ranei ka makona ai nga kua raiona?

40 I a ratou e takoto ana i o ratou ana, e piri ana i nga wahi ngaro hei whanga.

41 Ko wai e rapu kai ana ma nga pukeko? ka tangi ona pi ki te Atua, ka marara noa i te hiakai.

Upoko 39.

Ka matau koe ki te taima e whanau ai nga nanenane maka o nga parikowhatu? e kite ranei koe i te whanau tanga o nga haina?

2 E matau ranei koe ki nga marama e to ai ratou? e kite ranei koe ki te taima e whanau ai ratou?

3 Ka whakanoho iho ratou, ka whanau o ratou kuao, ka puta ki waho o ratou mamae.

4 Ko o ratou kuao e whai ngako ana, ka nui ratou i te kainga i te kanga; ka puta ratou ki tawhiti, ekore e hoki mai.

5 Na wai i tuku atu te kaihe maka, i wetekia e wai ranei nga berenga o te kaihe mohohu?

6 Kua meinga e ahau te koraha hei whare mona, ko nga whenua koraha hei kainga mona.

7 E hi ana ia ki te tokomaha o te pa, ekore ia e wehi ki te riri a te kaiwhiu.

8 Kei nga kahiwi o nga maunga tana kai; ka rapu ia ki nga mea matomato.

9 E pai ranei te uni kanga ki te mahi ki a koe, e rarata ranei ki tau takotoranga kai?

10 E taea e koe te herehere te unikanga ki ona herenga hei hoiho parau? mana ranei e to te rakaraka ki ou mara?

11 Na tona kaha ranei i mea ai koe e pono tana mahi ki a koe? e tukua ranei ek3 tau mahi ki aia?

12 E mea ana koe e homai e ia tau witi ki a koe, ka kohia ki tau rua?

13 Nau ranei i ho atu pakau pai ki nga pikoka, pakau hoki me nga huruhuru ki te otoriki?

14 E waiho nei i ona hua i te whenua, ka whakamahanatia e ia ki te puehu,

15 Ekore e mahara ka takahia e te waewae, ka pakore i nga kararehe maka.

16 E pakeke ana ia ki ona pi, ano ehara i aia: maumau mahi noa ia, ekore e wehi;

17 No te mea kihai i whakaakona ia e te Atua, kihai i ho atu i te matauranga ki ata.

18 No tona whakatikatinga ki te haere, ka kata ia ki te hoai ho aru me te tangata o runga.

19 Nau ranei i tuku atu te kaha ki te hoiho? nau ranei i whakakakahu tona kaki ki te whatitiri?

20 E ahei koe te whakawehi i a ia ano he mawhiti whiti ka rere te wehi o te takirihanga o ona pongaponga.

21 E rakuraku ana ia i te whenua, e hari ana ki tona kaha: ka kokiritia e ia ki ona hoa whawhai.

22 Tawai ana ia ki te wehi, ekore e maku; ekore ia e whati.

23 Ka ngatete ki a ia te hamanu, te penete uira, me te arai.

24 Ka kainga e ia te oneone i tona whakataririri i tona toa: ekore ia e whakarongo ki te reo o te tetere.

25 Ka mea ia i roto i nga tetere, Hi, hi: kahongi atu ia ki te whawhai ki tawhiti, ki te whatitiri o nga rangatira me te haka.

26 Nau te matauranga e rere nei te kauaua, e whakamaro ranei i onapakau ki te rere ki te whenua mahana?

27 Na tau kupu ranei i rere ai te kahu ki runga ki te wahi tiketike hanga ai i tona ohanga?

28 Ko tona kainga e tau ai e noho ai, kei runga i te pari, i te tone kowhatu, i te wahi kino.

29 Ko reira titiro ai ona kanohi ki tana kai, ka kite ona kanohi ki tawhiti.

30 Ka inu hoki ana pi i te toto: a, ko nga wahi i takoto ai nga mea mate, kei reira ia.

Upoko 40.

Ka korero hoki a Ihowa ki a Hopa, ka mea,

2 Hei kai whakaako mo te Atua kaha te tangata tohe? Ko te tangata e riri ana ki te Atua, kia tupato ia.

3 Na, ka korero a Hopa ki a Ihowa, ka mea,

4 Na, he tangata kino ahau; me pehea taku korero atu ki a koe? ka whakapakia e ahau toku ringa ki toku waha.

5 Kotahi oku korerotanga; heoi ano: ae ra, ka rua; otira ekore au e tohe.

6 Na, ka korero mai a Ihowa ki a Hopa i roto i te awhiowhio, ka mea,

7 Whitikiria tou hope, ina he tangata ano koe: maku e ui atu ki a koe, mau e korero mai ki au.

8 Mau ranei e kahore ai taku ritenga? e whakakino ranei koe i ahau kia tika ai koe?

9 E penei ana tou ringaringa me to te Atua? e penei te whatitiri o tou reo me tona.

10 Me kakahu koe ki te kingitanga me te painga; a, kia kakahuria koe ki te kororia me te ataahuatanga.

11 Tena, kawea te nuinga o tou riri; titiro ki nga tangata whakapehapeha, kia whakamokaitia.

12 Titiro ki nga tangata whakakake katoa kia hoki ki raro; kia takahia iho te hunga kino i o ratou kainga.

13 Kia ngaro ratou i te puehu; kia hipokina o ratou kanohi kia ngaro.

14 Ko reira mea atu ai ahau ki akoe, e kaha ana tou ringaringa matau ki te whakaora i a koe.

15 ¶ Na, Titiro ki te pehemota i hanga e ahau; e kai ana i te tarutaru, ano he okiha.

- 16 Na, kei tona tuara tona kaha, kei te pito hoki o tona kopu.
- 17 Ka ta ta tona hiore, ka tu ki runga, ano he hira: ka takoto tika nga uaua o ona huwha.
- 18 Ko ona wheua e rite ana ki nga pihi parahi kaha; me nga pihi rino roroa ona iwi.
- 19 He tino mabinga ia no te Atua: e kaha ana te kaihanganga i a ia ki te kawatu i te hoari ki a ia.
- 20 Na, kei nga maunga te tupuranga kai mana, e takaro nei nga kararehe katoa o te whenua.
- 21 E takoto ana ia i raro i te rakau marumaruru, i te kakaho me te raupo.
- 22 Ka whakamarumaruru i a ia nga rakau whakamarumaruru; ko nga wirao o te wai hei nohoanga mona.
- 23 Ka pan te awa i tana inumanga, ekore e wehi: ka mea ia, e pau te wai o Horano ki tona manga i.
- 24 Ka riro i ona kanohi: ka puta tona ihu i nga rore.

Upoko 41.

- Eahei ranei koe te huti i rewaiatana ki te matau? tona arero ranei ki te aho e tukua iho e koe?
- 2 E taea e koe te kokomo te matau ki tona ihu? e werohia ranei tona kauae ki te whao?
- 3 E inoi ranei ia ki a koe? e whakamarie ranei ia i ana kupu ki a koe?
- 4 Mana ranei e hanga te kawenata mo korua? ko koe hei tango i a ia hei pononga mou, ake ake?
- 5 E takaro ranei koe ki aia, ano he manu? e taea ia te herehere ekoe ma ou wahine?
- 6 Hei hakari ia ma ou hoa? ma ratou ranei ia e tuha ki nga tangata hoko?
- 7 Mau ranei ka kapi ai tom hiako i nga rino keka? tona mahunga ranei i te tao wero i ka?
- 8 Kia pa tou ringaringa ki; ia, ka mahara ki te whawhai, heoi ano.
- 9 Maumau te tumanakotanga ki a ia i ekore ranei e wehi ina ka kite te tangata ki aia?
- 10 Kahore he toa e manawa nui ki te whakaoho i aia, whaihoki, kowai te tangata? ahei te tu i toku aroaro.
- 11 Na wai ranei tetahi mea ki ahau kia utua e ahau? ko nga mea katoa o raro o terangi, noku ano.
- 12 Ekore au e whakangaro ngaro i ona wahi, i tona kaha, i tona humarietanga.
- 13 Kowai e kite i te ritenga o tona kakahu? kowaiehaere atu ki te paraire i aia?
- 14 Kowai e uaki i nga tatau o tona kanohi? ka whakawehi ano te rarangitanga o ona niho.
- 15 Ko ona unahi tana e whakapehapeha ai, kua kapi, ano he whakapiringa hira.
- 16 E piri ana tetahi ki tetahi, ekore e puta te hau ki roto.
- 17 Ka whakakotahitia tetahi ki tetahi, ko te piringa ekore e mawhera.
- 18 Ka tihewa ia ka puratoke; ko ona kanohi e rite ana ki te aonga o te ra.
- 19 Ka puta i tona mangai nga rama e ka ana, ka puta hoki nga korakora kapura.
- 20 Ka puta te mamaha o tona ihu, ano he pata e koropupu ana, he kohue ranei.
- 21 Ka ka te kapura i te hau o tona manawa, a, ka puta te mura i tona mangai.
- 22 Kei tona kaki te kaha, ka whakaharitia te pouritanga i tona aroaro.
- 23 Ka piri nga whakapapanga o tona kikokiko: a, pakeke ana; ekore e taea te whakangaeue.
- 24 Heoi tona ngakau me te kowhatu; heoi te pakeke me te pihi kowhatu mira.
- 25 Ka tu ia ki runga, ka wehi nga tangata kaha; mo to ratou whatinga i whakatapua ai ratou.
- 26 Ko te hoari o te tangata e patu i a ia, ekore e ora: te tao, te kokiri, me te kotaha.
- 27 Ka mea ia he kakau witi te iwore, ko te parahi ki a ia herakau pirau.
- 28 Ekore ia e orna i te kopere: ko nga kowhatu o nga kotaha he otaota ki a ia.
- 29 He otaota te kokiri: ka kata ia ki te hapainga o te tao.
- 30 Kei raro i a ia nga kowhatu koikoi: ka akiritia e ia nga mea koikoi ki runga ki te paru.
- 31 Ka whakakoropupu ia i te hohonu ano he kohue: ka pena te moana i a ia me te kohue hinu.
- 32 Kei muri i aia te marinotanga, ano kua hina te moana.
- 33 Kahore o uta penatanga me ia, hore he wehi.
- 34 Ka titiro ia ki nga mea tiketike katoa: he kingi ia mo nga tamariki whakapehapeha katoa.

Upoko 42.

- Ano ka korero a Hopa ki a Ihowa, ka mea,
- 2 Kua matau au e taea ekoe nga mea katoa, a, kahore he whakaaro e ngaro i a koe.
- 3 Kowai tera e huna ana i te runanga kahore he matauranga? kua korero noa ahau kihai au i matau; ko nga mea whakamiharo nui kihai i matauria e ahau.
- 4 Whakarongo mai rapea kia korero ahau: kia ui atu ahau ki a koe, mau e korero maiki au.
- 5 Kua rongorongo kau a hau ki a koe, a, katahi ano toku kanohi ka kite i akoe.
- 6 Na konei ka whakarihariha ai ahau ki au ano, ka ripeneta ano i te puehu me te pungarehu.
- 7 A, muri iho ano i tenei korerotanga a Ihowa ki a Hopa, ka mea atu a Ihowa ki a Iraipaha te Timanaite, Kua whakatakariri ahau ki a koe, ki ou whanaunga tokorua hoki: mo te mea kihai i penei me ta toku pononga

me ta Hopa te tika o ta koutou korerotanga moku.

8 Tena ko tenei, me tango koutou i tetahi okiha kia whitu, ki tetahi hipi tourawhi kia whitu, ka haere ki toku pononga ki a Hopa, ka ho ake i tetahi patunga tapu mo koutou, me tahu; a, ma toku pononga ma Hopa e 'inoi mo koutou: e pai au ki aia, kei riria koutou e ahau moto koutou kuware: kihai hoki i tika ta koutou korero moku, erangi ta toku pononga ta Hopa.

9 Na, ka haere a Iraipaha te Timanaite, ratou ko Pirirara te Huhaite, me Howhara te Neamataite, ka rite ki ta Ihowa i korero ki a ratou: a, i paingia hoki e Ihowa a Hopa.

10 Na, ka whakaorangia e Ihowa a Hopa i ona mate, i a ia e inoi ana mo ona whanatinga: a, ho atu ana e Ihowa ki a Hopa nga mea maha: he mea whakarite takirua ki ona mea o mua.

11 A, haere mai ana ki a ia ona tuakana, ona teina, me ona tuahine katoa, me ona hoa katoa o mua, a, ka kai tahi ratou katoa i tona whare: a, ka tangi ratou ki a ia, ka aroha, mo nga mate katoa i tukua mai e Ihowa ki aia: a, ho atu ana e ratou katoa ki nga pihi moni, me nga whakakai koura.

12 A, whakanuia ana e Ihowa a Hopa i tona whakamutu nga nui atu i te timatanga: kotahi tekau ma wha nga mano o ona hipi, e ono mano nga kamera, kotahi mano to pu o nga okiha, kotahi mano o nga uha kaihe.

13 Toko whitu hoki ona tamariki tane, toko toru hoki nga tamahine.

14 Ka huaina te ingoaota mua ko Hemaima; ko to muri ko Kehaia; ko te tuatoru ko Kerenapu.

15 A, kahore he wahine o te whenua i penei te ataahua me nga tamahine o Hopa: s, ho atu ana e te matua ki a ratou tetahi kamga, kia rite ki nga tungane.

16 Muri iho, kotahi rau e wha tekau tau i ora ai a Hopa, ka kite ia i ana tamariki, me o ratou tamariki, ewha whakapaparanga.

17 A, ka koroheketia a Hopa, ka mate.

Hokianga:

He Mba ta i te Perehi o te Hahi Weteriana o Ingarani.

He Pukapuka Whiha Tenei Hei

Ako Ma Nga Tangata

E Hiahia Ana ki te Rapu ki Nga

Ritenga o te Whika.

He Mea Whakamaori Mai no

Roto i te Reo Pakeha:

Na Henare Wiremu Taratoa.

Werengitana: I Taia ki te Perehi o Hori Watene. 1858.

Kupu Whakaatu.

Ko te tikanga mo te mahi o te whika—hei [*unclear*: kimi] ma nga tangata e hiahia ana ki te ako; kia [*unclear*: nohio] ai ia ki te kimi i te mea ngaro.—Ma te rapu te whika ka kitea nga mea ngaro.

He mea whakamaori mai tenei pukapuka no roto te reo pakeha.

Na Henare Wiremu Taratoa.

He Teparā mo Nga Mea Taimaha.

He whakaatu tenei mo nga ritenga o nga Teparā. Ewha [*unclear*: ritenga] i roto i te mahinga o te whika—ko te Whakatini, ko te [*unclear*: Wehewehe], ko te Tango, ko te Huihui. Engari ko te ritenga [*unclear*: i] a ratou mahinga i rite tonu, ko te whakanohoanga o te whika [*unclear*: i] mua, ki muri, e rere ke ana i o tetahi, i o tetahi. Ko te [*unclear*: Whakatini], e rere ke ana tana mahinga. Ko te Wehewehe, [*unclear*: ere] ke ana tana mahinga, me ona ingoa ano.

Ko te Tango, e rere ke ano tana mahinga, me ona [*unclear*: ngoa] ano. Engari, kotahi tonu te whika i rere ke [*unclear*: na] mahi, i ta etehi—ko te huihui anake; no reira, ka kotahi tonu tona ingoa ko te Huihui. Engari, ko te mahinga [*unclear*: ki] roto ki a ratou mahinga, he tini noa iho;—mahia ana tetahi [*unclear*: o] ratou i nga mahi a tetahi, mahi ana tetahi i nga mahi [*unclear*: a] tetahi. Heoti ano hoki nga mahi—he Huihui, he Whakatini, he Wehewehe Tango. E mohio ana hoki tatou ki te tikanga o te Wehewehe, o te Huihui, o te Whakatini, o te Tango.

- To te Wehewehe tikanga, kia kitea nga mea i rite, kia kitea nga mea i hapo.
- To te Tango tikanga, kia kitea nga mea i riro, kia kitea nga mea i toe.
- To te Whakatini me to te Huihui tikanga—kia kitea ai temaha, te nui.

Matipikeihana.

1. Ko nga tohu enei o nga whika. He tohu Huihui+. Tohu Tango—. Tohu Wehewehe÷. Tohu Whakatini ×. Tohu rite =. 1 to 10

2. He whakaatu tenei i te tikanga o te tatau whika.

equations: $2+3=5$, $2=6=8$, he huihui tera.

3. Ki te mea, 3 pene i roto i te pakete o toku, e 4 pene i roto i tetahi atu peke, e hia te huihuia katoatia?

$000 + 0000 = 0000000$ huihui.

$3 + 4 = 7$.

4. E 5 aku herengi, e 3 i hokona e au, ehia toe?

A. 2s.

5. E 9 hipi a tetahi taagata, e 3 i patua, ehia i toe?

A. 6.

6. E 6 pene a tetahi kotiro, 4 pene i hokona ki te rohi, ehia i toe mai ki a ia?

A. 2.

7. E 96 mapere a tetahi tamaiti, e 56 i ngaro, ehia i toe?

A. 40.

8. E 50 tamariki i te kura, e 24 i oma, tokohia i noho?

A. 26.

9. E 24 pukapuka, e 4 i hokona, ehia i toe?

A. 20.

10. E 80 tangata i haere ki te whawhai, e rua tekau mate, ehia i hoki ora mai?

A. 60.

11. E. 60 hoiho o tetahi tangata, e 40 hoiho i hokona—ehia nga hoiho i toe iho ki a ia?

A. 20.

12. E 40 aporo, e 35 i pau, e hia i toe?

A. 5,

13. E 2 kete taewa, kotahi i pau i te poaka, ehia i toe?

A. 1.

14. E 9 puhera, e 6 i hokona, e hia i toe iho?

A. 3.

15. Ehia patene i roto i nga pene e rua rae nga patene 3?

A. 11.

16. Ehia patene i roto i nga pene e 3 me te patene 1?

A. 13.

17. Rapua te utu o nga rohi e 4, te utu e 5 pene mo te, mea kotahi?

A. 20d.

18. Rapua te utu mo nga naihi e 3, te utu e 6 pene?

A. 18d.

19. Rapua te utu mo nga pukapuka e 4, te utu 7 herengi?

A. 28s.

20. Rapua te utu mo nga hate e 5, te utu e 3 herengi?

A. 15s.

21. Rapua te utu mo nga potae e 4, te utu e 3 herengi?

A. 12s.

22. Ehia pene i roto i nga hikipene e [unclear: 5?]

A. 30d.

23. Ehia pene i roto i nga hikipene e 6?

A. 36d.

24 Ehia pene i roto i 3 whapene?

A. 12d.

25 Ehia pene i roto i 5 whapene?

A. 20d.

26 Ehia pene i roto i te 1s. 3d.?

A. 15d.

Ko te tikanga tenei mo te Matipikeihana, e toru ona mahinga, otira, me whakaatu atu ano nga mahinga:—

1. Ki te mea 16 te taimaha, te utu mo te taimaha kotahi, 4s. 6d. ewhia te utu mo katoa?

counting money

2. E 24 aunihi te utu 2s. 6d.?
A. £3 0s. 0d.
3. E 14 aunihi te utu 1s. 4d.?
A. £0 18s. 8d.
4. E 27 naihi te utu 7s. 6d.?
A. £10 2s. 6d.
5. E 36 pereti te utu 4s. 3d.?
A. £7 13s. 0d.
6. E 60 heihei te utu 5s. 6d.?
A. £15 0s. 0d.
7. E 48 hate te utu 3s. 6d.?
A. £8 8s. 0d.
8. E 96 pukapuk te utu 8s. 6d.?
A. £40 16s. 0d.
9. E 21 kuihi te utu 10s. 6d.?
A. £11 0s. 6d.
10. Ewhia pene i roto i nga 1s. 3d.?
A. 15d.
11. Ewhia pene i roto i nga 2s. 1d.?
A. 25d.
12. Ewhia pene i roto i nga 2s. 4d.?
A. 28d.
13. Ewhia pene i roto i nga 3s. 2d.?
A. 38d.
14. Ewhia pene i roto i nga 4s. 3d.?
A. 51d.
15. Ewhia pene i roto i nga 5s. 4d.?
A. 64d.
16. Ewhia ra i nga wiki e 2?
A. 14 ra.
17. Ewhia ra i nga wiki e 3?
A. 21 ra.
18. Ewhia ra i nga wiki e 2 e 5 ra?
A. 19 ra.
19. Ewhia ra i nga wiki e 6?
A. 42 ra.
20. Ewhia ra i nga wiki e 8?
A. 56 ra.
21. Ewhia ra i nga wiki e 5?
A. 35 ra.
22. Ewhia ra i nga wiki e 4?
A. 28 ra.
23. Ewhia ra i nga wiki e 9?
A. 63 ra.
24. Ewhia ra i nga wiki e 1?
A. 7 ra.
25. Ewhia putu i nga iaari e 2?
A. 6 pt.
26. Ewhia putu i nga iaari e 3?
A. 9 pt.
27. Ewhia putu i nga iaari e 4?
A. 12 pt.
28. Ewhia putu i nga iaari e 6?
A. 18 pt.
29. E 5 hoiho, te utu £20, ewhia mo te hoiho kotahi?
A. 4.
30. E 7 hoiho, te utu £35, mot e kotahi?

A. £5.

31. E 4 kau te utu £16, mo te kau kotahi?

A. £4.

32. E 8 pukapuka te utu £32, mo te pukapuka kotahi?

A. £4.

33. E 6 naihi te utu 18s. mo te naihi kotahi?

A. 3s.

E penei tonu ansi te tikanga o te mahi o te Matipikeihana, me he mea, 12 nga mea i homai ai kia hokona, kei te mea kotahi te tikanga o te utu, no te mea, e homai ano nga mea, e whakaaturina mai ano e ia te utu o te mea kotahi, me he [unclear: mea,] ka karangatia mai te utu o te mea kotahi, kimihia te utu o [unclear: katoa]. Koia hoki te tikanga o tenei ingoa o te Matipikeihana (whakatini) ko te ritenga ki to te Matipikeihana mahinga, kei nga tepara te tikanga; me he mea, e rua pene mo te pauua, [unclear: ewhia] mo nga pauna e 4? Ki te mea, e 6 pene mo te taimaha [unclear: kotahi], ewhia mo nga taimaha e 6? Kotahi tonu hoki te [unclear: tikanga] e mohiotia ai te whika, ma te ako anake i nga [unclear: tepara], no te mea, kei nga tepara anake te tikanga o te [unclear: mohio;] ekore hoki e pai te tuihitihi noa iho, te patai noa [unclear: atu] ranei ki etahi atu tangata, no te mea, ko tenei taonga [unclear: ko] te whika, ehara i te taonga iti he taonga nui te [unclear: whika]; ma te whika te tangata ka whiwhi ki tetahi mahi [unclear: nui] mana o te Pakeha; ma te whika hoki te tangata ka [unclear: mohio] ai ki nga ra o tona oranga. Otiia ma te whakaaro [unclear: nui] ki te rapu; kua tetahi whakaaro e mea, ma te whika [unclear: nake], engari, ma te mahunga hoki e rapu.

financial equations

financial equations

1. E 7 iaari, te utu mo te iaari kotahi 2d, ehia mo katoa?

A. 14d.

2. E 6 iaari, te utu mo te iaari kotahi 4d. ehia?

A. 24d.

3. E 8 iaari, te utu mo te iaari kotahi 6d. ehia?

A. 48d.

4. E 9 iaari, te utu mo te iaari kotahi 2s. ehia?

A. 18s.

5. E 5 kau te utu mo kau kotahi £8 ehia?

A. £40.

6. E 6 hoiho te utu mo hoiho kotahi £20. ehia?

A. £120.

7. E 6 hipi te utu mo hipi kotahi £1 5s. ehia?

A. £7 10s.

8. E 4 hanarete te utu mo te hanarete kotahi £2 ehia?

A. £8.

Me penei tonu te mani o te Matipikeihana, me kimi tonu ki nga mea mo katoa.

Wehewehe, Ara, He Riwhana.

1. He aha te hawhe o te 24?

A. 12.

2. He aha te hawhe o te 56?

A. 28.

3. He aha te hawhe o te 60?

A. 30.

4. He aha te hawhe o te 6?

A. 3.

5. Ewhia 2 i roto i te 8?

A. 4.

6. Ewhia 2 i roto i te 9?

A. 3.

7. Ewhia 2 i roto i te 16?

A. 4.

8. Ewhia 2 i roto i te 35?

A. 7.

9. Ewhia 6 i roto i te £24?

A. £5

10. Ewhia 6 i roto i te £24? £35?

A. £5.

11. Ewhia 6 i roto i te £24? £64?

A, £8.

12. Ewhia 4 i roto i te £48?

A. £12.

13. Ewhia 5 i roto i te £48? £25?

A. £5.

14. Ewhia 6 i roto i te £48? £72?

A. £12.

15. Ewhia 9 i roto i te £48? £81?

A. £9.

16. Ewhia 3 i roto i te £48? £36?

A. £12.

17. Ewhia 2 i roto i te £48? £24?

A. £12.

18. Ewhia 24 i roto i te £48? £48?

A. £2.

I. Kia penei tonu te main mo te Kiwihana, ara, mo te Wehewehe; me kimi tonu i nga rau, i nga mano, i roto i nga whika i neke ake nga rarangi te maha. Me he mea, he 2 te whika, kimihia nga tahi i roto; me he mea, he 48 te whika, kimihia nga 2 i roto. E mohio ana hoki tatou ki te tikanga wehewehe:—me he mea e 24 tangata mahi, te utu mo te tangata kotahi mo te ra, e 2 herengi—ewhia ma katoa mo te ra, mo te wiki?

(*He Tauira.*)

tangata 24 kai mahi

2 herengi mo te ra

48 herengi ma katoa mo te ra.

Na te Matipikeihana tenei malunga, kia kitea nga moni ma katoa, ma nga tangata mo te ra;

(*He tauira ano.*)

48 herengi ma Ik atoa mo te ra

6 ra mahi o te wiki

288 herengi ma katoa mo te wiki.

Kimihia te utu mo te tangata kotahi mo te Wiki, kia kitea ai, Iwhia ranci moni ma te tangata kotahi mo te wiki?

(*He tauira ano.*)

288 Herengi ma nga tangata e 24 mo te wiki.

288 ma katoa mo te wiki; ko te tikanga tenei, ma nga tangata e 24; ma ratou e wehewehe nga moni e 288.

Ko enei moni, ki te taha katau o te tangata—ko nga tangata e 24, ki te

taha mau o te tangata ano, katahi ka tino rite ki to te Riwihana mahinga:—

equation

Tango.

equations

equations

E penei tonu ana te tikanga mo te whika tango: ko tona tikanga tenei; ki te mea, kotahi tekau nga tamariki o tetahi tangata, tokorima pea i mate, tokorima hoki i ora. He malia nga ritenga o te Tango.

Huihui.

equations

He Tepara Whakatini.

Mo Te Hoko.

Ki te mea ka kitea te utu mo te mea kotahi, kimihia te utu mo nga mea maha; me whakaaro hoki ki nga ritenga o nga tepara kei nga tepara anake hoki te tikanga o te mahi.

He Tauira.

1. Ki te mea e 4 poaka, te utu mo te poaka kotahi, £4 15s. 6d., ewhia te utu mo nga poaka katoa?

A. £19 2s. 0d.

financial equation

2. 95 te utu 5 10 10

A. 526 9 2.

3. 109 te utu 7 2 3 ½

A.?

4. 145 te utu 13 3 6

A.?

5. 240 te utu 6 27 4 ¼

A.?

6. 214 te utu 6 5 9

A.?

7. 345 te utu 7 12 6

A.?

8. 396 te utu 6 77 6 ¼

A.?

9. 563 te utu 25 16 4

A.?

10. 37 2/5 te utu 4 5 8

A.?

11. 324 2/5 te utu 7 9 8

A.?

12. 6404 ¼ te utu 24 8 6

A.?

13. 784 ½ te utu 5 6 4

A.?

TAUIRA.—He aha te utu o nga taonga 348, te utu 7s. 4 ½d., mo te mea kotahi?

financial equation

Tenei e 348, te utu 7s. mo te mea kotahi—2436s. mo katoa: pera hoki me te 348, te utu mo te mea kotahi, 1s. mo katoa 348s.: mo te 4 pene, ko te 4 pene te wahi tuatoru (1/3) o te 348s., a 116s.: mo te ½, ko te hepene te wahi tua waru o te 4 pene, he pena tonu te mahi, otira, me titiro iho ki te tauira.

He penei tonu te tikanga ki nga mabinga o te hoko. Ko etahi mahinga o te hoko, e rere ke ana, ko te ritenga ki te otinga o nga mahinga, rite tonu te mutunga. Engari, he roa teteahi mahinga, he tutata teteahi mahinga:

[unclear: no] kona i kiia ai, he maha nga mahinga o te hoko, ara, [unclear: nga] mahi a te whika.

He Tauira.

financial equation

He Tauira.

1. 69 lbs. 3oz. te utu 9s. 4d. mo te pauna?

A. £32 5s. 9d.

2. 157 ha. 1 ko. 14 pa. te utu £6 10s. 8d. mo te hanarete [unclear: Kotahi]?

A. £1028 3s. 8d.

3. 63 lbs. 12 oz. o nga ti, te utu 5s. 8 ½d. mo te pauna [unclear: Kotahi]?

A. £18 3s. 107/8d.

4. 114 ha. 2 ko. 6 pa. te utu £5 8s. 6d. mote hanarete [unclear: Kotahi]?

A. £621 9s. 0 ¾d.

5. 218 ha. 3 ko. 8 pa. te utu £7 5s. 4d. mo te hanarete [unclear: Kotahi]?

A. £1590 2s. 0 4/7d.

6. 213 iaari, 1 koata, 3 nera, te utu 8s. 2 ¼d. mo te iaari [unclear: Kotahi]?

A. £87 7s. 0 3/3 2

7. 314 iaari, 2 koata, 3 nera, te utu 6s. 5d. mo te iaari [unclear: Kotahi] 1

A £100 19s. 2 15/16 d.

8. 114 iaari, 2 putu, 3 inihi, te utu 4s. 8d. mo te iaari [*unclear*: Kotahi] 1

A. £26 15s. 6d.

9. 671 Koea iaari, 5 koea putu, te utu 9s. 6d. mo te koea iaari [*unclear*: Kotahi]?

A. £226 12s. 3d.

10. 18 eka, ruri, 10 pouru, te utu £2 15s. 0d. mo te eka [*unclear*: Kotahi]?

A. £51 14s. 8 ¼d

He Korero Whakaatu.

Tenei ano tetehi ritenga o te whika. Ki to te tangata Maori tikanga, e tora anake ingoa a te tangata Maori mo te whika, ko te tekau, ko te rau, ko te mano—ko te nuinga atu, kaore kau he ingoa; heoi ano nga ingoa i riro mai mo te maha, he pio, he ngea, Ko enei ingoa kihai i tuturu ki ranga ki te tekau mano, ki te rau mano, ki te miriona; i horapa katoa ki runga i nga mano katoa.

He Tauira.

Tenei ano hoki tetehi ritenga mahi mo te whika. Ki te mea ka tuhituhi koe i te whika, ata whakaarohia te tikanga o te whika tuatahi; ahakoa he tekau te whika, kimihia tona hoa, kia mohiotia ai he tekau. E mohiotia ana hoki, ko te whika tuatahi e mahia ana i te tuatahi, ko nga tahi. Muri iho ko nga tekau; muri iho, ko nga rau; me pena tonu a tae noa ki te nuinga haeretanga. Engari, me whakaatu atu ano te tikauga. I te timatanga e haere ake ana i nga tahi te timatanga o te mahi o nga whika katoa. I peratia ai te mahi, kia kitea ai nga tekau i roto i nga tahi, ahakoa he 9 te whika, ekore tena e kiia he 9 tekau; engari he iwa tahi, ahakoa he waru, he whitu, he ono, he rima, he wha, he toni, he rua, he tahi ranei, ekore ena whika e kiia ne tekau, engari, he tahi anake. Tenei hoki tetahi: ki te mea he maha nga rarangi o nga tahi kimihia nga tekau. Ki te mea ka toe etahi o nga tahi he tahi ano ena, ehara i te tekau.

Mo te Hohoro o te Hoiho Rau a ko te, Tangata.

1. Me he mea, e 200 maero o tetahi kainga ki tetahi atu whenua, ka haere te hoiho e 50 maero i te ra kotahi, no te tangata 40 maero i te ra kotahi, no te whia o nga ra ka tao tetani, te hoiho, me te tangata; ewhia hoki maero o tetahi i toe atu i tetahi ?

A. I ra,

Hei Whakakite.

Maero o te ra 50)200(5 ko nga ra i haere ai te heihe. Maero o te ra 40)200(5 ko nga ra i haere ai te tangata. Ko nga ra i haere ai te tangata 5 ra, 40 maero i te ra : ko nga ra i haere ai te hoiho4 ra, 50 maero i te ra. 1 maero o te tangata i kapea a te hoiho.

Na, e penei tonu ana te tikanga o te mahi o te whika, e wehe ana i te kaha o tetahi, i te ngoikore o te tahi. I te nui ranei o tetahi, i te iti ranei o tetahi. Ina hohi, me titiro ki te paunatanga kai, he iti te tahi, he nui te tahi, e kimi ana hoki te mea nui i roto i nga mea maha, ara, i te mea iti; e kimi ana hoki te mea iti i roto i te mea nui. Engari, me whakaatu atu to mahinga a te mea iti i roto i te mea nui.

He Tauira.

1. Ki te mea 1 pauna huka, ehia aunihi? 1 pauna huka 16 aunihi i roto i te pauna huka kotahi 16

Me penei tonu te kimi i nga mea iti i roto i te mea nui; ahakoa, e rua pauna huka, e toru ranei tekau pauna ranei, ma te mea iti anake e rapu. Titiro hoki, ahakoa ko tahi te rakau nui, ki te mea ka tapatapahia taua rakau, he nui nga valli o roto; ahakoa purapura, ka ruia atu ki te oncone, he malia ona hua, koia hoki te tikanga o tenei ingoa o te Mati-pikeihana, ara (whakatini) Tapatapahi.

He Tauira.

1 Me he mea, 1 puhera witi, eliiia taimaha?

A. 60lbs.

2 Me he mea, 2 puhera witi, eliiia taimaha?

A. 120lbs

3 Me he mea, 3 puhera 14 taimaba ehia taimaha?

A. 194lbs

4 Me he mea, 4 puhera 54 taimaha ehia taimaha?

- A. 294lbs
5 Me he mea, 5 puhera 30 taimaha ehia taimaha?
A. 330lbs
6 Me he mea, 6 puhera 35 taimaha ehia taimaha?
A. 395 taimaba
7 Me he mea, 7 puhera ehia taimaba?
A. 420 taimaba
8 Me he mea, 8 puhera ehia taimaha?
A. 480 taimaba
9 Me he mea, 9 puhera ehia taimaba?
A. 540 taimaba
10 Me he mea, 10 puhera ehia taimaha?
A. 600 taimaba
11 Me he mea, 11 puhera chia taimaba?
A. 600 taimaba

He Korero.

Ko te tikanga i tuhituhia ai enei patai, Lei mahi, kei whakaaro hoki ma te tangata, i te nui o te mahi o tenei mea o te whika.

Kia mohio koutou, ko nga whika i te tahi taha o tenei pukapuka, e rarangi nei, he whika mo nga hoko katoa, otira, etoru mahinga o tenei huarahi whika; ko tetehi malunga he tomo Pene; ko tetahi he tomo Herengi; ko tetehi, he tomo Pauna; otira, ma koutou e titiro i te tauira, i te tehi taha o enei korero.

Tomo Taimaha.

table

He Teparā Mo Nga Mea Katoa.

He Mehua Whenua.

He Mehua Whenua.

He Mehua Vaina.

He Hehua Mo te Hanga Pia.

MO TE TANA KAIPUKE—RAKAU KANI—WAHIE.

He Mehu a Mo te Kaanga Maroke

E rere ke ana te taimaha o te mea hou, o te mea tawhito, o te mea maroke, o te mea mata. Me titiro ki nga Teparā.

He Teparā Mo te Wati.

He Mehua mo te Kakahu.

He Taimaha Taonga.

Ki te mea ekore e tino mohiotia te tikanga o enei taimaha, me titiro ki nga Teparā i te timatanga mai, kei reira nga teparā hei whakaatu mai.

He Tauira mo te Hoko.

1. (E rua tikanga mo te patai) Ki te mea, me he mea.

2. Me he mea, 3271 hanarete, te utu 5s.
A. £817 15s.0d.
3. Me he mea, 1 hanarete, te utu 3s. ewhia mo nga hanarete 3270?
A. £490.
3. Me he mea, 1 hanarete, te utu 2 ½d. ewhia mo nga hanarete 2710?
A. £28 4s, 7d.
4. Me he mea 1 hanarete, te utu 1s. 8d. ewhia te mo nga hanarete 7150?
A. £595 16s. 8d.
6. Me he mea, 1 hanarete, te utu 1s. 4d. ehia mo nga hanarete 3215?
A. £214 6s. 8d.
7. Me he mea, 1 hanarete, te utu 1s. 3d. ewhia mo nga hanarete 7211?
A. £450 13s. 9d.
8. Me he mea, 1 hopi, te utu 2s. 6d. ewhia mo nga hopi 2715?
A. £339 7s. 6d.
9. Me he mea, 1 hopi, te utu 3s. 2d. ewhia mo nga hopi 2710?
A. £429 1s. 8d.
10. Me he mea, 1 hopi, te utu 13s. 7 ½d. ewhia mo nga hopi 2572?
A. £1752 3s. 6d.
11. Me he mea, 1 puhera, te utu 19s. 2 ½d. ewhia mo nga puhera 2710?
A. £2602 14s 7d.

He Korero mo te Tau.

Ko te tikanga tenei mo nga korero o te Tau. Kotahi tekaumarua marama i roto i te tau kotahi, engari ko nga marama i rite tonu; ko nga ra, i rere ke, ina hoki, ko Hepetema, ko Aperira, ko Hune, ko Nowema, e toru tekau nga ra o ratou katoa. No Pepuere, e rua tekau ma waru anake; ko etahi atu marama e toru tekau ma tahi nga ra. Engari, ko te ritenga ki nga ra o Pepuere, kia wha nga tau, ka tahi ano ka tae ki te rua tekau ma iwa nga ra. No te mea he koata te ra o Pepuere i te tau kotahi, te rua o nga tau, kua hawhe te ra, te toru o nga tau, ka titaha te ra, te wha o nga tau, ka to te ra, katahi ka rite ki te ra tuturu. Katahi hoki ka tae ki te rua tekau ma iwa nga ra o Pepuere. Ko te ingoa huihui tenei mo aua tau e wha, mo nga ra hoki o Pepuere, he Ripia. Ko te tikanga tenei o te Ripia, me he mea 1848 tau, me, wehewehe ki te 4, kia kitea ai nga toenga. Ki te mea, ka kore he toenga o aua tau, he Ripia tena tau; ki te mea ka whai toenga, ehara tena i te Ripia; me pena tonu he tikanga mo nga tau katoa, me wahi tonu ki te 4, ahakoa puta atu ki etahi atu tau ka pena tonu, ka wehewehe tonu i nga tau katoa.

Ko te tikanga mo te mahi o te Whika. Ki te hiahia koe ki te rapu i nga mea malia i roto i te mea kotahi, ma nga mea malia e kimi atu ki roto ki te mea kotahi. Ahakoa, e rua nga mea maha, me mahi ano ki nga mea nui e rua, ahakoa moni, taonga ranei, me titiro ano ia ki te taurira, ma ena e whakaatu mai te tikanga o te mahi.

He Taurira.

1. Me he mea, e 3 wiki ehia nera ra?
A. 21.
2. Me he mea, e 4 wiki ehia nera ra?
A. 28.
3. Me he mea, e 6 wiki ehia nera ra?
A. 42.
4. Me he mea, e 2 wiki ehia nera ra?
A. 14.
5. Me he mea, e 7 wiki ehia nera ra?
A. 49.
6. Me he mea, e 8 wiki ehia nera ra?
A. 56.
7. Me he mea, e 12 wiki ehia nera ra?
A. 84.
8. Me he mea, e 1 wiki ehia nera ra?
A. 7.
9. Me he mea, e 5 wiki ehia nera ra?
A. 35.
10. Me he mea, e 2 wiki 4 ra ehia nga ra?
A. 18.

11. Me he mea, e 4 wiki 6 ra ehia nga ra?
A. 34.
12. Me he mea, e 7 wiki 3 ra ehia nga ra?
A. 52.
13. Me he mea, e 6 wiki 4 ra ehia nga ra?
A. 46.
14. Me he mea, e 12 wiki 2 ra ehia nga ra?
A. 86.

He Teparā Moni.

Hei Tauira Huihui.

financial equations
financial equations

Rihana Huihui Iaari.

financial equations
financial equations

Rihana Huihui Tana.

financial equations

He Whika Tatau.

Matipikehiana.

He korero whakaatu tenei mo nga ingoa o te Matipikeihana. E toru ingoa o tenei mahi, ara, o te Matipikeihana. Ko te ingoa tuatahi (Multiplicand,) ara Matiparaikena. Ko te ingoa tuarua, (Multiplier,) ara, Matiparaea. Ko te ingoa tuatoru (Product,) ara, Pororaka. Otiia me whakaatu atu ano te Tauira.

Matiparaikena.

equation

Ko te ingoa huihui o enei mahi e toru, he Matipikeihana anake. Ahakoa, he nui nga mahi i mahia e te Matipikeihana, ekore e mahue ona ingoa. Engari kia whakahokia rano te Matiparaea ki te taha mau i tu mai ai, katahi ano ka rere ke te ingoa. Engari, kua e kawea ki te taha mau o te Matiparaikena. Engari hei te taha mau o te Pororaka. I peratia ai hoki kia kitea ai te mahi a te Matiparaea, c rite ana ranei ki te Matiparaikena, e he ana ranei. Otira, ka rere ke te ingoa o te Matiparaea i te taha mau o te Pororaka.

He Tauira.

financial equations

Ko te mahi tenei e rere ke ai te ingoa o te Matiparaea.

Matipikeihana.

He Tauira.

1. Ki te mea ka whakatinia te whika o te rarangi o runga e te Matiparaea, me he mea ka nui atu i te 12, me whakanoho te rua a ki raro i nga tahi. Muri iho, ka whakatinia ano e te Matiparaea, ki te rarangi ano o runga, ara, ki nga tekau; ki te mea ka kitea nga tekau, me hoatu ano nga tekau o nga tahi ki roto ano i nga tekau; ekore hoki e tika kia waiho nga tekau ki te whare o nga tahi, me nga tahi hoki ekore e tika kia kawea ki te whare o nga tekau.

Mo te Putu Rakau Kani.

He rakau kani, 16 putu te roa, 10 inihi te whanui, 1 inihi te matotoru, ehia putu o katoa?

He Tauira.

equation

Ko te tikanga tenei mo te whika rakau. Ko nga putu o te roa, me wahi ki te tekau marna inihi o te putu kotahi. Engari, ko nga inihi o te whanui, o te matotoru, kua era e wahia ki te tekau marna inini. Me waiho era, hei tepara atu, ki nga inihi, ki nga putu i wahia ra e te tekau marua inihi i roto i nga putu o te roa. Engari, me titiro iho ano ki te Tauira. Otira, ko tetehi mahinga ano tenei, ara, ko te huarahi mahinga a nga herengi i roto i nga pene.

He rakau kani, $23 \frac{1}{2}$ putu te roa, 11 inihi te whanui, 1 inihi te matotoru, ehia putu o katoa?

equation

He rakau kani, $20 \frac{3}{4}$ te roa, 8 inihi te whanui, 1 inihi te matotoru, ehia putu o katoa?

equation

He rakau kani, 30 putu te roa, 9 inihi te whanui, 2 inihi te matotoru, ehia putu o katoa?

equation

He rakau kani, 29 putu o te roa, $7 \frac{1}{2}$ inihi te whanui, 3 inihi te matotoru, ehia putu o katoa?

equation

Ki te mea, e wha paraki, 15 putu te roa, $9 \frac{1}{2}$ inihi te whanui, 3 inihi te matotoru, ehia putu o katoa?

equation

Tenei ano tetehi mahinga o te whika rakau. Ko nga putu o te roa, me hawhe ki te rua ki te mea; ka rere nga toenga o roto i nga putu, me waiho ki waho o nga putu i hawhetia nei e te rua. Engari, me tohu ano a waenganui ia raua. Muri iho, ka tepara ai i tana toenga ki nga inihi o te whanui, a, tae noa ki nga putu o te roa i hawhetia nei e te rua. Muri iho, ka teparatia ano e te Matotoru ki te mahinga a te whanui. Hei nga inihi te timatanga, a tae noa ki nga putu. Muri iho, ka teparatia ki te rua, hei nga inihi te timatanga, a tae noa ki nga putu. Koia tena, ko nga putu katoa o te rakau.

He Tauira.

He rakau, 30 putu te roa, 9 inihi te whanui, 2 inihi te matotoru ehia putu o katoa?

equation

Ko te Ritenga mo te Hokohoko.

Ki te mea e 246 nga taimaha o te tahi mea, Peke Witi, Poaka, aha ranei, te utu 4 pene mo te taimaha kotahi Kia mokio koe, ko enei taimaha me whaka herengi. Muri iho ka whaka-pauna. Hei reira ka tepara aiki te 4 pene. Ki te kitea te mahinga a tena 4 pene, koia tena ko te utu.

He Tauira.

equation

Ki te mea e 84 puliera, te utu mo te puhera 5 herengi, ehia mo katoa?

equation

Ko te Ritenga mo te Hoko.

Ki te mea e 75 puhera, te utu mo te puhera kotahi herengi, ehia mo katoa?

equation

Ko tetehi mahinga ano tenei.

equation

Ko te tetehi mahinga ano tenei.

equation

E 7 pene mo te iaari kotahi, ehia mo nga iaari e 647.?

He Tauira.

equation

Ko tetehi mahinga ano tenei.

equation

Ko tetehi mahinga ano tenei.

equation

Ka penei tonu te ritenga mo te hoko, he maha nga mahinga i roto i te utu kotahi. Engari, ko tetehi mahinga, he tata. Ko tetehi, he roa. Otiia, tirohia te huarahi tata o enei mahinga. Engari, kei nga Tepera anake te tikanga o

te mahi. Waihoki, ko te Teparā anake e ako i te tuatahi, kia tino mohio i te ngakau, muri iho, ma te ringaringa e mahi ki runga i te Tereti, otira, ma raua tahi.

HEOIANO KA MUTU I KONEI.

Printed By G. Watson, Wellington, N. Z.

Extracts from a Journal

Kept During the Performance of a Reconnoissance Survey

Of the

Southern Districts of the Province of Otago, New Zealand.

By J. Turnbull Thomson, F.R.G.S.,

Chief Surveyor, Otago.

With Map.

[*Read before the Geographical Society of London on the 10th of May, 1858.*]

London: Printed By W. Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street and Celarino Cross.

map of Southland

Survey of the Southern Districts of the Province of Otago.

January, 1857.—WE started from Dunedin on Tuesday the 6th of January, 1857, and arrived at Invercargill on Sunday the 11th of the same month. What with the difficulty in obtaining men and detention from bad weather, it was the 15th before we could make a commencement on the actual operations of the survey. On this day, accompanied by Drummond and Lindsay, I crossed the bar of the little creek that winds its course through the centre of the new town of Invercargill.

The boat which I had hired proved leaky and ill formed, so though the wind was strong and favourable we had not set sail above a minute before the mast fell overboard, carrying away the thwart and step. Having repaired damages we proceeded with better fortune, sailing down the broad estuary of the Waiopai, and entering the narrow and intricate channel of the New River.

This river we ascended 7 or 8 miles, camping near Printz's at dusk. To the right of the New River is a sandy tract exposed to the fury of the westerly winds; to the left, on the contrary, is a fertile and woody district.

The New River finds its way into the sea near the Omawi or Steep Head, after meandering for many miles in the proximity of the sea-shore. The intervening sandhills evidently bank in the river from the ocean, and allow of no egress until the projecting land of Omawi Head is reached. Here a narrow but deep channel leads the water of the New River into the sea. This is facilitated by the protection afforded under the lee of the iron-bound promontory above mentioned.

On the 16th we were astir at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 A.M., reaching the Tomo-boraken Creek at 8 A.M., where we breakfasted. The pull up the New River disclosed scenery much akin to what is viewed with admiration in the rivers of the tropics, regions exuberant of vegetation. Clumps of forest and grassy plains alternate. Where the forest holds sway the black and white pines are to be seen stretching out their ample arms, and the manuka, now in full bloom, forms a lively contrast to the sombre olive tints of the foliage of these and other native woods, while the native weeping willow contributes the charm of elegance by drooping its beautiful festoons towards the calm and mirror-like waters.

The forests here abound in singing birds; these, during the hours of early morning, by their songs, did not in a small measure contribute to the enjoyment of the scene. As we sped along flocks of aquatic birds were passed, which having yet scarcely made the acquaintance of man, were undisturbed by our near approach.

During the time we were discussing our breakfast under the shade of the forest a small bird about the size of the red robin of England, though not of his colour, came hopping about our fire, and approaching so close to us that we might almost have handled him. His colour on the breast was gray, on the wings and back it was black, his eye was jet. From his similarity of disposition to the robin of England he obtains that name here from the Colonist.

As his motions were watched with some interest, his company was not unwelcome during breakfast. While he hopped about picking up the stray crumbs, one of our party happened to whistle. This riveted his attention for a while, but he would soon unconcernedly hop about till another note was whistled, when again he would immediately fix his lustrous eye on the attractor. This was done several times, proving how great an influence such music had over him.

After breakfast we started with packs on our backs, passing through forests of pine, totara, manuka, and other native woods. On penetrating into the forest reminiscences of similar scenery traversed on similar duties

in the tropical East returned forcibly to the memory. Though these forests are not so high as the forests of the tropics, yet they are equally compact, abounding in vines, creepers, orchideous plants, and ferns. The cabbage tree that here grows on the skirts of forests very much resembles the pandan, so often met with in analogous positions in the East Indies. We passed through two miles of forest before we emerged into the grassy plains. These plains, now unoccupied, may ere long yield abundant harvests to the industrious husbandman.

By noon we arrived at the cattle station of Mr. Macfarlane, and were welcomed in no moderate terms by his stockman, who informed us that he had had only the company of cows for these last three weeks, and possessing the gregarious instinct of mankind, he wearied much to hold converse with his species again. He employed himself during the afternoon in driving in some cows that he might regale us with new milk, and I was not sorry that this gave me for the first time an opportunity of viewing the evolutions of the stockman on horseback, and the wielding and the cracking of the huge stock whip. In the *home country* the cracking of whips is the amusement of children, but here it is an accomplishment of some importance. A whole herd of horned monsters tremble at the rifle-like sound of the stock-whip, and they fly pell-mell from its influence when driven in to be branded, or for slaughter. Our entertainer was skilful in the use of his instrument of authority. It deserves notice. The handle does not exceed 18 inches in length, but the lash extends to 15 or even 20 feet. In the hands of a tyro the instrument is of little avail, but the thundering sounds emitted from it by our stockman as he grasped the handle, in either hand alternately, proved how formidable a weapon it was in the hands of the initiated.

On the morning of the 17th I proceeded to Forest Hill, reaching it by noon, taking observations at intervals with the theodolite to fix the topographical features. The country passed through was generally covered with good grass, with this disadvantage, of being much intersected by swamps. The scenery for a country yet in the state of nature was as beautiful as could be desired, the combination of wood and savannah, hill and dale, contributed greatly to this end. We returned to the station by 6 P.M., pretty-well fatigued by the roughness of the country. Swamps, which here abound, are the most tiresome of travel, and the unburnt tussack grass covering the plains brings one up at every step. To the east of Forest Hill the Makerewa River comes out of the hill district of the Hokanui, winding through spacious and grassy valleys. On our route to-day we crossed near to a herd of cattle, wild, owing to their being seldom visited by their owner. They gathered together in battle array, facing towards us, having a large bull in their van looking as angry as need be. He made a few issues forward, but dissipated our respect for him by turning tail and retreating ignominiously among the foremost of his charge.

Pine and ironwood were observed to be plentiful in the woods of Forest Hill, the former tall and straight, well adapted for spars.

On the morning of the 18th we were awoke by the violent barking of the stockman's dog. The occasion of this was found to be the presence of the tui, or parson bird. This feathered individual was seen perched on a tree close by, uttering subdued notes, interluded by harsh and suppressed screams. To this soliloquy the dog was enunciating his violent objections, but our parson bird being beyond reach held on his discourse with much *nonchalance*. Altogether this bird is a most remarkable one: clothed in feathers of deep black from head to foot, he wears a most grave and sacerdotal aspect. This is not all: he bears out closer the clerical resemblance by the possession of two pure white feathers under his chin, and the parody is complete when he commences to utter his guttural yet energetic notes. Sitting on the branch of a tree as a *pro tempore* pulpit, he wags his *paw* and shakes his head, bending to one side and then to another, as if he remarked to this one and to that one; and once and again with pent up vehemence, contracting his muscles and drawing himself together, his voice waxes loud in a manner to wake sleepers to their senses.

Last night being calm we were much troubled with mosquitoes of the grey type, and to-day myriads of blow-flies collected on every thing greasy. On looking at my blankets, which I had incautiously left exposed, I found to my disgust clusters of their larvæ upon them.

I may here add that this was the only occasion on which we were troubled with mosquitoes during our sojourn in the southern districts, and the nuisance of the blow-fly is easily guarded against by wrapping the articles they are given to blow upon in calico.

From Macfarlane Station we proceeded to the Oreti Settlement, at which we arrived in the morning of the 19th, after a hard pull against the current and rapids. After breakfasting on eel and biscuit, accompanied by Drummond, I started for the Spar Bush, distant about 9 miles. I carried theodolite and bedding, he tent and provisions. We kept along the edge of the terrace, passing over a fine grassy country, but near the rivers Oreti and Waimatook, subject to be overflowed. The Spar Bush contains fine timber, but at too great a distance from water carriage to be available.

Our beef having got spoiled by the blow-flies, we carried four eels with us as a relish to our biscuit, requesting Lindsay to fish for more.

They were caught by a very simple method. A bit of salt beef was tied to a rude string made of stripes of

flax leaves knotted together. After sundown this was thrown into the creek. The eels take hold of the beef and hold on till they are hauled ashore. This, it will be remarked, is a most primitive mode of obtaining a dinner of eel, but there is an improved mode, viz. by the eel-pot. This consists of a tube made of wicker work or bark, having a funnel-shaped mouth. In the interior is placed a bait of grilled flesh, worms, or even eels. As the funnel has its small orifice towards the interior, the eel easily obtains admittance, but he seeks to get out at all places but the right one. The eel pot is the invention of the Moaris, and they depend on it greatly for subsistence.

At the junction of the Oreti and Makerewa, Captain Stokes suggested the placing of a town,
See 'Geo. Journal,' vol. xxi. p. 25.

apparently being unaware that here the land for miles is at times covered several feet by floods. The settlers in the neighbourhood found out this to their loss, having had much of their property washed away; an experience the proofs of which could not have come under Captain Stokes's notice, owing to the unoccupied state of the country at the time of his visit. As the selection of the site for the capital of this part of New Zealand devolved on me, I may take this opportunity of stating that I decided, after being in possession of the requisite local knowledge not possible to be obtained by the above officer. An acquaintance with the interior, its topographical features and communications, as well as the completion of a careful survey of the rivers from their embouchures to the heads of their navigation, all combined to point out the head of the Waiopai navigation to be the position for the capital (now called Invercargill). At Invercargill the interior traffic can centre—to here the sea-borne traffic can be brought: it is consequently here that the interchange of merchandise must take place, and people congregate for that purpose. The site on the New River junction, besides being subject to floods, neither commands practicable outlets into the country, nor water communication with the sea for vessels drawing above 5 feet.

On the 20th we started at 7 A.M., after breakfasting on biscuit and eel, and proceeded to the north end of the Spar Bush. The terrace land here bends suddenly to the westward, and a large plain of low land lies between this and the Taringtura Downs. Having broken my theodolite case, I was at some loss how to mend it, till Drummond suggested the gum of the flax. This plant being nowhere far distant was soon procured, and the requisite quantity of gum taken, which answered admirably. Flax and fern seem to have administered to the New Zealanders in their primitive state in the same measure as the cocoanut does to the natives of the islands and attals of Polynesia. Flax afforded their clothing, bedding, and fibrous material; fern afforded food.

On the afternoon of the 21st we arrived at the Bluff, after a rough passage down the New River against a heavy gale of wind. At Campbell Town, now laid out on the Bluff Peninsula, we found the people out of provisions, so no one would take us into their houses. As a last resource we got permission to sleep in the half-finished jail, and having procured with some difficulty a few pounds of wheat, we bruised it and supped. The principal object of my visit to Campbell Town was to obtain observations of the latitude, intending the Bluff summit as the southern station of the basis of the survey, the northern station being intended to be on some prominent object in the interior. On the 22nd the latitude of the Custom-house was found to be $46^{\circ} 35' 58''$ 8 s., this being the mean of 18 circummeridional altitudes taken with an excellent sextant of Troughton; on the 23rd 16 observations gave the latitude to be $46^{\circ} 35' 53''$.8: consequently the mean latitude of the Custom-house would be $46^{\circ} 35' 56''$.3. The weather being hot, the sand-flies were rife, attacking every part of the skin exposed, and rendering the obtaining of a long series of observations a painful and teasing operation.

The bluff promontory on which Campbell Town now stands is called Awarua by the natives. The harbour of the Bluff, formerly much frequented as a whaling station, is protected to the westward by this promontory, and to the eastward a low tongue of shingle assists to nearly land-lock the anchorage. Being thus well enclosed on all sides, the Bluff harbour will be admitted to be one of the best in New Zealand, when it is stated that it has easy access, and no bar. Campbell Town, situated on such a harbour, will, doubtless, ultimately be of some importance, but at present there are only five buildings within its precincts, viz., a custom-house, jail, collector's house, and two cottages.

The promontory of the Bluff stretches from the estuary of the New River boldly out to sea, ending in a pretty steep eminence facing to the south. The geological formation of the promontory consists of plutonic as well as aqueous rocks ranging from granite and gneiss to indurated and soft shales. The strike of the strata is generally north-west and south-east, the dip being perpendicular. The magnet is much affected in some parts, and remarkably so on the summit of the Bluff, as will be seen by the following observations:— showing a local disturbance of $56^{\circ} 20'$ within the space of 60 feet. The stone in the vicinity abounds in iron ore, but I found no specimens sufficiently powerful to attract the magnet. On the plains I found the variation to be $16^{\circ} 30'$ E.

The promontory of the Bluff is well wooded, in parts otherwise it is covered with an inferior grass, intermixed with fern and flax. Amongst the woods were observed the bright crimson tint given to the foliage by the flowering of the iron-wood tree. To the eastward of the Bluff harbour the land is low, and generally swampy.

From Campbell Town we returned to Invercargill, where I engaged a pack-horse at 3*l.* a week to

accompany us into the interior with provisions. We proceeded in the further prosecution of the survey on the 29th, camping at the half-way bush at night; this is about 15 miles from the town. The country about here has generally inferior pasturage, but it is admirably interspersed with clumps of forest, and well adapted for agricultural settlement. The face of the country is slightly undulating, having a general rise to the Hokanui Hills, a picturesque group bounding the plains to the northward.

To-day I noticed on my path a Moari oven, and this may be taken as an opportunity of noticing these relics of bygone times. These ovens are seldom constructed by the Moaris of this part of New Zealand in these present times, they finding the metal-pot and kettle more convenient. The oven consists of a round hole dug in the ground about 4 or 5 feet in diameter, and of the same depth. Around the edges pebbles and stones are arranged. Their system of cooking in these ovens was the same as that so universal in Polynesia, and so often described by voyagers, so needs no remarks at my hands. But as monuments of the past these ovens form an interesting subject of discussion. They are met with in all parts of the plains in this district of New Zealand, and in places now long denuded of the forest. The ovens in best preservation are found near the edges of the bush, the more dilapidated are distant. It may be safely surmised that the proximity of bush would be chosen for the easy procuring of fuel, and the relative preservation of the ovens would also lead to this conclusion. The existence of ovens would therefore indicate the spot where forest had been, and when found far from this would tend to prove its gradual retrogression and diminution on the face of the country. Indeed the gradual extirpation of the forest may be noticed on that existing, and the process is a simple and natural one.

The edges of the forest are choked with dry scrub grasses and ferns, which, on being set fire to, burn vigorously, destroying to various depths a fringe of the adjacent trees. Grass takes the place of the burnt scrub, and scrub takes the place of the burnt forest: thus the forest is diminished at each burning of the fringing scrub, grasses, and fern. The native grasses grow up sufficiently dense to burn vigorously once in three years: thus, where man existed, it is not an improbable hypothesis that fires would rage over the country, whether propagated by accident or design, at intervals not much greater than every three years.

If it be admitted that the Moari ovens were always placed near bush, they then stand as proofs of the former wooded state of the country, they being so universally distributed over it; and the rate at which the forest diminishes at each burning might, with the other data above alluded to, lead to a rude calculation as to the date of the construction of the ovens by simply measuring their distances from the adjacent woods, consequently the period of their use by the aborigines. Presuming on the supposition that these ovens were always in use by the aborigines, we might then have some grounds for speculation on the comparative age of their occupation of these districts. It is true that speculations founded on such rude data would involve the adoption of too wide a margin for founding satisfactory conclusions thereon, yet with all these deficiencies a date might be suggested, and I believe that it would be a recent one, the first coming of the Moari.

While engaged on this subject it must not be lost sight of, that, though the forest is generally observed to diminish pretty regularly, this is not always the case; for it diminishes more rapidly on one soil than on another, and I have even seen proofs of thousands of acres having been destroyed at one conflagration. I have also often remarked that when ovens are seen 10 to 20 miles away from forest, investigation has shown that a clump of wood had at a recent date existed in their vicinity, the only remnants of which would be in a scorched log or two prostrate on the ground.

The remnants of these ovens may be truly said to be the only monuments of the past that we owe to the aborigines; Nature has left another class of monuments on the face of the plains; these consist of numerous mounds of earth covered with pebbles. These mounds seldom exceed 2 or 3 feet in height, and invariably have a hollow on one side a foot or 18 inches in depth. These are indeed pigmy structures when compared with the stupendous works of man in the Old World, but, small as they are, they form too prominent a feature in a country yet in the state of nature not to attract the attention of the traveller, so their local interest is not despicable.

These mounds—and they are very numerous—were an enigma to me for some time till I had viewed all parts of the country, after which a simple solution presented itself as to their origin. They are undoubtedly formed by the falling of trees of the forest, whose roots, on turning up, raise the attached earth with them. When the tree decays, the earth falls down in a heap bordering the hollow out of which the heap was raised: thus we have the mound and the hollow. On the mounds will invariably be seen such stones and pebbles as had been raised with the soil, and they, for the most part, remain on the top, owing to the washing away of the more transportable sand and earth during rains with which they are mixed. The plains in the vicinity of the Hokanuis, and many other parts of the province, abound in rounded quartz pebbles, deposited close to the surface; where this obtains, the tops of the mounds will be seen covered with these, presenting too remarkable a feature in the primeval scenery not to draw forth the surmises of the observer. But these mounds are not all covered with quartz pebbles: thus on the Oreti and Aparima plains, where no quartz exists, the mounds are seen to be covered by pebbles, the débris of other rocks.

I have observed these mounds in all shapes of construction, equally attached to the roots of the newly fallen tree, to the half decayed, and to the nearly obliterated one. On all these mounds would be seen the stones and pebbles pertaining to the formation of the district. Thus we account for the prominent collections of pebbles on the mounds, and this leads us to the feature that has attracted even more attention, viz., the numerous collections of white pebbles which are found in certain districts. The fact of being white has no doubt attracted attention to the heaps which would have passed unobserved had they been coloured: nevertheless the latter are as numerous as the former in their proper districts. Thus, as I remarked before in the Oreti and Aparima plains, where no quartz is to be discovered on the mounds, little collections of more sombre coloured pebbles are seen occupying their place. But even where quartz pebbles abound, it is frequently observed that coloured ones are intermingled.

The collections of white pebbles, varying as they do from a wheelbarrow to a handful, have been suggested, by a facetious and clever savant in the neighbouring province, to be relics of the crop of the moa; others with greater appearance of probability have suggested that these heaps had been collected by the Moaris to heat, for the purpose of cooking small birds: without bringing either birds or men to our aid, natural causes may be suggested as to the origin of them, viz. the action of the atmosphere on many of the detached pieces of quartz so abundantly scattered over the surface. Sudden alternations from frost to heat would tend to split them up, and time would round the fragments; or the gusts in storms, which, expending their fury on the mounds, already mentioned as being covered with pebbles, taking up and carrying off in eddies little collections from the many exposed, and depositing them in the scattered collections as we find them.

The above subject of pebble collections may appear puerile to many who have not traversed a country yet in the state of nature; it will not readily come home to them that these little but numerous objects appear to the traveller in the garb of importance. I have often heard the subject discussed with warmth and energy by the colonists at their social meetings, and consequently in devoting a few sentences to the subject, I believe I need scarcely offer an apology.

February, 1857.—Up to the 1st of February I was employed traversing the Waiopai plains. I found that the Makerewa River collected all its waters from the Hokanui hills. These hills have a most picturesque appearance, being much broken and variegated by rocky and bare tops, wooded slopes, and grassy valleys. The ample and well watered glades, now desolate, invite the occupation of man. On many parts of the plain I observed prostrate trees, proving a very recent occupation by the forest. The hills were covered with quartz pebbles; some schistose rock was also observed, uncommonly like petrified wood.

The 1st and 2nd found us at the Otaramika bushes: here the scrub caught fire near our tent, and we saved our property with the greatest difficulty. A wood hen was shot: it is a bird between the size of a partridge and a pheasant, and with plumage like the latter. Its wings are too small to enable it to fly, but it is supported on stout legs, by which it progresses very rapidly on the ground. Its wings are armed with horny spurs, which it uses in attack and defence. It frequents the brushwood surrounding the forest, and threads the mazes with the greatest facility.

On the 3rd we proceeded to Mr. Devellin's station, situated on the Mataura plains. The grasses on these plains are superior, but much overrun with spear grass, an indication of good soil. The plains above each terrace have a magnificent expanse; and well might their pasturage have excited the cupidity of the sheep stealer, Mackenzie, who selected these plains for depasturing the sheep he attempted to carry off from Canterbury province. Remnants of his hut are still to be seen in Mr. Devellin's bush, together with a small crop of potatoes. These had been prepared for his expected arrival through the lake district, by a track not yet traversed by the white man.

From the 5th to the 8th stormy weather detained us at Mr. Devellin's station. Drummond, in searching about the hut of Mackenzie, found in its proximity a saw, 2 reaping hooks, an adze, marked J. C., an American axe, and a trace chain. After Mackenzie's apprehension, the Moaris of Tukurau are said to have removed many of the articles, principally consisting of cooking utensils. When Mr. Devellin first visited the place, he saw pannikins, plates, &c., sufficient for 4 men. It is evident from this that Mackenzie must have had sharers in his enterprise.

On the 9th we started at 8 A.M., and kept along the edges of the high terrace until we reached the Waimumu, a stream coming out of the Hokanuis, and falling into the Mataura, 2 miles above Tukurau. This stream we reached by 3 P.M., when we rested an hour. North of the Waimumu the high terrace breaks into numerous long valleys, so as no longer to bear the character of a terrace, and the watershed is close to the Waimumu. We arrived at Mr. MacNab's shearing hut at 7 P.M., and camped for the night. This has been a fine sunshiny day, and the country passed has generally borne good grass, though rather coarse. The scenery is magnificent; the broad plains and terraces stretching away to the south, and the bold configuration of the Hokanuis to the north. The Ship Cone, which here has a pyramidal form, from its base to its peak, in height not less than 2000 feet, forms a grand and impressive object in the panorama. The Hokanui Hills are timbered half

way up their southern sides.

The Mataura flows close under the eastern range of hills, which are merely a continuation of the Hokanuis, though here the junction is broken. These eastern ranges continue in almost a straight line to the nuggets on the eastern coast, near the mouth of the river Clutha.

Before leaving this part of the country, a few remarks may be entered upon regarding that remarkable feature, the plains and terraces of the Mataura. The terraces are three in number: one next to the river; a middle one, having a rise of about 50 feet; and a third, having another rise, varying from 70 to 200 feet. The plains which they enclose extend 24 miles in length, and 6 miles in breadth. Similar plains and terraces are observed on many of the southern rivers, more particularly the Waiau, where they even take the appearance of grandeur. Terraces are also observed farther up the Mataura, nearly at its sources in the Eyre mountains. The mode of action that produced these remarkable features can only be surmised in our present confined knowledge of geological formation. Two theories may be suggested: 1st, the deteriorating effects of the waters of the river, which in ages would alter its course from side to side, and carry away the soil from the containing banks, thus forming the sudden and steep edges of the terraces; and 2nd, the unequal settlement of the Waiopai and Mataura plains, which, at one time, might have been on one level. Had the valley of the Mataura been an arm of the sea, the wearing away of the terrace edges might have been easily accounted for; but the absence of shells and other marine productions would prove that no action had taken place by this means, and to the action of the waters of the river I am inclined to ascribe little power in effecting the enormous escarpment of so great an extent of country. The second mode suggested appears to me to bear the greater appearance of feasibility, but, as hinted before, it would be improper to assume the correctness of the same; were it so, the terrace edges I would take to be the line of fault, and the extent of dislocation of strata would here be found to be equal to the rise of the terrace.

Situated 2 miles above Tuturau are the falls of the Mataura. Here the river falls over a bed of limestone about 20 feet high, presenting, when the river is flooded, a spectacle of considerable grandeur. The river has cut its way through the bed of limestone for upwards of a mile, and had history afforded us such proofs of deterioration in the rock as Lyell has collected regarding that over which Niagara falls, we would have had data for calculating the time taken in cutting the rock so far. Now would be the time to place such marks as would be a guide to future observers.

Near the falls are beds of coal or lignite, accompanied by beds of shale, containing fossil ferns in abundance.

Judging from the sections brought to light by the steep banks of the Mataura and Makerewa, as well as a few land slips on the Waiopai plains, these plains may be noted to be of aqueous formation. The strata abound near the surface with beds of rounded quartz pebbles and shingle of other descriptions of rock, while underneath are shales and blue clay. The plains have a moderate rise towards the Hokanui Hills, which bound them to the north, and here the formation alters. While the strata on the plains are generally level or slightly inclined, the strata here are much disturbed and tilted. On the ridges of the higher hills they generally are nearly perpendicular—having a north-west and south-east strike. I did not observe here any of the true igneous or plutonic rock. The most prominent rocks were altered by the action of heat or galvanic currents, taking the appearance of trap, trap-tuff, and chert. Breccias, shales, and softer strata are found in the less prominent ridges. Quartz shingle was everywhere abundant on the surface of the plains to the south of the Hokanuis.

The 12th found us on the Waimea Plains, with a morning of drizzling rain and mist. We started notwithstanding, and kept on till 2 P.M., when we camped on the banks of the Mataura, near the gorge of the mountains. It cleared up at 5 P.M. and turned out a beautiful evening. The country passed over bears superior grass, but is much overrun with scrub. We are now under the foot of the Snow Mountains, and the scenery is impressive, with the rugged, barren, and steep heights, casting their sombre shadows over the plain. The Mataura here is a beautiful pebbly stream, pure as crystal. The valleys of the mountains have generally accessible timber. We shot several ducks, and had a feast, for we had been living on bread and tea alone for several days.

On the 13th we were at Mr. MacKellar's station, where there are the remnants of a Moari settlement, called Tomogalak. Moa bones are found here in abundance, some measuring 2 inches in diameter. It is supposed that these bones are collections thrown away by the Moaris after the bird had been eaten. Many of the bones do not appear above 30 years old; indeed I was informed by an old native at Jacob River that he and his tribe feasted on the moa in his younger years.

The 14th found us camped on the banks of the Oreti, near the Elbow. The country here bears fine grass, but much overrun with a scrub called Tomataguru by the natives, or *Wild Irishman* by the colonists. It is full of prickles and is difficult to penetrate. The formation is chert with gritty shales.

As we have gradually lost plates, knives, and forks, we are now existing in the manner of savages, boiling our flesh or fowl in our tea-can (called a *billy*), kneading our dough in waterproof cloaks, and baking our bread

in the embers of our campfire. Our table is the grass, and our plates a few leaves, our seats a stone or log of wood. Our beds are of course on the ground, softened with a few bunches of fern or grass, covered with oiled calico to keep off the damp. Our principal subsistence has been "damper" (species of bread) and tea. The want of flesh brings the greater zest when we can get it. Wet as we often are all day, and bedded as we often are on the damp ground all night, we have thriven amazingly. The best of all blessings, good health, has attended us. There is something exhilarating in daily coining on new country, and in descrying new objects of interest. We are now beyond the range of the white man, and the country is utterly desolate of inhabitants, the aborigines having long ago given up their traffic with the interior. The country is now becoming more interesting, as we are in the midst of high and picturesque mountains having level and fertile plains, and valleys at their feet. There is also a great extent of forest to the north, on the slopes of the Eyre Mountains. A valley leads north, low and easy to look at; will this lead into the interior?

On the 15th we proceeded to the foot of the Dome mountain, and camped at the spot eligible for astronomical observations. A new plant appeared here, allied to the cactus, and colonially termed a "*Spaniard*." It has stout blades with sharp points—no agreeable objects to encounter. The country here is much overrun with these and "*wild Irishmen*;" so much so that it was a matter of some difficulty to drag our horses through them, for the poor animals, in swerving from the talons of the "*wild Irishmen*" were apt to be received on the more deadly weapons of the "*Spaniards*."

On the 16th I started at 7 A.M., with Lindsay, for the tops of the Dome and Cupola, reaching the summit of the latter by 10 A.M., and of the former by noon. The Dome is 4505 feet above the level of the sea, and the Cupola 4045 feet. They command a most extensive prospect from the eastern to the southwestern coasts, and over the plains intervening. Water froze on each summit while we were taking the observations, although the day in the plains was a warm one. Near the summit the vegetation consisted of snow grass, mosses, and a species of heather. Half-way up the mountains some pretty flowers were gathered, amongst which the mountain daisy deserves notice for its elegance and simplicity of form, and beauty of colour. A ground berry, called the New Zealand strawberry by the colonists, formed an agreeable but rather insipid repast to our parched lips. It tastes much like the rose apple of India. While on the Dome, Lindsay employed himself in scratching our names and immortalizing them under a cairn which he built during the time I was busy with the theodolite.

The formation of these mountains I would term metamorphic, consisting as they do of cherts, and allied compact rocks, hardened by the action of heat. The plains beneath are aqueous, consisting of the transported débris of the interior, and adjacent mountains. To the N.N.E. an opening appeared through which no high land was visible: I conjectured this then to be the pass into the Central districts, at present entirely unknown to the European, and but vaguely described by the Moari.

The heads of the Mataura were seen to come out of the Eyre mountains, winding between the Dome and East Dome through a deep gorge, by which it issues on the Waimea plains.

The panorama of the Dome mountain is truly grand, presenting to view as it does the snow-clad and serrated outline of the Eyre mountains, the extensive plains of Waiopai, Mataura, Waiau, Clutha, and Waimea; also Molyneux Bay, Tawaiwais Bay, Solander Island, and the boundless Southern Ocean. We got back to camp by 5 P.M. pretty well tired with our day's exertions.

We remained at our camp in Observation Bush till noon of the 18th, having during the interval ascertained the latitude by circummeridional observations of the sun.

The uncertain state of the weather prevented more observations being taken.

From Observation Bush we struck for the north end of Taringtura Downs, crossing the Oreti River. To the left we observed thousands of acres of dead forest apparently destroyed at one burning. Dusk found us entangled in a swamp, with both our horses bogged. By unloading we made shift to extricate them, and we camped on the edge after dark during a heavy gale of wind. Here the country being destitute of wood we could obtain no tent poles, so as a substitute we used the gun and theodolite stand, and thus managed partially to exclude wind and rain. The whole of the Oreti valley consisted of recent deposit of shingle, and the grass is soft and good.

We were astir early on the morning of the 19th, holding along the east banks of the Aparima: when we came to the gorge we struck down to the bed of the river to avoid the rough and hilly country on the east, and we camped at 6 P.M. on the west side. The pasturage of the country is superior. The formation of the hills as far as could be examined was metamorphic, the strata being perpendicular, and strike N.W. and S.E. The bed of the Aparima showed the débris of plutonic rocks, such as porphyry, greenstone, granite, and amygdaloids. This fact would indicate that the Takitimo mountains, out of which the Aparima flows, are formed of these. Near our camp the impression of a bivalve was found in a stone of compact texture, but I could not find any rocks in the vicinity of the same nature. We washed the sands of the river and examined the "*pockets*" of the rocks for gold, but found none. The formations do not indicate its existence in this valley.

Our provisions being nearly expended we were astir at 4 A.M. of the 20th, and held down the bed of the

Aparima, crossing and recrossing 100 times, till at length at 6 P.M. we arrived at the Yellow Bluff, where we camped for the night. The grasses on either side of the river were rank, but of excellent quality for grazing. The plains are alluvial and shingly. The river when flooded seems to spread over a considerable distance from its banks. As we have descended from the interior, the Aneroid barometer which I carried has notably marked the change of atmospheric pressure. There is fully one inch difference between Mackellar Station and the sea level.

With our long travel over shingle, our horses are knocked up, and Drummond is in boots without soles, and all our trousers are torn to rags. Lindsay shot a duck, which was a great relish to our sugarless tea. The formation at the Yellow Bluff consists of strata of rolled pebbles of granite, porphyry, chert, &c.

On the 21st we proceeded to Howell's Home Station, keeping along the edge of the terrace. The grasses here are generally inferior excepting to the eastward of Near Bush, where limestone containing fossil shells crops out. The 22nd found us at Jacob River Settlement, where we remained till the 26th, preparing for another month's travel into the interior by laying in provisions, purchasing clothes, shoes, &c.

Jacob River Settlement (so named from a Moari called Jacob, who resided on a patch of cultivation now called Jacob Garden, situated two miles from the mouth of the river) deserves some notice. It formed one of the many whaling stations that formerly studded the coast of New Zealand, and is now the only place (as far as I am aware) in New Zealand whose inhabitants yet continue the occupation. About 20 to 30 years ago, at which time whaling was carried on with great success, the merchants of Sydney and Hobart Town sent their vessels to these coasts during the season that the whale was known to frequent them. Owing to the savage and warlike propensities of the Moaris of that period, the whales did not much trust themselves amongst the native settlements, but sought such positions as were not easily accessible, to guard against surprise.

Codfish Island, situated to the west of Stewart Island, being girt by steep rocks constantly washed by the heavy roll of the stormy Southern Ocean, and having only a small boat-landing, was early chosen as a favourable site both for the operations of whaling and sealing, which latter also formed a profitable branch of industry, as well as for security against the treachery of the savage tribes then inhabiting Centre Island and Ruabuki. The natives of this part of New Zealand were formerly comparatively numerous, exceeding 3000 to 4000. Numerous and savage as they were, they were yet kept in awe of the more powerful tribes to the northward, who occasionally made raids on them, killing and devouring or making slaves of all who fell into their hands. It was in consequence of these warlike excursions that the natives of this part of New Zealand inhabited the islands above mentioned under the same motives as actuated their European visitors, and the mainland was only occasionally stealthily visited by them in the pursuit of the wood-hen, quail, eels, and other animal food.

The Europeans of Codfish Island numbered over 100 souls, and as, on the arrival of their ships, they held stores of the much-coveted articles, tobacco and rum, they possessed the means of securing the neighbouring chiefs and tribes to their interests. The consequence was that their intercourse became as intimate as the Europeans desired; and considering the fact, that even the chiefs of those days held it an honour to sacrifice the charms of their daughters to the white man, it will be correctly surmised that a mixed race grew up as years rolled on.

As the intercourse of the white man and the Moari became more intimate, so did their knowledge of and confidence in each other increase. This led to mutual support against the fear of other tribes which led to bolder views and more extended operations on the coasts. Thus it was not long ere the solitary strong, hold of Codfish Island became of very secondary importance to the many other settlements formed along the coasts, such as at the Bluff, New River, Wai Kawa, Jantuck, Jacob River, &c., all of which, during the first and last days of whaling enterprise, became stations, and were continued as such till the fish was nearly extirpated in these waters.

From these stirring times of whaling, so often conned over by the "old hand" as he smokes his pipe at the door of his hut, the native race has declined rapidly in numbers. One cause of decline is said to have been the measles which broke out amongst them some years ago, and swept away two-thirds of them in a short time. To this visitation and other imported diseases may be attributed much of the decline of the native race. Lung diseases are also fatal to great numbers of them.

The natives of the present day are so much reduced in number that they do not exceed 400. The principal remnant reside at Ruabuki Island, Centre Island being now deserted. On Ruabuki Island an enterprising and devoted missionary resides, who leaves all the world to follow in this lonely spot his sacred calling. A few dozen natives are scattered about the coast settlements, such as at Jacob River, New River, and the Matura. There are a few also residing on Stewart Island.

The busy days of whaling did not last many years. The fish was nearly exterminated, and the residue, from being disturbed, deserted the coast, so where dozens at one time could be seen in a bay none made their appearance. Such Europeans as had not contracted ties binding them to the soil left for other scenes; such as had ties contented themselves with eking out a dull existence, subsisting by the labours of their Moari helpmates,

who cultivated corn and potatoes for their white lord and master. The occasional call of an American or Australian whaler would furnish clothes, tobacco, and rum, in exchange for potatoes and fresh pork, of which there was always superabundance in these settlements.

Excepting at Jacob River such was the condition of the Europeans and their settlements till within these last two years, when the purchase of the country from the Aborigines opened it to colonization. From hence a new era of activity commences, but on this we will not now enter, but return to Jacob River. This settlement is much indebted to Mr. Howell for its present prosperity, for notwithstanding the failure of the principal means of occupation of the inhabitants in sealing and whaling, he remained by his adopted country, fostering by his energy and enterprise such branches of industry as were available either by land or by sea. While he annually fitted out whaling expeditions to the West Coast, he, at the same time, introduced stock to the country from Australia. On my late visits to Jacob River, more proofs of comfort and plenty were to be noticed than in any other part, of the province out of Dunedin, the capital. The inhabitants, both Native and European, possess abundant supplies of wheat and potatoes grown by themselves. The meaner sort have plenty of pork in their enclosures, and fish for the trouble of catching them, while the wealthier possess large herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep feeding on the extensive pastures surrounding the village.

While possessing a climate greatly more genial and temperate than the Shetlands, if we may judge by the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott, we cannot but pursue a parallel between the olden times of those North British Isles and the present of Jacob River. The pursuits of the inhabitants appear to have been similar and their social condition identical. Thus the Shetlands, before the age of steam, were relatively as far from the capital of the kingdom as South New Zealand may be reckoned now. Placed in so remote a position, the inhabitants of the latter were left much to their own resources: thus they made shift to manufacture soap, to tan leather, and distil spirits, all from native productions. But if the vessels return successful from their whaling expeditions, they bring with them some of the luxuries and rarities of civilization, amongst which, sugar, tea, rum, and musical boxes are the most appreciated. Occasionally an American whaler will, here, like the Dutch yawl of yore in Shetland, lie to off port, making quick traffic in things contraband and uncontraband, in exchange for potatoes and fresh meat.

So much are the inhabitants attached to free trade, that on an exciseman being seen in the village, all the houses were shut, locked, and barred. This happened for the first time during my visit, so I was a witness to the desolation of the streets or rather paths on the occasion. Lonely as these settlements in South New Zealand are, news flies rapidly from one to the other. It is soon known that the *Otaga* has run into New River, and discharged her cattle, and, probably, more prized articles; that an American whaler is lying in Paterson Inlet with good tobacco at cheap rates; that the *Eliza* has taken three whales and lost one, one boat smashed but no lives lost; that the sealing expedition to Dusky Bay had been unsuccessful, the boat being capsized in a north-wester and four hands drowned. On the entry and departure of the home vessels, where many friends are on board, the whole village turns out, from the child to the patriarch, to welcome or bid farewell.

An occasional, but now very rare excitement, engages the attention of the villagers: a whale is seen blowing in Howell Roads. The boats, with their harpoons, lances, and lines, are equipped in a jiffy. They pull out and approach the sea monster. The harpoon is launched with unerring aim into the quivering flesh, and the animal disappears. In due time it comes to the surface to blow, when the lance executes its office, grasped by a bold and firm hand. Cries of triumph soon relate the successful capture, and the monster is towed into the waters of the Aparima to be cut up for the "trying pans."

To continue the parallel that I have attempted to describe, there would not be much difficulty in pointing out the Old Udaller, tough as an uncut diamond, sensitive as the aspen leaf, whose board is spread with abundance in the common hall where high and low sit together to partake. Nor can we detect here a word or motion to offend an entertainer or stranger's pride. Such courtesy and kindness as warm the heart of the wearied are afforded duly by each in their station. Here the amenities that adorn the intercourse of polished society may be a-wanting, yet there is not the grovelling demeanour of the hard-worked and ill-requited labouring man to encounter. Here the position of the labourer is superior, his labour is not dishonoured, and he, consequently, respects himself and others.

To finish my parallel, last not least, Jacob River is not without its Minnas and Brendas to grace the social circle.

The Europeans and Natives, as said before, live in great abundance, nor to attain this is much exertion required; indeed, excepting at planting and reaping their time is their own. To the close and constant labour entailed on the natives of civilized countries they are strangers; it is only on the more exciting employments at which they will be induced to expend their energies, such as whaling, fishing, and mutton-bird catching. With these they occasionally fill up their spare time. The Moaris delight in good horses, and here they have ample scope in the sport of horse racing on the splendid 25-miles beach stretching to New River.

As I have for the first time mentioned the mutton bird, I may take this opportunity of saying something

regarding it. It is a sea-bird that frequents the small islands adjacent to Stewart's Island, and its flesh is much prized by the natives for food. The season for procuring the bird is March and April. It is only the young that are taken, and these are either procured by digging them out of the holes in which they are fostered by the hen, or they are collected by dogs during the night, at which time the hen entices its young out to the sea-shore. When the young bird is caught it is so excessively fat, that my informant, in his own words, tells me, "they are like bladders full of fat." While the collection of the bird is going on, the process of *trying* out the fat is continued in pots or cauldrons carried to the islands on purpose. There are two ways of preserving the meat, one by packing the same in kelp bags, filled with the fat of the bird, and the other by salting down. The preservation in kelp bags is a most effectual one. These bags are found on a species of seaweed obtained on the rocks on the coast, and measure about 14 inches square, proving a tight and trustworthy receptacle. To Europeans, generally, the flesh appears rank and over rich, but it is much esteemed by the natives and "old hands."

The Moaris of Jacob River and adjacent settlements have adopted, for the most part, the English costume; garments made of flax are rarely seen, and when worn are only adhered to by some of the elders, probably under the feeling of honouring ancient practice and disapproving of innovations.

The houses of the Moaris are entirely constructed in the manner of European cottages; the walls being of planks, and roof of thatch or shingle: the chimney stands at one end, is coated inside with clay, and possesses ample space on three sides of it for seats or benches. When in their houses, they squat on the floor during daylight; and there being only one apartment, at night modesty owes to darkness only what little respect it may obtain. The torment of the Moari house is the flea, and I have often pitched tent in the wet, rather than encounter the infliction of the myriads that fasten on you in their domiciles.

The Christian religion is professed by nearly all, though it may be correctly surmised that much of the influence of their former superstitions yet holds sway.

In the denizens of Jacob River the west coast of Middle Island is a fertile source of interest, as it is here that they find occupation in whaling or sealing. This coast is the most remote in New Zealand, but it is thoroughly known to them, as it was much frequented by them and the Europeans of Codfish Island in open boats on sealing expeditions from the origin of their settlements. This part of New Zealand is much subject to westerly gales and heavy rains, so is no agreeable field of industry. Notwithstanding the variable and stormy nature of the region, it was frequented with perfect safety by the experienced, for sounds and promontories alternate in such close succession that harbours of refuge are always close at hand.

One curious feature of these sounds is in their great depth and bold shores; in most cases anchorage is difficult to be found, and when not found vessels moor to the trees. For though it be blowing a gale overhead, the steep cliffs so protect the waters that not a breath is felt on the surface. Mr. Bates, my guide, informs me that copper ore abounds on the west coast, and also coal. The greenstone, so much prized by the Northern Moaris, is also met with. This mineral is said to have a market in China. Mr. Bates also informs me, that a bird, called by the "old hands" the "Emu" (*Apteryx*), exists in the woods. It is about 18 inches high, and resembles the Australian bird of that name.

It was to the south-west coast of Middle Island that Cook, the celebrated navigator, made lengthened visits, and it might, he expected that remnants of his stay should yet be found; but I learned nothing of these from any of the "old hands" that I questioned on the subject. At Thompson Sound the proofs of a mysterious and fatal event still exist in the remains of a sunken Indiaman. The vessel lies far up the sound, at a spot where her destruction could not have taken place but by design. The ship is said to have been manned principally by Lascars, whom the captain and Europeans landed on an islet, and, leaving the miserable creatures to their fate, they proceeded in the boats to Sydney. The Lascars died of starvation, and their bones are yet to be seen blanching in the sun, strewed in all directions.

In these remote regions how many may have been the cries of agony and despair emitted in vain!—even the few hardy Europeans of Codfish Island, when occupied in their adventurous enterprises—how often were met their experiences of hardships from shipwreck, starvation, and cruelties, by the cannibal tribes that surrounded them! Of these times the "old hands" have many a heart-rending tale to relate; but they relate them without deigning to expect your sympathy—hard lives and rough usage, surfeits in plenty and starvation in poverty, have blunted or effaced all relics of what civilization calls "feelings."

To return to Jacob River Settlement. Corn ripens by the end of February, and is generally cut by the middle of March. The crops, when I saw them, presented a luxuriant appearance, and many of the wheat plots promised to yield 50 to 60 bushels an acre. The potato crops are always excellent. These crops are easily raised and secured; but wheat is said during some seasons to be got in with some difficulty, owing to the wet. This difficulty I have no hesitation in saying is owing to the want of proper means and appliances. I am informed by a practical agriculturist that in such a climate no fear for the scarcity of the crops need be entertained, if improved methods of farming be resorted to. In a plot of white wheat I counted the grains in an average head, and found them to be 40 in number: some heads bore 70 grains.

On the morning of the 26th, having got our provisions and pack-horses ready, we started, taking Mr. Bates, a settler at Jacob River, to assist in bringing up the extra provisions now required for a lengthened absence. We proceeded as far as Groper Bush, where we remained to examine the country in the neighbourhood. This part bears pasturage of good quality. The formation is aqueous, and limestone, containing fossil shells, crops out to the north of Groper Bush. Bates informs me that one of his native cousins saw the feathers and track of the moa about six years ago amongst the woods west of Jacob River; but he was afraid to follow the bird.

On the banks of the Ormut River some most beautiful sites for farms exist. To the west the woody ranges lie clothed with luxuriant forests of birch; to the east undulating prairies, covered with grass. One or two positions have all the requisites of a baronial demesne.

Bates tells me that the remnants of wild Moaris were found by him some years ago on the west coast. These consisted of heaps of skeletons in a cave, fish-bones made of bone, and clothing made of flax. There have been occasional suspicions of wild Moaris being about; but he never met with any during his 20 years' residence, during which long period much of his time was spent on the west coast.

Bligh Sound. A party from the *Acheron*, surveying vessel, came upon the fresh footmarks of some natives who were heard making their escape through the thick underwood. These people, so far as could be learned, belonged to a small isolated and almost unknown tribe, rarely seen even by their own countrymen, by whom they are called wild men of the mountains.—*Notes of Captain Stokes, New Zealand Pilot*, p. 245.

March, 1857.—The 2nd of March found us camped under the north-west side of Twinlaw; the hills running from thence to Long-wood Range. All, as far as examined, showed rocks of metamorphic structure; but the western and northern bases showed limestone cropping out. Since we have left the region of the Hokanuis we have observed no more collections of rounded quartz pebbles. The little hillocks caused by the downfall of trees are here either covered with bare clay or pebbles, and stones of sandstone, chert, &c.

On the 3rd I ascended Twinlaw with the hope of obtaining angles; but the weather proved so stormy and thick that I was disappointed. The Waiau, the great river of the west, was for the first time seen meandering through the plains which extend from the Takitimo mountains to the sea. The country to the west of the Waiau is very mountainous, rugged, and woody. The formations of Twinlaw are altered rocks and conglomerates. To the north of the hill ridges of coarse calcareous sandstone crop out, containing broken shells and minute rolled pebbles.

On the 4th we proceeded across the Waiau plains, and camped in a bush not far from the limestone gorge, in a valley formed by the out-crop of limestone strata. The Orawia River was forded today, and its bed was noticed to contain pebbles of plutonic origin. Its banks were composed of soft shales. The first view we had of the Waiau was magnificent, with its bordering, spacious terraces and banks, level plains, and scattered forests. The country passed over bore good grass, but much overrun with fern and flax.

On the 5th I proceeded along the limestone ridge to the gorge of the Waiau. Found the rocks to contain fossil shells in abundance, amongst which the *terebratula* was conspicuous. On comparing the specimens I obtained with the drawings of the same fossil as obtained in Europe, I find that they nearly correspond with the *terebratula porrecta*, which belongs to the Devonian group. Another species, but of which I could obtain no complete specimen, resembled the *Pecten Lugdunensis*, which is found in the Lias group. Various other shells were observed, but in too incomplete a state for satisfactory observation.

I am not aware what has been done in New Zealand towards classifying the fossils, or towards initiating a theory of age and superposition of strata founded on the classes of fossils: it appears to me that, considering the want of analogy between the existing animal and vegetable creation of the antipodes, it is but reasonable to suppose that in prior ages the same want of similarity obtained, consequently no theory can be ventured on, excepting from local observation and classification, a desideratum (as far as I know) yet to be acquired.

The ridges in the neighbourhood contain many caves, and in one of them I found the decayed bones of the moa. Moari ovens were also seen in the neighbourhood, showing that these parts had been inhabited, and not lying waste as at present. The Waiau forces its way through the limestone ridges, in a clear and well defined channel of about 400 feet broad, yet above and below this the river flows in many channels, which are subject to constant change. The river in this vicinity is nowhere fordable; but a ferry might be established at the gorge. While the eastern plains of the Waiau are open, with clumps of bush at intervals, the western plains and mountains, with slight exceptions, are covered with forest to the snow line. The Waiau seems to have been an effectual barrier to the Moari and his fire, otherwise long ere this the mountains and valleys would have been denuded of their timber. The country to the west of the Waiau, as far as the west coast, is yet under forest; this extends 100 miles N. and S., and 50 miles E. and W. It is here then, in this only remaining ample expanse, that the Moa (a bird of gigantic dimensions, as proved by the remains of it) may yet find its last refuge; and considering the very recent indications of its existence everywhere found in the vicinity, the supposition of its existence at this present time, at least, has grounds for entertainment.

We washed the sands of the Waiau in our pannikins, and obtained one speck of gold. The channel contains

stones of plutonic origin, such as granite, porphyry, and greenstone—proving the interior mountains to be composed of these.

On the 6th we washed the sands of the Orawia, but found no indications of gold.

The 10th found us camped near the head of the Aparima. To the south the country was much "honeycombed" on the surface; that is, was full of small holes closely adjacent, and indicating wet soil. This was the case on the plains, but on the hills the unfavourable surface disappeared. The formations to the west of the Aparima appeared to be generally aqueous, with occasional mingling of metamorphic rocks. Bates informs me, that before he started from Jacob River on the 6th, the crops were nearly all secured, and that the natives were preparing to proceed to the Mutton-Bird Islands.

On the 11th we proceeded to Centre Hill, arriving at 4 P.M. I immediately ascended it to take advantage of the clear weather while it lasted. From the top we obtained an extensive view of the valleys of the upper Oreti, and Waiau. The principal sources of the former are in the west slopes of the Eyre mountains. The heads of the Waiau were observed to come out of two deep gorges in the snowy mountains about 50 miles distant, and the tops of the ranges appeared 70 miles distant. The western head and gorge will thus approach within 20 miles of Milford Sound. Mr. Howell had informed me of a native track between Milford Sound and the head of the Waiau. They frequented this track and the waters of the Waiau, which they ventured upon in maggies or rafts of flax stalks, in proceeding from Milford Sound to Pahees on the south coast.

In the valley of the Waiau I saw two pieces of water, distant about 12 miles; these no doubt are the Teanau Lakes; but another is said to exist farther north.

The area north of Mount Hamilton, extending over the valleys of the upper Waiau and Oreti, cannot be less than 600 square miles. The pasturage, as far as viewed, appeared to be good, and at the same time well wooded. This day has been blowy, and excessively so to-night; so much so that it was with some difficulty that we crawled along the exposed ridges of the hill. The formation of Centre Hill is stratified, containing clay-slates and shales. The grass in the neighbourhood is generally good, but the flats are wet and mossy to some extent.

After we had lit our camp fire the wood-hens came about it as they usually do. A wood-hen or two would have been a dainty addition to our fat pork, so Bates was intent in his attempts to decoy them under his grasp, but to no purpose. The *modus operandi* he adopted being new to me, I watched his motions with no little interest. Bates first got a stick on which he made a running noose of flax; he also got another somewhat shorter on which he tied his red handkerchief in the form of two wings. He next obtained a broad leaf which he doubled, and putting it between his teeth, by drawing his breath he produced a shrill call imitating with surprising exactness that of the bird. Squatting himself on his heels, Bates, with his two sticks, set about his object with great determination. The birds were not long in answering his call, and one soon came walking up to him. Chrio, chrio, chreek! called Bates, enticing the bird to battle with his winged conjuring stick; duff, duff, duff! bouncingly answered the bird, and duff, duff, duff! as bravely answered Bates. This play went on for some time, but there was no supper to be got off the wood-hen, for she stopped short of the noose, scanning with seriocomic gravity her decoyer, first with one bright black eye and then with the other. True, his nose was as red as her own, for the summer sun had flayed it; true, his legs were as bright red as her own, for the "Spaniards" and "wild Irishmen" had struck and scratched them till they were raw. But I do not like that greedy grey eye fastened on me, says the wood-hen; it is too like that of the all-absorbing Anglo-Saxon; and she walks away notwithstanding the thousand chrio, chrio, chreeks, that poor Bates put forth for his supper. He had to eat fat pork without the longed-for accompaniment.

The 12th was wet and windy, accompanied by hail; Mount Hamilton towered amongst the clouds white with the drifting showers of snow. The weather moderated sufficiently for us to start at 10 A.M. We struck eastward, crossing the Oreti with ease, it not being above ankle deep. After crossing the Oreti, we came upon very rough ground covered with high tussacks and full of holes. We set fire to the country and continued along the lower slopes of the west Dome. The country having been burnt to the eastward, we could not judge of its nature, so it was not long ere we found ourselves in an extensive bog. We persevered in our attempts to get through it till we had got about a mile into it, when two of our horses sank to the haunches, and lay there till we unpacked them and hauled them out. We retraced our steps with some difficulty, and made for an island as darkness came on. The wind blew a cold gale over our exposed position, the ground being burnt bare of grass and scrub, yet we managed to pitch our tent and collect sticks enough to boil our kettle and fry some pork. With this we regaled ourselves, leaving for to-morrow the care of getting out our horses from the predicament into which we led them. In the mean time they browsed greedily on such grassy tufts as were sparingly found over the little island.

On the morning of the 13th we were early astir, and after some search found a place just passable for horses, and we got them through after "bogging" two of them. The 14th found us with our tent pitched on the eastern banks of the upper Mataura, where we secured our provisions and tethered our horses. This done we started with the small tent-blankets and provisions on our backs, holding for the pass that I had seen from the

Dome leading into the interior, and we camped at 5 P.M., in a gully at the foot of the slate range.

As the nature of this country differs from that which we have hitherto gone over, being now mountainous and dry instead of undulating or level, much intersected by rivers and swamps, some remarks here will not be out of place regarding the mode of getting through the unexplored country of this part of New Zealand. We have crossed in all directions what is generally considered a difficult country, all our party being strangers to the same; but a little experience soon teaches what track to attempt, and what to avoid. The surest indication of country is given by the colour of the grass. If grass ahead be white, go on; it grows on hard ground: if green or brown, turn aside; it grows on soft. Taking heed of this maxim we have easily avoided ground (where it was possible to avoid it) dangerous to our horses, and when we have been at fault it has been when the country has been recently burnt, which renders the whole surface of one dark brown colour. There are many other indications of the nature of the ground. Thus, spear grass, and scrub called Tomataguru, and michimichi grow on hard ground, while the stilted tufts called Moari heads, moss, and rushes, indicate quagmire, and are never to be approached with horses.

In crossing valleys and rivers some experience is required to avoid bad ground. In the concave banks of rivers where lagoons debouch, soft mire and quicksands are often met with, and at the foot of terraces soft swamps are generally found. In crossing from one terrace or side of a valley to the other, it was our practice to look out for a place where the river made a large sweep, so as to approach across from one side to the other. In such spots it will generally be found that the banks of the river are approachable by sand or gravel spits, left by the floods and tails of the hill spurs. The river itself, if fordable at all, will be so in the middle of the valley. At the edges of the valleys the rivers usually run deep.

The valley in which we now were is bounded on the west by the Eyre mountains, and on the east by the slate ranges. The formation of the hills is schistose, intersected by veins of quartz, in which peroxide of iron is often seen. Good roofing slate is plentiful on the east terraces of the valley.

On the 15th we were early astir, and leaving our tent and blankets we ascended to the top of the slate range, estimated to attain an elevation of 2,000 feet above the valley. After we had arrived at the top we continued along the range till we obtained a satisfactory view of the country beyond. This range divides the waters of the Clutha from those of the Mataura, and in a N.E. direction a comparatively low and undulating country stretched as far as the Canterbury province. No high mountains are seen in this direction; but our view to the right and left was limited by the high land bounding the valley down which we looked. The ascertaining the existence of an available country was all that could be attempted at present, interior exploration being foreign to the present service in which I was engaged. As far as we went pack-horses could be brought, and I saw no obstacles to their farther progress.

We saw no appearance of lakes, and on after inquiry of the Moaris it appears that Wakatip Lake must lie in the valley 5 miles higher up the Mataura, by which route they say it is easily accessible. No Moaris now living in the south have been in this direction for 16 years, and they have generally a very imperfect idea of the configuration of the interior with its lakes and rivers; so, much of their information proved fallacious. Thus, the Moaris of Jacob River maintained that the Mataura, Jacob River, and New River had their sources in Wakatip Lake.

Wakatip Lake was at one time much frequented for its greenstone, formerly an article of trade with the northern Moaris.

The scenery from the top of Slate Range was truly magnificent, for we had the bold precipitous and peaked Eyre mountains opposite us, while at our feet in the blue distance meandered the silvery Mataura, which we could trace from its source in Eyre Peak till it lost itself in the deep gorge beneath the Dome. The prospect was quite Alpine, imitating in wildness the valleys of Savoy; but here we missed the well cultivated fields and green pastures of the "interval." When will there be an analogy in this also?

The passing day warned us to descend, so we returned to the valley, and reloading ourselves we made for the spot where we left our horses and provisions. On the way we chased two wild dogs, sending some shot into one of them. They were pure white in colour. On turning back we set fire to the grasses so as to give facility to future travellers. The constant forcing our way through high grass, fern, and scrub, has worn shoes and trousers into holes and rags. We tumble dozens of times in a day, one time over a tussuck, another time into a hole; now against a "Spaniard," and then into the rough arms of a "wild Irishman;" till our legs are raw with jags and scratches, and our hands and arms are full of thorns. The hair is even worn off the legs of our horses, and their fetlocks are full of sores. On the top of the Slate Range mica schist prevailed. The formation indicates gold, but we were not successful in obtaining specimens in the bed of the river.

On the 16th we recrossed the upper Mataura and returned to the creek near Observation Bush, where we camped. We set fire to the country as we went along, and now fully 30 miles is in a blaze. This evening is calm, and the Dome mountain is on fire from top to bottom. About this time two years I was in Rome when the illumination of the Dome of St. Peter's took place. On the former Dome Nature has only given one mite of her

care; on the latter man has expended the highest of his skill. Both have their characteristics. Man's work, though limited, was beautiful; Nature's, as viewed to-night, was great and terrible.

On the 19th we had proceeded to the south end of the Taringtura Downs; along the eastern edge of the same, schists and porphyries were seen to prevail, and the pasturage was of superior quality. On the south end breccias were abundant, and limestone is found more westerly, distance about 4 miles.

As the steep country terminates here, and the low land begins, it was a subject of some consequence to the public to ascertain if any road could be got, either by the banks of the Oreti or Makerewa, to New River Junction or to Invercargill. With the object of finding indications I ascended a hill and carefully reconnoitred the banks of the said rivers. Both showed herbage unfavourable for passage, particularly the Makerewa, where a dull brown swamp covered with patches of scrub was seen to extend over all the country not occupied by hills and forest. There was no use in losing time on the Makerewa, we therefore proceeded to examine the banks of the Oreti. After leaving the Taringtura Downs we got on to "honey-combed" country for one or two miles, but descending the terrace we held on to a track of hard ground which did not continue above other two miles. Here wet country prevailed in a manner to debar the passage of quadrupeds. Seeing there was no passage this way, we returned to our camp on the Taringtura Downs, at which we arrived by dark.

A route to New River might be suggested by the Spar Bush, but this line of road is so much intersected by swamps that it would have been impossible to have taken our horses with us. It is possible that parties having more time at their command may yet find a practicable route from the Taringtura Downs to Invercargill, and I would suggest as the most likely direction—the crossing of the Oreti 5 miles below the Downs, and thence by Macfarlane's Station.

We were at Jacob River Settlement on the 22nd, where we found the harvest with slight exceptions secured. On the 24th we proceeded to New River, sheltering ourselves for the night in an old house at Owi. On the 25th we swam our horses across the estuary of the New River, here $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile broad, and got to Campbell Town on the Bluff. This day I observed granite and schist, in contact and amalgamating. On the 26th we swam our horses across the Bluff Harbour, and lodged for the night at Davis's cottage, situated in Tewai Point. This cottage is romantically placed on the shores of the Southern Ocean, in the neighbourhood of rugged rocks, kelp, and roaring surf.

On the 27th we proceeded to the ferry-house at the Toitoes, arriving at 7 P.M. The road bad, along an unfirm beach of gravel and sand extending 20 to 25 miles in length: the journey is therefore a trying one. At the end of this we had to swim our horses across the harbour, about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile in breadth. From Tewai Point to Bushy Point the formation is recent deposit of quartz pebbles, and the grass on it is inferior. To the north and east of Bushy Point as far as the Mataura, and stretching inland 3 to 7 miles, the formation consists of decayed vegetable matter, whose surface is a peat bog. In the bog lagoons of brackish water are numerous. This day has been as beautiful as could be desired, and the cool sea-breeze was refreshing.

The house that we got into at the end of our long journey belonged to an "old hand," and was as primitive as its owner. It was built of grass, with a fire in the centre, the chimney being a hole in the roof. The inhabitants consisted of an old man, a child, 6 dogs, 2 cats, 1 hen, 3 chickens, fleas innumerable, and 1 pig. The pig was the playfellow of the child, and thus, being a pet, when not in the arms of the child, had the snugest seat at the fire.

Now as there were neither candles, chairs, nor tables, culinary and scullery operations had to go on by the fireside; these it may be imagined were done under difficulties which our old entertainer could scarcely meet. For the pig was fond of potatoes, the dogs of beef; surrounded by such hungry myrmidons, a system of attack and defence was constantly going on, in which both mess and dishes were overturned and emptied. At length the energetic hospitality of our "old hand" prevailed, who placing our supper on the top of a chest—which had the advantage of darkness to cover the viands—I am scarcely ashamed to confess that we did all the justice to the same that ravenous appetites from a long journey are capable of.

The Toitoes harbour is safe inside, but is difficult of ingress and egress, owing to the narrowness of the mouth, and the generally very heavy surf upon its bar. The harbour is formed by the debouching of the Mataura River into the sea, which has the effect of keeping open a space at the junction of the sandy beach with the cliffy heads which would otherwise be choked up.

From the Toitoes we held along the eastern banks of the Mataura, which river we crossed near Dr. Menzies' station; thence we returned to Invercargill on the 31st, after examining the country adjacent to the Waikivi Creek. I got but slight insight into the nature of the formation to the east of the Mataura. The nature of the grasses would indicate the presence of lime; some metamorphosed rocks were observed cropping out on Kuriwau Hill. The pasturage near the coast is inferior, being overrun with fern, but it rapidly improves as we journey inland, and the scenery is strikingly agreeable.

The survey was now completed; and before returning to headquarters I may take this opportunity of venturing on a few remarks which may appear too personal to be interesting. After serving so many years in the Survey Service of India, on this my first entry on the rough duties of the Colonial Surveyor, I had the contrast

of circumstances pretty sensibly defined on my memory. The species are broadly distinct. The Indian Survey officer is clothed in snow white from "sola topi" down to canvas pipeclayed shoes. He smokes his perfumed "hooka" or the fragrant "manilla" with an air of listless satisfaction. When he walks on duty he is followed by a "Piada," carrying an umbrella to shade him from the sun, and should a gutter cross his path, two lusty "bearers" are ready to lift him over. Two or three hours of out-door exposure of his precious self suffices for the day, which done he sits at the door of his capacious tent enjoying his "otium cum dignitate" and his brandy "pance." The slightest weight distresses him—he does not even carry a purse. He has hundreds of luxuries at his command; but does he enjoy them? No: an extra mouthful of "moorgee" or glass of "simp-kin" requires three doses of nitro-muriatic acid to assist poor debilitated nature. His hollow eye and cadaverous complexion tell a tale.

The Colonial Surveyor in these regions is clothed in fustian trousers and blue shirt, Panama hat, and stout hob-nailed shoes. He is not known from his chainman. If he smokes, it is foetid negrohead through a "cutty" pipe, and he puffs at that energetically. He has a hundred things about him; knives, needles, telescopes, matches, paper, ink, thread and buttons; these are stowed away in all corners of his dress; and then his "swag" contains his tent-blankets, and change of clothes. These with his theodolite he carries on his back, and walks away through bogs, "creeks," and scrubs, at the rate of 3 miles an hour. He cleans his shoes once a month with mutton drippings, and he lives on "damper," salt junk, and oceans of tea. His fare is homely, but it is refreshing to see his voracity. His bed is on the ground, and he considers himself lucky if he gets into a bush where he can luxuriate in the warmth of a blazing fire. In this land of equality he shares bed and board with his men, but they are not of the common sort, for "the service" is popular amongst the enterprising colonists, and he has to pick. They are men that know their place and duty.

Having partaken of the bitters and sweets of both services pretty freely, I must state that upon the whole, as surveyors are made to be killed, I prefer "dum vivimus" cold air and stout appetite, to a hot air and general prostration. I prefer the homely enjoyments of colonial life.

By the 15th of April I was again in Dunedin, the capital of the province, having since I left it travelled over, mostly on foot, nearly 1500 miles of difficult country, and surveyed by "reconnaissance" near 2 ½ millions of acres. I was forced to remain for five days at Invercargill to rest my horse, as it was much knocked up. As I had received orders from his Honour the Superintendent to examine the bar of the Clutha River, I diverged for that purpose, and thus had an opportunity of viewing the beautiful scenery of the delta of that river, and of partaking of the hospitality of several of its highly esteemed settlers.

The entrance of the Clutha is undoubtedly a difficult one, being crossed by a bar, and having a narrow channel with an almost constant outward current, bounded on one side by shifting sands, and on the other by rocks partly sunken and awash.

Leaving the delta of the Clutha I proceeded on to Dunedin, arriving there on the evening of the 14th April. The most remarkable features on the route are extensive wet levels, covered with that stilted tuft-grass called "Moari heads" by the settlers. The tuft is supported by a trunk of conglomerated fibrous roots, not unlike the trunk of the date palm, without its consistency. It stands from 3 to 5 feet high, and resembles a dwarf palm: indeed were it true that Nature slowly produces alteration in genera and species, so as to graduate one into the other, a favourite theory of some philosophers, I would say of this little grass tree that it was simply an embryo palm. It is remarkably adapted to its position, for the levels on which it is found being subject to alternate droughts and floods, the trunk, by its elevation, supports the tuft of grass on its head securely above the influence of the waters.

When I left Invercargill only three houses had been built, viz., the survey office, Mr. Mae Andrews' store, and Mr. Lind's house of accommodation; but as the sections had been sold, great preparations were being made to commence building operations. The site of Invercargill is nearly level, with sufficient fall for drainage and sanatory operations. It stands on a broad estuary, and is bounded on two sides by dense wood. The scenery in the vicinity is not unpleasing, and, were roads constructed, the spot may be made as agreeable as any in temperate regions.

To Captain Stokes, R.N., is due the merit of having first brought to the notice of the Society the capabilities of the district, and the advantages of its geographical position towards England and Australia. In his remarks on its eligibility for European colonization and fertility of soil I heartily concur. For the detailed expression of the opinions of the above distinguished officer I beg to refer inquirers to the 21st volume of the Society's Journals, page 25.

During the period that I was engaged in the survey I noted down the indications of the barometer and thermometer, with remarks on the weather. As these would be too lengthy, I will here, in concluding my paper, merely state the general results:—

APPENDIX A.

Comparative Vocabulary of the Malay and Moari Languages.

APPENDIX B.

Altitudes above the level of the sea in feet.

APPENDIX C.

Estimated Area of the Lands of the District surveyed, included between the Maiau and Mataura rivers, and the Umbrella, Eyre, and Takitimo mountains.

Forest Lands.

Moss and Swamp Lands.

Agricultural Lands.

Pastoral Lands.

Barren Lands.

APPENDIX D.

Population of the district included in the boundaries given in Appendix C. from, the Official Census of February, 1857.

London: Printed By W. Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street, and Charing Cross.

Front Cover

The Rules and Regulations of the Otago Gold Fields

(From Gazette No. 329.)

Gold Mining Lease Regulations

(From Gazette Nos. 272, 326, 336.)

Agricultural Leases Regulations

(From Gazette No. 275.)

And

Rules of Tie Wardens' Courts

(From Gazette No. 272.)

coat of arms Dunedin: Printed for the Provincial Government, By Daniel Campbell, Princes Street.

MDCCCLXIV.

Index.

Rules and Regulations of the Otago Gold Fields.

I. Preliminary Regulations.

1.—*Interpretation Clause.*

In the construction, and for the purposes of these Regulations, the following terms shall, if not inconsistent with the context or subject matter, have the respective meanings hereby assigned to them (that is to say)—

The word "Warden" shall mean Warden, Commissioner, Resident Magistrate, or any other Officer entrusted with the superintendence of the Gold Fields, or any portion thereof, and holding a Commission duly empowering him to have charge thereof, and shall include "Warden and assessors," except where it is otherwise specially provided.

The word "person" shall mean the holder of a Miner's Right.

The word "Claim" shall mean the portion of land which the holder of a Miner's Right or of a Business License shall be entitled to mine in or occupy, or any share or interest in any claim held or granted under these Regulations.

The words "worked and abandoned ground" shall mean any ground the whole or greater portion of which has been mined upon for gold, and abandoned.

The words "new gold workings" shall mean ground previously unworked.

Words importing the singular number shall include the plural number; and words importing the masculine gender shall include the feminine gender.

2.—*The Miner's Right.*

Every person residing on a Gold Field and engaged in mining for gold, shall take out a Miner's Right; such Miner's Right to be produced for inspection when demanded by the Warden or other officer, or by any person duly authorised in that behalf in writing by the Warden.

II.—*Claims.*

1.—*Classification of Claims.*

Alluvial claims shall mean all claims in alluvial ground.

River claims shall mean claims in the beds of rivers.

Creek claims shall mean claims in the beds of permanent streams which are or may be wholly diverted for the purpose of mining therein.

Beach claims shall mean claims situated between the ordinary high flood mark and the edge of the water on the beaches of rivers.

Quartz claims shall mean claims in quartz reefs or lodes.

2.—*Size of Claims.*

Alluvial claims shall not exceed 45 feet by 45 feet for each holder of a miner's right, unless the depth from the surface exceeds 50 feet, in which case such claim may be extended to 60 feet by 60 feet.

River claims shall not exceed 50 feet for each holder of a miner's right employed thereon; to be measured in the direction of the course of the stream by a width not exceeding the boundaries of the bed of the river, which shall be defined by the Warden or other officer duly authorised in that behalf.

Creek claims shall be of the same extent, and subject to the same regulations with respect to measurement, form, and boundaries, as River claims.

Beach claims shall not exceed 45 feet in length for each holder of a miner's right along the course of the river, with a frontage to the water, by a width bounded by ordinary high flood mark: provided that when any beach, or portion of a beach, shall exceed 50 feet in width, the Warden may, upon application being made to that effect, authorise the holding and working of any such excess by persons other than the holders of the frontage claims.

Quartz claims shall not exceed 45 feet in length along the course of the lode or vein, by a width not exceeding 100 feet upon each side of the course for each holder of a miner's right.

3.—*Claims to be marked.*

Alluvial claims and quartz claims shall be marked by pegs standing at least two feet above the surface of the ground, or by # trenches at each corner thereof; river, creek, and beach claims shall be marked by pegs as before specified, or by # marks not less than one foot in length, to be cut upon the rocks above high flood mark; and such pegs, trenches, or marks shall be maintained during the occupancy of the ground: provided that when any corner cannot be marked, on account of the nature of the ground, the peg, trench, or mark, may be placed at the nearest practicable point.

4.—*Surplus ground to be forfeited.*

If any person shall occupy a larger area of ground than that to which he is entitled under these regulations, he shall forfeit the surplus.

5.—*Shepherding forbidden.*

No person shall be deemed to possess a valid title to any claim, unless the same shall be fairly worked during the entire period of occupancy; and any claim unworked beyond the space of twenty-four hours shall be deemed to be forfeited, unless sufficient reason, such as sickness, or other urgent cause, shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Warden.

6.—*Rights of Servants vested in Employers.*

If any person shall hire himself to an employer for wages, the right to hold and occupy the claim of such servant shall vest in the employer.

7.—*Claims not to be forfeited by neglect of Hired Workmen.*

No claim, right, or privilege, shall be deemed to be forfeited through the neglect or absence of any hired servant thereon; provided that if, after seven days' notice in writing of such neglect or absence has been given to the owner or holder thereof (either personally or by leaving the same at his last known place of residence), such neglect or absence is continued, any such claim, right, or privilege shall be deemed to be absolutely relinquished.

8.—*Form of Alluvial Claims.*

Alluvial claims may be of any form, provided that no block claim shall exceed in length twice the breadth thereof.

III. Prospecting.

1.—*Discovery to be Reported.*

Any person discovering new gold workings, and being desirous of obtaining an increased area thereon, must immediately report such discovery, with full particulars thereof, to the Warden, or other proper authority.

2.—*Area in Alluvial Ground.*

Discoverers of new gold workings may have allotted to them an extent of ground not exceeding treble the area of an ordinary claim: and the discoverers of new gold workings distant not less than ten miles from existing workings, shall be entitled conditionally on reporting the discovery to the Warden within a reasonable time, to an extent of ground not exceeding quadruple the area of an ordinary claim; provided that the increased grant shall not be given to more than six persons composing any party.

3.—*Area on Quartz Reef.*

The discoverers of an auriferous Quartz Reef shall be entitled conditionally on reporting the discovery to the Warden within a reasonable time, to an area not exceeding in the whole 300 feet in length, measured along the course of the lode or vein, by a width of 100 feet upon each side of the course.

4.—*Notices to be posted by the Warden.*

Notices of all Prospecting Claims granted, with full particulars of locality, yield of gold, and description of workings, shall be posted by the Warden on the outside of his office, for public information.

IV.—Water Rights and Races.

1.—*Head Races.*

Any person intending to divert and use water for mining purposes by means of any Head Race, shall give notice thereof, in writing to the Warden, and to the holder or holders (if any) of a prior right or rights to divert and use water from the same source; and such notice shall be in the form hereinafter set forth; and copies of such notice shall be posted and maintained for 14 clear days at the source whence it is proposed to obtain water, and at the proposed termination of such race; and the intended course thereof shall be indicated by pegs not less

than 2 inches square, or by large stones marked #, and placed not more than two hundred yards apart. And if no valid objection be entered against such races within 14 clear days from the posting of such notices, a Certificate of Registration may be granted by the Warden to the applicant.

Form of Notice.

(District and date.)

To the Warden at

I hereby give notice that I intend to construct a Head Water Race for Mining Purpose, commencing at a point (*) and terminating (*) The length of each Race is ____ or thereabouts, and its intended course is (*).

[Signature and address in full of applicant]—

* Here describe precise localities. * Do. * Do.

2.—Races already constructed.

Races constructed prior to the Proclamation of any Gold Field, or of these Rules and Regulations, must be registered with the Warden, as provided by Section 1.

8.—Superiority of Right.

Superiority of right to a supply of water shall be determined by priority of occupation, the earlier occupant having the superior right. In all cases when the occupier claims under a certificate or other authority in writing granted by a Warden or Commissioner, occupation shall be taken to have commenced at the date of such certificate or authority.

4.—Races to be commenced within one month.

The cutting and formation of races must be commenced within one calendar month from the date of registration, and the occupiers shall continue cutting and forming the same until the work is completed, otherwise any superiority of right to which they may be entitled by virtue of such registration shall be deemed to be forfeited.

5.—Superiority of Right Forfeited by Disuse.

If any race shall be entirely unused for a full period of thirty days at a time when water is available for it, occupation of the right shall be deemed to have recommenced at the last re-occupation thereof.

6.—Abandonment of Races.

All right to any race shall become forfeited if abandoned for the space of one calendar month, unless in cases of sickness or unavoidable absence, or in consequence of failure of water; but it shall be lawful for the Warden in his discretion, upon sufficient cause being shown, to suspend the operation of this Regulation for a further period of one month, and a certificate of such suspension shall be given in writing to the occupiers.

7.—Heads of Races.

All races that may hereafter be cut, shall have a point specified at which they shall be taken from the creek or river. In races already cut, this point shall be taken to be the spot from which the race now heads. No person shall shift or alter the head of any race without the written sanction of the Warden, nor to the prejudice of any existing right.

8.—Alteration of Races.

The alteration or extension of a race at any time shall not in any way affect any right or privilege attached to such race; and the holders thereof shall, during such alteration or extension, be deemed to be in occupation of all the rights and privileges attached to such race: provided that such alteration or extension shall first be approved by the Warden.

9.—Insufficient Supply of Water.

If the water flowing in any creek or river is insufficient to supply all the races connected therewith, the owner of any right shall—on receipt of a written notice from the owner of a superior right, stating that the supply of such superior right is less than he is entitled to—immediately cease to use the water, or such portion thereof as may be necessary to make up the supply of the superior right.

10.—Water Guage.

If any dispute shall arise between holders of water-rights deriving their supply from the same creek or water-course, relative to the quantity of water to which each of them, the said holders, is or may be entitled, the following shall be taken to be a head of water, and such holders shall be limited thereto:—

A stream of water guaged by a box, 12 feet long, 10 inches deep, and 20 inches wide, all measured in the clear. The box shall be covered throughout. The upper or entrance end of such box may be left entirely open; but the lower end, or end of exit, shall be fitted with a bar 2 inches high, affixed to the floor of the box, and with a pressure or headboard, 6 inches deep, affixed to the top of the box, leaving an aperture of 2 inches in depth, and of the full width of the box.

- If more than one sluice head of water requires to be guaged, the guage-box should be enlarged horizontally to ensure accurate measurement. But when this cannot be done owing to natural obstacles, or other sufficient reasons, the guage-box may be enlarged perpendicularly, in which case the depth of the pressure or headboard shall be reduced at the rate of 1 inch for every additional head of water that is perpendicularly measured.
- The guage-box shall at all times be placed on a level. When water is taken from one source only, the supply shall be guaged at the head of the race, or the source of supply. But if the race is fed, or supplied in part, by any side stream, or streams, the guage-box shall be placed immediately below such side stream, or the last of such side streams.
- The velocity of the water above the guage-box shall, if required, be lessened by the construction of a dam bank, or by levelling the race for a distance of 30 feet; and such velocity shall not exceed an average of 1 foot per second in the said 30 feet, to be guaged by a float.

11.—Supply of Water may be Reduced.

When the supply of water from any creek or stream shall be insufficient for the use of all the holders of water rights thereon, it shall be lawful for the Warden, upon adequate cause being shown, to reduce the quantity, in due and equal proportion, which the said holders shall be entitled to draw therefrom, and to regulate the time and mode in which such water may be used.

Provided that nothing herein contained shall be deemed or taken to affect the rights of the holder or holders of a first water-right hereafter granted on any stream; but such holder or holders shall at all times be entitled to the full supply of water for which he or they shall be registered.

12.—Number of Sluice Heads allowed.

The number of sluice heads allowed for any such race, as aforesaid, shall be as follows:—One or two miners, one sluice head, or 40 inches of water; four or more miners, two sluice-heads; and so on at the rate of one sluice-head to every additional two miners.

13.—Water not to be wasted.

Holders of rights shall not allow any water to run to waste; but such water shall be appropriated to the use of the next holder of a right, according to the date of their respective registrations.

14.—Transfer or assignment.

The transfer or assignment of any race, or of any interest therein, shall not affect any right or privilege attached to such race; provided that, any such transfer or assignment shall have been duly registered at the office of the Warden, and a memorandum thereof made upon the back of the original certificate.

15.—Keeping Races in Repair, Bridging, &c.

The holder or occupier of any race shall keep the same in repair, and shall make an efficient bridge where any road in ordinary use crosses the race, upon being required to do so by the Warden.

16.—Working Ground occupied for Races.

Any person desirous of working the ground on which any race or portion of a race is situated, may do so by first providing an equally good race for the use of the occupier; provided that the consent of the Warden thereto be first obtained.

17.—Reservations.

No water-right shall be granted for the use or diversion of any water which is, or may be, required for public purposes, or for the use of the miners generally.

18.—*Water for General Use.*

Two sluice-heads of water shall, if required, be at all times allowed to flow in the natural course of a creek or river for general use.

19.—*Causing Claims to be flooded.*

No person shall back the water of any creek, river, race, or water-course, upon any claim, or otherwise cause any claim to be flooded, either wilfully or by neglect.

20.—*Obstructions to Water Courses.*

No person shall deposit any earth, stones, tailings, or other substance in the bed of any water-course, to as to obstruct the flow of water therein.

21.—*Side streams.*

Where a race crosses any water-course, the use of which is required by holders of Miners' Rights, it shall be carried either over or under the same, so as not to interfere with the natural flow of water therein.

22.—*Construction of Tail-races.*

Before any person shall construct a tail-race, he shall first proceed by notice in the same manner as is directed in Section 1, for headraces. But such notice shall only require to be posted for seven (7) clear days; at the expiration whereof the applicant shall return to the Warden a copy of the notice, which shall be signed by the holders of the four (4) nearest claims, as expressing their assent to or dissent (in case of size to carry off the sludge or water), shall be constructed and kept in repair by the owner of the machine whence such sludge or water proceeds.

8.—*Forfeiture of Dams or Machines.*

The site of any dam or machine not commenced within seven days from the date of the grant thereof, or not completed within a reasonable time, or any dam or machine unoccupied for one calendar month during a period when sufficient water has been available, shall be deemed to be forfeited, and may be granted by the Warden to any person who may apply for the same.

9.—*Injury to Property by Dams.*

If any claim shall be flooded, or property injured by the bursting of any dam-bank, the owner of such dam shall be liable for any loss or damage occasioned thereby; provided that it is proved to the satisfaction of the Warden that such breaking away resulted from the faulty construction of such dam.

10.—*Sites proving Auriferous.*

If it shall be proved that the ground occupied by any dam or machine contains auriferous earth or quartz, the owner of such dam or machine may be compelled to leave or remove the same: Provided that adequate compensation for such leaving or removal shall first have been estimated by assessors and paid by the person desirous of working the ground.

VI.—*Creek Claims.*

1.—*Notice of Diversion to be given.*

Any person desirous of diverting the course of a permanent stream for the purpose of working the bed thereof as a creek claim, shall first give notice of his intention to the Warden, and to all parties adjoining the proposed line of diversion. Such Notices shall be in the form hereinafter prescribed, and copies thereof shall be posted and maintained, for a period of Ten clear days, at the points proposed for the commencement and termination of such diversion, as aforesaid, and if no valid objection be entered there against within the aforesaid period, the Warden may issue a Certificate of Registration to the applicant.

Form of Notice.

(District and data)

No.

I hereby give notice that I intend to divert the course of *(name of stream)* and to form a new channel therefor, commencing at a point situate (*), and terminating at a point (*)

*(Signature, &c.)*_____

*Here insert, with sufficient accuracy, the localities.

2.—Wall to be Allowed.

Holders of creek claims shall be allowed a sufficient wall between the channel of diversion and the bed of the stream; and the width of such wall shall be defined by the Warden.

VII.—Roads, &c.

1.—Right of Water and Roadway.

Every person holding a claim under these regulations shall be entitled to a supply of water for his use in connection therewith, and to a roadway whereby he may, at all times, obtain free ingress and egress thereto and therefrom.

2.—Sludge and Water to be kept off Roads.

No person shall allow any sludge or water to run or spread over any road or crossing-place.

3.—Protection to Roads.

No person shall dig within the distance of five feet from any road in common use, nor drive underneath, nor in any way interfere with such road without first obtaining the authority of the Warden.

4.—Alteration of Roads.

Any person desirous of altering the direction of any road, and of occupying the site thereof for mining purposes, shall give notice thereof in writing to the Warden, and post and maintain a copy of such notice in a conspicuous part of such road for three clear days, upon the expiration whereof the Warden may authorise such alteration to be made.

5.—Right of Roadway over Claims.

Upon any twenty or more persons applying for a road or crossing-place over any occupied claim or claims, the Warden shall determine whether such road or crossing-place is necessary, and shall make such order relative thereto as he may deem requisite; provided that it shall be lawful for the holder or holders of such claim or claims to work the ground over or through which such road or crossing-place shall pass.

VIII.—Protection.

1.—Protection for Seven Days.

The Warden may, without prior notice, grant protection to any claim for a period not exceeding seven days; provided that at the time of making application therefor, the applicant shall produce the consent in writing of the four parties working or occupying claims nearest to that for which protection is sought; and such protection shall be given in writing in the form hereafter provided, and a copy thereof shall be posted on the claim.

Form of Protection.

(District and Date)

No.

I hereby give notice that I have granted protection for _____ days to claim occupied by _____ and situate at _____

(Signed) _____

Warden.

2.—Protection for extended period.

If any person shall be desirous of obtaining protection for a claim for a longer period than seven days, he shall give notice in writing to the Warden, and to the four parties working or occupying claims nearest to that for which protection is sought, who shall sign such notice, expressing their assent thereto or dissent therefrom. Such notice shall be in the form hereinafter prescribed; and a copy thereof shall be posted and maintained by the applicant on the claim for three clear days, at the expiration whereof, if no valid objection be entered, the Warden may issue a Certificate of Registration to the applicant, and such Certificate may be for the period named in the application, or for any less time.

Form of Notice of Application for Protection.

(District and date)

No.

I hereby give notice that I desire to obtain a Protection Certificate for *(here state the time)* my claim situate at, _____ and that the following particulars are true in all respects—

- Classification of Claim
- Date at which occupation commenced
- Time during which the Claim has been worked
- The Claim has not, or has been protected before

If the claim has been protected before, the applicant must state when, and for what period.

- Cause for which protection is required

(Signature No. of Miner's Right)

3.—Information to holders of Miners' Rights.

When any claim is under protection for a longer period than seven days, the occupier thereof shall post and at all times maintain on some conspicuous part of the said claim, a board not less than nine inches square, with the word "PROTECTED" and the number of his Certificate painted legibly thereon.

4.—Limitation of Protection.

Protection for a longer period than seven days shall not be granted to any claim which has not been fairly wrought for at least one month. The most extended period for which protection may be granted at any one time shall be Thirty days; and such protection shall not be renewed unless it is proved to the satisfaction of the Warden that the claim is unworkable.

5.—Renewal of Protection.

Application for renewal shall be made in the same manner as is provided in Section 2; and such renewal, if granted, shall be endorsed on the back of the Certificate, and recorded in the Registration Book.

6.—Protection during Notice.

When any Notice has been given and posted in conformity with these Regulations, the claim, right, or privilege to which such Notice may refer, shall be protected during the currency thereof, and until the application has been finally dealt with by the Warden.

7.—Protection during Operations.

All claims, rights, and privileges, of whatsoever nature, lawfully held and enjoyed under these Regulations, shall be protected during the time that the owners or holders thereof shall be actually engaged in operations connected therewith.

IX.—Registration.

1.—Permissive Registration.

All claims, rights, and privileges, *may* be registered.

Mining Partnerships, and Agreements between holders of Miners' Rights or Business Licenses, *may* be registered.

2.—Registration of Huts.

The Holder of a Miner's Right *may*, on application to the Warden, register his hut or place of abode; and any hut or place of abode so registered shall be protected during the absence of the owner for such a period not exceeding six months, as may be assigned.

3.—Registration Fees.

Except where it is otherwise expressly provided, the fee payable in respect of the several Registrations mentioned in these Regulations, shall be two shillings and sixpence: such fee shall include payment for copies of notices, but not for any survey.

4.—Information to the Public.

Any person requiring any information from the Transaction Book of the Mining Registrar may obtain the same on payment of one shilling; and it shall be the duty of the Mining Registrar to furnish such information.

5.—Conditions of Registration.

The Warden may endorse on the back of any Certificate of Registration such lawful conditions as may be desirable or necessary for the public good; which conditions shall at all times be binding upon the holder of any such Certificate.

X.—Licenses.

1.—Business Licenses.

Every person engaged in trade or business of any kind within the limits of the Gold Field, shall obtain from the Warden a Business License, for which he shall pay the sum of five pounds (£5) annually, and shall be entitled to occupy an area of half a square chain, having a frontage of 33 feet and a depth of 66 feet.

2.—Wholesale Licenses.

Every holder of a Wholesale License for the sale of fermented and spirituous liquors, in quantities of not less than two gallons, shall pay a fee for the same of Ten (£10) Pounds.

3.—Retail Licenses.

Every holder of a Retail License for the sale of fermented and spirituous liquors in any quantity shall pay a fee for the same of Twenty (£20) Pounds.

4.—Licenses may be Cancelled.

The Warden may recommend the withdrawal, suspension, or cancellation, of any License upon proof, to his satisfaction, of a breach of the Gold Fields Regulations, or of any disorderly conduct upon the premises held under such License: and such License may thereupon be withdrawn, suspended, or cancelled accordingly.

5.—Sites to be marked by Pegs.

Occupants of sites for business purposes shall place and maintain at each frontage corner of such site a peg not less than two inches square, and standing at least one foot above the surface.

6.—Space between Buildings.

An open space of six feet shall at all times be left between buildings occupied for business purposes. The holder or occupier of a single business area or site shall only build upon 27 feet of his frontage. The holder or occupier of two or more adjoining areas or sites may build upon 33 feet frontage for every such additional area or site.

7.—Registration of Sites.

Business sites may be registered with the Warden for ten days, whilst the holder is engaged in preparing for the occupancy thereof, and the fee for such Registration shall be five shillings: such Registration may be renewed by the Warden for an additional period of ten days, and such renewal shall be endorsed on the

certificate, and recorded in the Registration Book.

8.—Occupancy of Sites.

Business sites can only be held or occupied by holders of business licenses, and no site can be held unoccupied for more than twenty-four hours, unless the same shall be registered as provided in Section 7.

9.—Information to the Public.

When any business site has been registered, the holder thereof shall post and maintain thereon a board, not less than nine inches square, with the word "Registered," and the date and number of such Registration legibly painted or written thereon.

10.—Roadway between Business Sites.

A space of sixty-six feet shall at all times be left for a road or street between business sites; and no person shall, on any pretence whatever, encroach upon such roadway.

XI.—Residence.

1.—Area which may be occupied for Residence.

Subject to the conditions hereinafter set forth, the holder of a Miner's Right shall be entitled to occupy for residence an area of Crown lands not exceeding half an acre, or 2,240 square yards.

2.—Residence Areas to be Registered.

Any person desirous of occupying land under the preceding regulation, shall mark the corners of the area which he proposes to occupy with # trenches, or substantial posts standing at least three feet above the surface, and shall give notice in writing, in the form hereunto appended, to the Warden of the district, and a copy of such notice shall be posted and maintained in some conspicuous part of such area for the space of seven clear days; at the expiration whereof, if no valid objection has been entered there-against, the Warden may grant a Residence Certificate to the applicant.

3.—Discovery of auriferous deposits.

If any auriferous deposits shall be traced to the boundaries of any land occupied for residence, the Warden may, upon satisfactory proof thereof, authorise any surveyor or other person, by writing under his hand, to enter thereupon, and at such times, and in such manner as he may appoint, to search the land so occupied for a continuation of the said auriferous deposit.

4.—Auriferous areas may be worked.

If any residence area shall be proved to be auriferous, the Warden may, upon application, order the whole or any part thereof to be given up for mining purposes to such persons as he shall nominate.

5.—Compensation to be paid.

In all cases compensation for *actual damage or loss* shall be estimated by assessors, and paid to the occupier of such area, by the persons desirous of mining thereon, prior to their taking possession thereof.

6.—Conditions of Working.

The Warden shall make such orders relative to the mode of working the ground, the restoration of the soil, and other conditions as he may deem necessary or desirable.

7.—Transfer or Assignment.

The right and interest in any area occupied under a Residence Certificate may be transferred or assigned by the holder thereof, but such transfer or assignment shall, in all cases, be registered with the Warden, and endorsed on the original certificate.

8.—Registration Fees.

The fees payable for registering any such application shall be five shillings (5s.), and the fee for registering

any transfer or assignment shall be two shillings and sixpence (2s. 6d.)

Form of Notice Referred to.

No _____ *District of* _____ 186

I hereby give notice that I desire to occupy for Residence (*state the extent*), of land situate at _____ and that I have this day marked the corners of such land with (*posts or trenches*), in conformity with the Regulations herein made and provided.

Signature of the Applicant, and the, number and date of his Miner's Right.) _____

9.—Tent Ground.

Subject to the conditions set forth in Sections 3, 4, and 5, the holder of a Miner's Right shall be entitled to occupy for residence an area of 12 x 24 feet without registration; provided that such area shall not be taken up on known auriferous ground, nor in the line of any workings, nor on land set apart for business purposes.

XII.—Tunnelling.

1.—Walls to be left.

A wall of not less than ten feet shall be maintained on each side of any tunnel.

2.—Removal of Walls.

If any person is desirous of removing any such wall he shall be permitted to do so provided that he first obtains the consent in writing of the party occupying the adjacent claim; and such consent shall be in the form hereinafter prescribed.

Form of Consent

(District and date)

I (or *we*) hereby consent to the removal by (*name of party applying for permission*) of the wall now standing between our respective funnels, situated at (*here state locality.*)

If any special conditions are imposed., they must be specified in the document

(Signatures, &c.)

3.—Ventilation.

When cross-drives or openings are required for ventilation, and the various parties concerned cannot agree thereon, the Warden may issue an order for making such drives or openings, and for the allocation of the work to be performed, and also for the distribution of any auriferous deposits which may be found in the intervening wall.

XIII.—Extended Claims.

1.—Old Worked Ground.

Upon receiving sufficient proof that any portion of the district has been fairly worked, and is either wholly or for the greater part abandoned, the Warden may declare the same to be old worked ground, and shall thereupon define the boundaries wherein holders of the Miners' rights may occupy claims, not exceeding double the ordinary area prescribed by the regulations.

2.—Extension of Claims.

Extended mining claims may be granted by the Warden, upon application being made as hereinafter directed, subject to the condition that a sufficient number of holders of Miners' rights shall be constantly employed thereon, namely:—

- For a quarter acre (10,890 square feet), two men,
- For half an acre (21,780 square feet), three men,
- For one acre (43,560 square feet), five men;

and so on in proportion; provided that no such claim shall be granted in new and unworked ground, unless it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Warden that such ground has been fairly tested, and cannot be

profitably worked in claims of the ordinary size; provided also, that an extended claim shall in no case be permitted to exceed three acres in extent.

3.—Form of Application.

Application for extended claims shall be made to the Warden in the following form:—

To the Warden at
(District and date.)

I (*or we*) hereby give notice that I (*or we*) desire to obtain an extended claim of (*here state extent of area applied for*), situated at (*here state precise locality*) and I (*or we*) deposit herewith the sum of Five Pounds as security for the payment of any expenses connected therewith.

(*Signature, with date and number of Miner's Right held by each member of the party.*)

4.—Official Survey.

Upon receipt of such application and deposit, or as soon thereafter as may be, the Warden shall direct the Mining Surveyor to proceed to the land applied for, and to survey the same, and to report as to the area, boundaries, and description thereof; the character of the ground, the likelihood of any river, creek, or permanent water spring, or artificial reservoir, which may be included within the boundaries of the said land, being required for, or the feasibility of the same being applied to, public purposes, or for the use of the miners generally; and also as to any claims to prior occupancy which shall come to his knowledge, inquiry as to which it shall be his duty to make while making the survey; and to furnish a plan of such land on a scale of *not less* than five chains to the inch, together with a tracing of so much of the general map of the district as will be sufficient to connect the particular area applied for with at least one trigonometrical station, or, in the absence of any such, with some fixed point.

5.—Surveyor to Post Notices.

The surveyor shall, at the time of making the survey hereinbefore directed, post a notice in the form hereunto annexed, in some conspicuous place on the ground; and such notice shall be maintained by and at the expense of the applicants, until the application has been heard and determined.

Form of Notice to be Posted by the Surveyor.

To all persons whom it may concern.

I hereby give notice that ___ reading at, ___ did on the ___ day of ___ apply to me for an "Extended Claim" of (*here state area*) of land, which the Mining Surveyor has this day marked out, and that any person desiring to object to such extended claim, must, within seven clear days from the date of this notice, enter his objection at my office. And I further give notice that I will hear and determine this application and the objection (*if any*, lodged there against at my office aforesaid, on ___ day of ___ 186.

(*Signature of Warden*).

Dated the ___ day of ___ 186.

Posted by me this ___ day of ___ Mining Surveyor.

6.—Extended Claims to be Registered.

If no valid objection is offered, the Warden may, upon hearing the application, issue a certificate of Registration for an "Extended Claim," specifying therein the area granted, the exact position of the same, and the special conditions (if any) upon which such certificate has been granted, and the charge for such registration shall be ten shillings.

7.—Forfeiture.

If at any time the requisite number of holders of miners rights shall not be employed or occupied upon any such "Extended Claim," the Warden may, upon proof thereof being produced before him, in the presence of all parties interested, cancel the certificate of Registration, either in the whole or in part, as may be equitable; provided always that a monetary penalty may be imposed in lieu of forfeiture, as hereafter set forth in Section 6 of Regulation XV.

XIV.—Special Sites.

1.—Sites for Machines.

Any holder of a Miner's Right who may be desirous of obtaining a site for the erection of machinery thereon, shall make application in writing to the Warden, setting forth the purpose and all particulars of such machinery, and stating the exact locality of the site applied for, and shall at the same time deposit the sum of £5 as security for the cost of survey and other necessary expenses. And the Warden shall thereupon direct the Mining Surveyor to make a survey and plan of such site, and to report thereon.

2.—Site for Stacking Tailings.

Any holder of a Miner's Right who may be desirous of obtaining a site for the purpose of stacking tailings thereon, shall proceed by application to the Warden in the same manner as is provided in Section 1.

3.—Proceedings at Survey.

At the time of making any such survey, the Mining Surveyor shall erect a post measuring not less than two inches square, and standing three feet above the surface of the ground at each boundary corner of the site applied for, and shall post a notice in the form hereinafter set forth upon some conspicuous part of such site.

Form of Notice.

(District and date.)

Whereas (*name of applicant*) has applied to me for a grant of this land as a special site for (*erecting machinery,*

If machinery, state for what purpose.

or stacking tailings) thereon; and whereas the Mining Surveyor has this day surveyed and marked the boundaries of such site, this is to give Notice that any objections to the issue of a certificate of Registration therefor must be lodged at my office on or before (*specify date*

Not less than 7 clear days from date of survey.

), upon which day I shall proceed to hear and dispose of such application.

(Signature of Warden)

Posted by me this ___ day ___ 186

(Signature of Mining Surveyor.)

4.—Registration.

At the expiration of the time specified in the Notice as aforesaid, the Warden may, if there be no valid objection there against, issue a Certificate of Registration for the site applied for, and the fee for such registration shall be five shillings.

5.—Restriction of Sites.

Special sites shall not be granted for any land which is known to be auriferous unless the same has been worked out and abandoned, nor for land which is in the line or direction of any workings, or which is or may probably be required for business purposes.

6.—Limitation of Area.

The area granted to any person or party as a special site shall in no case exceed a quarter of an acre.

7.—Discovery of Auriferous Deposits.

If any auriferous deposits shall be traced to the boundaries of, or discovered upon a special site, such site shall be dealt with in the same manner as provided by Sections 3, 4, and 5, of Regulation XI., relating to residence; provided always that the compensation directed to be estimated by Section 5 thereof shall only be paid in the case of sites that are or may be occupied *bona fide* by machinery.

XV—General Regulations.

1.—Interference Prohibited.

No person shall, under any pretence whatever, damage, destroy, or otherwise interfere with any race, tail-race, dam, sludge-channel, or drain, machine, or other appliance connected therewith, nor with any claim, unless the sanction of the owners thereof, or the authority of the Warden, shall first have been obtained for such interference.

2.—*Throwing Earth or Tailings on Claims.*

No person shall throw or cause to be thrown upon any claim other than his own, any earth, stones, grave), tailings, or any other substance, whereby the proper and efficient working of such claim may be stopped or impeded.

3.—*Interference with Pegs and Notices, &c.*

No person shall alter the position of any trench nor remove any peg from a claim in the occupation of any other person, nor deface, destroy, or remove any notice posted in accordance with these Regulations, nor interfere with any mark or boundary.

4.—*Stacking Auriferous Substances.*

Any person wishing to retain possession of auriferous substances, may have the same protected for a period not exceeding three months, provided that such substance is properly stacked on ground not supposed to be adapted to mining purposes, and that a board, with the owner's name, address, and date of stacking, legibly written or painted thereon, be posted close to such stack.

5.—*Jumping Forbidden.*

No person shall take possession of any claim, race, dam, machine, or any other right or privilege whatsoever, (unless the same shall have been absolutely relinquished) without first obtaining the consent of the owners, or the authority of the Warden.

6.—*Penalty may be substituted for Forfeiture.*

In all cases wherein forfeiture is decreed by these Regulations, it shall be lawful for the Warden to substitute a monetary penalty in lieu thereof, and to allow thereout a sufficient sum to defray any reasonable expenses incurred by the plaintiff in the prosecution of his suit.

7.—*Compensation may be Adjudged*

In all cases of forfeiture, the Warden may adjudge compensation to be paid by the person to whom any claim or right may be awarded by the former owner or holder thereof, and to appoint a time within which such payment shall be made; provided that such compensation shall not exceed in amount two-thirds of the estimated value of any work actually performed thereon or in connection therewith.

8.—*Permission to enter Claims.*

The Warden shall have power to authorise the entry of any surveyor or assessor into and upon any claim for the purpose of measuring the depth of any shaft, or the dip, direction, inclination, or length of any tunnel or drive.

9.—*Notices to contain full particulars.*

All notices tendered or posted in conformity with these Regulations must contain the name in full of each member of the party, together with date, number, and place of issue of his Miner's Right.

10.—*Notices to be posted at the Warden's Offices.*

Copies of all notices given in conformity with these Regulations shall be posted by the Warden at his office, and exhibited on the outside thereof during the currency of such notice; provided that non-compliance with this rule shall not invalidate the proceedings in relation to any application.

11.—*Warden to be Judge of Objections, &c.*

The Warden shall in all cases be the sole judge of the validity of objections to the issue of any Certificate of Registration, and also of what is a "reasonable time" for the performance of any work when no fixed period is provided by these Regulations.

12.—*Certificate may be cancelled.*

If any Certificate shall have been obtained by misrepresentation, or if any of the prescribed conditions have not been duly complied with, the Warden may, upon proof thereof, cancel such Certificate, or make such other

order therein as may appear to be just or equitable.

13.—Neglect of Wardens Orders.

Any person who shall neglect or refuse to comply with any written notice or order of the Warden, duly served, and in conformity with these Regulations, shall be deemed to be guilty of a breach thereof, and liable to the penalties imposed by the 53rd section of the "Gold Fields Act, 1862."

14.—Survey in absence of a Mining Surveyor.

Wherever it is required by these Regulations that a survey should be made, if there be no Mining Surveyor within the district, the Warden may authorise and appoint any capable person to make the necessary survey; and such survey shall, for all the purposes of the Regulations, be taken and accepted as, or in lieu of survey, by an appointed Mining Surveyor.

15.—Transfer of Claims, &c.

Any claim, right, or privilege held under these Regulations may be transferred or assigned; but where it is provided that any such claim, right, or privilege must originally be registered, the transfer or assignment thereof must also be registered.

16.—Suspension of Regulations.

If any portion of the Rules and Regulations of the Otago Gold Fields shall be deemed to be inapplicable to the requirements of any district, the Superintendent may, if he shall think fit, upon the receipt of a memorial to that effect, signed by holders of Miners Rights and Business Licenses residing in such district, suspend the operation of any regulation or section of a regulation, so far as such district is concerned, and may again annul such suspension, and renew the operation of such regulation or section, or may substitute others in lieu thereof.

Given under my hand, and issued under the Public Seal of the Province of Otago, at Dunedin, this twenty-
(L.S.)

first day of October, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-four.

J. Hyde Harris,
Superintendent.
By His Honor's command,
JAS. PATERSON,
Provincial Secretary.

Gold Minim Lease Regulations.

AUCKLAND, 15th September, 1862;

1. What Lands may he Leased.

Auriferous Crown Lands in the Province of Otago may be leased under these Regulations, except:—

- The whole or any part of any land which any person other than the applicant is entitled to occupy and actually does occupy for mining purposes, or for residence, by virtue of a Miner's Right or Business License.
- The whole or any part of any land in or over which any person other than the applicant has any interest or authority other than those above mentioned, which he may lawfully use or exercise for mining purposes, or for discovering the existence of gold or other metal or mineral.
- Lands containing within their boundaries any river, stream of permanent water, or spring, which may be required for public purposes, or for the use of the miners generally.

2. Boundaries of Land applied for to be defined.

Persons intending to apply for a lease of Auriferous Crown Lands shall, previous to making application as hereinafter directed, erect or cause to be erected, at each angle of the land proposed to be leased, a post, three inches square and standing at least three feet in height above the surface of the ground, and such posts shall be maintained at the expense of the applicant until the application shall have been granted or refused by the

Governor.

3. Mode of Application.

Application shall be made in the form in the Schedule hereunto annexed marked A, and shall be addressed in duplicate to the Warden of the Gold Field within which the land so applied for is situated.

4. Applicant to make a Deposit.

At the time of applying for such lease the applicant must deposit with the Warden the sum of twenty pounds (£20) as a guarantee for the payment of any expenses which may be incurred for the survey of the land applied for, or by reason of any objection to such application being allowed; and such Warden shall give to the applicant a receipt therefor, in the form in the Schedule hereunto annexed marked B, and any surplus which may remain over such expenses shall be returned to the applicant.

5. Official Survey.

Upon receipt of such application and deposit, the Warden aforesaid shall, as soon as may be, direct a Surveyor to proceed to the land applied for, and to survey the same, and to report as to the area, boundaries, and description thereof, the character of the ground, the likelihood of any river, creek, or permanent water spring, or artificial reservoir, which may be included within the boundaries of the said land, being required for, or the feasibility of the same being applied to public purposes, or for the use of miners of the district generally; and also as to any claims to prior occupancy which shall come to his knowledge, enquiry as to which it shall be his duty to make while making the said survey; and to furnish a plan of such land on a scale of sixteen inches to the mile, together with a tracing of so much of the general map of the district as will be sufficient to connect the particular area applied for with at least one trigonometrical station; or in the absence of any such, with some fixed point.

6. Surveyor to affix Notice.

The Surveyor shall at the time of making the survey hereinbefore directed, place a notice, in the form in the Schedule hereunto annexed marked C, in some conspicuous place on the ground, and shall post a copy of such notice on the outside of the Warden's office.

7. Priority of Application.

In the event of more than one application being made for the same land, or any part thereof, such one of such applications as shall have been first left with the Warden shall be first considered; and in case any two or more of such application shall be left with the Warden at the same time, it shall be in the discretion of the Governor to which of the applicants the lease shall be granted.

8. Objectors to give Notice.

Any persons objecting to the issue of a lease so applied for, shall, within twenty-one days after the posting of the notice by the Surveyor, forward to the Warden full notice of all such objections, and shall (except in cases of encroachment) deposit the sum of ten pounds (£10); and such Warden shall give to the person making such deposit a receipt, in the form in the Schedule annexed marked as security for the due prosecution of his objections, and in satisfaction of any expenses to which the applicant may be put by such objections if disallowed; and if such objections should not be prosecuted or should fail, so much of such deposit shall be handed over to the applicant as may be necessary to repay the expenses of such applicant; and the balance (if any) shall be refunded to the person so objecting.

9. Cases of Encroachment.

When application shall have been made for a lease of any land to the whole or any part of which any person other than the applicant shall claim to be entitled, by virtue of prior occupation under a miner's right or business license, the objection to the granting of such lease may be heard by the Warden in the same way as a case of encroachment under the "Gold Fields Act;" and such Warden shall immediately report the hearing of any such objection, and the decision arrived at therein, to the Superintendent of the Province.

10. Enquiry into Application.

After the expiration of twenty-one days allowed for objections, the Warden shall appoint a time and place for holding an enquiry into the truth of the particulars alleged by the applicant, and of the objections (if any) made by each objector, and two clear days' notice of the holding of such enquiry shall be given to each of the persons interested therein.

11. Proceedings at Enquiry.

At such enquiry the Warden shall take evidence in relation to the application and objections, and immediately thereafter he shall forward to the office of the Provincial Secretary the application and objections (if any) thereto, and the evidence taken by him as aforesaid, with his opinion thereon, together with the report, plan, and tracing furnished to him by the Surveyor as hereinbefore directed.

12. Governor to issue Leases.

The Governor will, if he shall think fit, upon the recommendation of the Superintendent of Otago, issue to any applicant a lease of the land applied for, or any part thereof, after the time prescribed by the thirty-second section of the "Gold Fields Act, 1862," viz., three months after notice of the intention to grant the same shall have been published in the *Government Gazette*, and at least one of the local newspapers best calculated, in the opinion of the Governor, to give publicity to the same amongst the persons specially interested.

13. Date of Lease.

Every lease will bear date the day of execution thereof by the Governor, and will be transmitted to the Warden, at whose office the same may be obtained, and the Warden shall deliver the same to the applicant, or such person as shall be duly authorised to receive and execute the same, upon his application therefor, and execution thereof, within the time hereinafter prescribed, and upon delivery to the Warden of a receipt, showing that a fee of one pound, together with the first half-year's rent, has been paid to the Receiver of Land Revenue or Gold Receiver for the District.

14.—Execution of Lease.

Upon receiving the lease the Warden aforesaid shall cause notice to be given to the Lessee or Lessees requesting his or their attendance at the Warden's Office, or other convenient place, to execute and take delivery thereof, within a reasonable time not exceeding thirty days from the date of such notice; and should the said lessee or lessees or his or their lawful Attorney, as hereinafter provided for, fail to comply therewith, or to show reasonable cause for an extension of the time allowed for the purpose, the Warden shall report the circumstances to the Provincial Secretary, and the Superintendent may thereupon declare the lease forfeited, or take such other action therein as he may think fit.

15.—Proceedings in case of refusal of Lease.

If any lease so applied for shall be refused, either in the first instance, or after a failure to comply with the terms of the notice in the last preceding section mentioned, or if any application for a lease shall be withdrawn, a notice thereof shall be published in the *Government Gazette*, and the Warden shall thereupon instruct a Mining Surveyor to proceed without delay to the ground described in such mining lease, and cause all posts, notices, &c., by which such ground shall have been distinguished, as applied for under the Leasing Regulations, to be removed; and further to notify, for the information of the miners in the vicinity, that such ground is open to persons holding Miners' Rights or Business Licenses, or to applicants for a lease, as if no lease of the said ground had ever been applied for.

16.—Costs.

All costs and expenses incurred by, or on behalf of, or by direction of the Government, by reason of the withdrawal of any application for Mining leases, or of the non-execution of any such lease within the time aforesaid, shall be considered expenses within the meaning of the second clause of these Regulations.

17.—Term.

The term of the lease cannot in any case exceed fifteen years.

18.—Areas of Leases.

The extent of any lease granted under these Regulations shall be, except in special cases hereinafter provided for, on quartz lodes or veins, not less than one hundred (100) yards, nor more than four hundred (400) yards in length along the line of the lode, by a width of not less than fifty (50) yards, nor more than two hundred (200) yards measured across the lode; and in alluvial workings an area not exceeding ten (10) acres.

19.—Rents.

The rents received shall in all cases be at the rate of five pounds per acre, and the said rents shall be made payable *half-yearly in advance*, during the entire term; and the day of the execution of the lease by the Governor shall be deemed to be the day upon which the first payment shall be due.

20.—Special Cases.

In cases where it shall be shown that a departure from the foregoing areas or rents would, under special circumstances, be desirable, the same may be extended, diminished, or otherwise altered, and such covenants, conditions, and stipulations may be imposed, and such rents and royalties reserved, as may be considered necessary.

21.—Attorney may be appointed.

In case of the inability of any lessee or lessees, by reason of absence, sickness, or any other lawful impediments, to execute a lease, the lawful attorney or attorneys of such lessee or lessees shall be permitted to execute such lease for and on his or their behalf.

22. Power of Attorney.

All such attorneys shall be appointed under power of attorney, in the form, or to the effect set forth in the schedule hereunto annexed, marked E, and the execution thereof shall be attested by a Justice of Peace, and every such power of attorney shall be registered in the office of the Registrar of Deeds before it shall be acted upon.

Additional Regulations.

AUCKLAND,

September 14th, 1864.

23.—Fine for withdrawal of Application.

Out of the sum of twenty pounds (£20) deposited by any person making application for a Gold Mining Lease, shall be deducted the sum of five pounds (£5) in addition to the previously authorised costs and expenses, in case such person shall withdraw his application, or forfeit or abandon his claim, or not accept the lease within one month after notice by the Warden.

Right of Ingress and Egress.

AUCKLAND,

October 28th, 1864.

The Government reserves to itself the right of ingress and egress to, from, and across any land for which a Gold Mining Lease may or shall be issued under these Regulations, and of granting to any person or the public such rights of ingress and egress, and of granting to any holder of a Miner's Right the privilege of entering on such land for the purpose of cutting water-races or tail-races, and of leading head-water or tail-water through the same.

Schedule A.

(Form of Application for Lease.)

To Place and Date.

SIR—

I herewith deposit the sum of twenty pounds as required by the Mining Lease Regulations of Otago, and I agree, if my application (the particulars of which are hereunder set forth) be investigated, that such sum shall in all respects be held subject to the terms of such Regulations, and that upon the approval of this application, I will execute a lease upon the basis therein stated if the Governor shall think fit to grant the same.

I have, &c.,

(Signature of Applicant.)

application form

Schedule B.

(Form of Receipt for deposit with Warden.)

In the matter of the application for a lease under the Mining Lease Regulations.

Received from the above named parties the sum of twenty (£20) pounds, pursuant to the Regulations for leases of Lands for Gold Mining.

Dated, &c.

(Signature of Warden.)

Schedule C.

(Form of Notice to be posted by the Surveyor.)

To all persons whom it may concern.

I hereby give notice that____residing at____did on the____day of____apply to the Warden____at____for a Gold Mining Lease of (acres or yards) of land, which I have this day marked out, and that any person desiring to object to the issue of such lease must, within twenty-one clear days from the date of this notice, forthwith enter his objection at the office of the said Warden. And I further give notice that the said land is exempted from occupation for any purpose whatsoever until the application of the aforesaid has been finally dealt with.

(Signature of Surveyor.)

Dated the____day of____18

Schedule D.

(Form of Receipt for deposit with Warden.)

In the matter of the application of____for a lease under the Mining Lease Regulations, and of objections thereto lodged by A. B., C. D., &c.

Received from____the sum of ten (£10) pounds pursuant to the Regulations for leases of Crown Lands for Gold Mining.

Dated, &c.

(Signed)____Warden.

J K. Names of applicants and addresses.

L M. Names of applicants and addresses.

Schedule E.

Know all men by these presents, that I, A. B., (*or we A. B. and C. D.*) do hereby make, nominate, constitute and appoint, and in my (*or our*) place and stead put E. F. of (*residence and addition*) to be my (*or our*) true and lawful attorney for me (*or us*), and in my name (*or our names*) to accept the lease of auriferous Crown Land for mining purposes for which I (*or we*) on the____day of____18 applied, and the deed of which was on the____day of____18 executed by His Excellency the Governor, and for me (*or us*) and in my name, (*or our names*) and as my (*or our*) act and deed to sign, seal, and deliver such deed of lease, and for me (*or us*) and in my name (*or our names*) to enter into all such covenants and agreements as I (*or we*) shall be required to enter into in and by said deed or otherwise, in the matter of said lease, and generally for me (*or us*) and in my name (*or our names*) to do, execute, and perform all such other acts, deeds, and things as may be necessary, or may be required to be done, executed, or performed in and about the acceptance and execution respectively for me (*or us*) and in my name (*or our names*) of such lease and deed of lease respectively, and I (*or we*) do hereby ratify and confirm and covenant that I (*or we*) will ratify and confirm all and whatsoever the said E. F. shall lawfully do, or cause to be done, in or about the premises by virtue of this power.

In witness whereof, &c.

N.B.—Printed copies of the forms in these schedules will be issued at the Warden's Office free of expense.

Agricultural Leases

On the Gold Fields.

Dunedin,

6th September, 1863.

Clauses, Provisios, and conditions to be contained in Agricultural Leases under "Gold Fields Act, 1862."

1st. Agricultural Leases will be granted for a term not exceeding seven years.

2nd. Agricultural Leases will not be transferable without the special sanction and authority of His Honor the Superintendent, and for every such transfer a fee or fine of one pound (£1) will be charged.

3rd. The Government reserves to itself the right to survey, through any land held under an Agricultural Lease, such roads as may be deemed essential for public convenience, and to throw them open to public traffic, subject to the allowance of valuation for improvements, and for any standing and growing crops which may be in or upon such line of road, at the period when possession thereof is taken by the Government.

4th. The rent charged shall be at the rate of five shillings (5s.) per acre, payable yearly in advance from the date of application; and any fractional part of an acre will be considered as an acre and charged accordingly.

5th. The Government reserves to itself the right of entering upon any land so leased as aforesaid, for the purpose of searching for gold, or any other metal or mineral, and of determining any lease when such metals or minerals shall have been discovered thereon.

6th. In the event of the determination of any Agricultural Lease on account of the highly auriferous nature of the land thereby demised, the amount of compensation adjudged to be paid to the holder thereof shall (except in special cases) be contributed by the persons desirous of mining thereon.

7th. The fees charged for survey will be as follows:—

For an ordinary survey, when the area does not exceed four (4) acres one pound.

For any larger area, at the rate of five shillings per acre, or any portion of an acre.

And thirty shillings per diem extra when the time occupied in such survey extends beyond one day.

8th. Leases will be cancelled if the land is sublet or transferred without the sanction and authority of His Honor the Superintendent, or if cultivation is not commenced within three months after the issue of the lease; or if at any time during the currency of the lease the land shall be neglected for a period of six months.

Persons applying for Agricultural Leases must strictly observe the following Regulations:—

1st. Leases will be granted for a term not exceeding seven (7) years, in accordance with the provisions of the "Gold Fields Act, 1862."

2nd. Every application for an Agricultural Lease must be made (in the form of the Schedule hereunto annexed, or to the like effect) to the Warden of the District wherein the land is situate, and must be accompanied by a deposit of five pounds (£5), to cover the costs of survey. The balance, if any, of such deposit will be returned after the application has been finally dealt with.

3rd. The boundaries of the area applied for must be marked out on the ground by # trenches, and substantial posts at each corner thereof.

4th. Every such area must be rectangular in form, unless a creek or river, or other natural obstacle, renders a deviation from the rectangular form necessary.

5th. As soon as possible after the receipt of any application and deposit as aforesaid, the Warden will instruct a Surveyor to proceed to the ground for the purpose of examining, surveying, and reporting upon the same.

6th. Agricultural Leases will not be granted for lands within the boundaries of proclaimed Townships or public reserves, nor for any area including a permanent water-course, or which may present auriferous indications upon survey; and in all cases a public roadway, one chain in width, will be reserved along the margins of streams and rivers.

SCHEDULE REFERRED TO.

No. (Place and Date.) To the Warden at

I hereby apply for a lease of land for Agricultural purposes, situate at (here state the locality) and comprising acres, or thereabouts; and I deposit herewith the sum of five pounds to cover the costs of survey, and I agree to pay the further costs (if any) of such survey, according to the scale prescribed by the Agricultural Leases Regulations.

Signature [name in full, and address.]

Warden's Court Rules.

AUCKLAND,

15th September, 1863.

Analysis.

Secs.

- Schedule of Forms and Scale of Fees to be part of the Rules.
- Interpretation of words in Rules.
- Time and place of holding Courts. Adjournments.
- The Clerk of Court.
- Clerk's Deputy.
- Clerk's Duties.
- The Bailiff.
- His Duties.
- Parties may appear personally, or by Solicitor.
- Officers of Court not to practice in the Court.
- Action to be commenced by a complaint and summons.
- Names, &c., of parties to be set forth in complaint and summons.
- Grounds of action to be briefly set forth in complaint and summons.
- Summons may be issued in certain cases against a party out of jurisdiction.
- Service of Summons.

- Service to be made by the Bailiff or other person authorised.
- Summons of witnesses.
- Parties to be heard in open Court. Adjournment of hearing.
- Procedure if complainant do not appear.
- Procedure if defendant do not appear.
- Re-hearing.
- Procedure if both parties appear.
- View.
- The Judge to be sole Judge, except in cases where Assessors or Jurors are appointed.
- The Assessors or Jurors to consist of four persons of full age.
- Summons to Assessors or Jurors.
- Assessors or Jury List, how to be made, and Jury chosen.
- Number to be summoned.
- Mode of service of summons.
- Jury to be reduced to four by challenge.
- Jury to be sworn.
- Payment to Jurors.
- Procedure if either party refuse to challenge Jury.
- The evidence on the trial to be only of the causes of action or defence.
- Verdict.
- Judgment upon verdict.
- Minute of every decision to be entered by Judge in a book.
- Injunctions.
- Costs.
- Judge to direct what number of Witnesses to be allowed.
- Costs of Witnesses to be at discretion of Judge.
- Costs to Complainant's Solicitor.
- Costs to Defendant's Solicitor.
- Court may order payment by instalments of sums of money for which judgment given.
- Mode of enforcing decrees of Court.
- Defects and errors may be amended.
- Fees.
- Pre-payment of Fees.
- Appeal.
- Judge may make additional Rules. Schedule of Forms.

Wardens' Courts.

RULES FOR REGULATING THE PROCEDURE AND PRACTICE OF WARDENS' COURTS WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF OTAGO.

- The Schedule of Forms and Scale of Fees hereunto annexed shall form part of these Rules.
- In construing these Rules and Forms, the following terms, in inverted commas, shall bear the several meanings set against them respectively:
 "The Act." The "Gold Fields Act, 1862." (26 Victoria, No. 21.) "Clerk," "Bailiff." The Clerk, Bailiff, or person duly appointed and authorised to act as such respectively.
 "Oath" shall include affirmation.
 Words importing the masculine gender only shall include females, and importing the singular number shall be extended to the plural number.
- Every Warden's Court shall be holden at such place and times as the Judge shall appoint, and he may from time to time adjourn the Court.
- There shall be for every Warden's Court a Clerk, who shall be appointed by and hold office during the pleasure of the Governor or the Superintendent, or other person duly delegated by the Governor to exercise such power under the Act.
- It shall be lawful for the Judge of the Court to appoint a Deputy to act for the Clerk as often as he shall be prevented by illness or other cause from acting in his office, and an entry of such appointment, and the cause of the Clerk's absence, shall be made in the Minute Book of the Court.

- The Clerk of Court shall issue all Summonses, Warrants, and Writs of Execution, keep an account of all proceedings, take charge of and keep an account, in a book to belong to the Court, of all fees and fines payable or paid into Court, and of all monies paid into and out of Court, adjourn the Court to any day he may deem convenient when from any cause a Court cannot be held on the day appointed, and shall do and perform all other acts and duties properly incident to the office of Clerk.
- There shall also be a Bailiff of Court, who shall be appointed by and hold office during the pleasure of the Judge thereof.
- The Bailiff shall attend the sittings of the Court, unless when his absence shall be allowed by the Judge, and shall, when required, serve all Summonses and Orders, and execute all the Warrants and Writs issued out of the Court, and in other respects shall be subject to the directions of the Judge.
- The parties in every Complaint, Action, and Proceeding shall appear and act personally or by a Barrister or Solicitor of the Supreme Court, and not otherwise, unless under special circumstances the Judge permits any party to appear by an agent, not being a Barrister or Solicitor.
- No officer of the Court shall, either by himself or by any partner or person in his employment, be directly or indirectly engaged as Counsel, Attorney, or Agent for any party in any proceeding in the Court.
- Every action shall be commenced by a complaint and summons in the form or to the effect in the Schedule hereto annexed.
- In the Complaint and Summons there shall be set forth the Christian and Surname and place of abode and calling and description of the Complainant, and likewise of the Defendant; but when the Christian and Surname of the latter are not known, he may be designated by any name or names which he may have acquired by usage or reputation.
- In every Complaint and Summons there shall be set forth briefly but distinctly and explicitly the ground or cause of complaint; and if there be more than one ground or cause of complaint, each shall be stated substantively and consecutively numbered, and there shall also be set forth the recovery or relief claimed.
- Such summonses may be issued against any defendant residing or being without the District within which the Court has jurisdiction (but not out of the Province) provided it clearly appear from the complaint that the cause of action is otherwise within the jurisdiction of the Court.
- The service of any Summons shall be by delivering a copy of the same to the Defendant (or if more than one, to each of them) personally; or if he cannot be found, by leaving such copy at his place of abode; or in case of co-partners, at the claim, station, or other place of business of the firm.
- The Summons may be served by the Bailiff, or by any other person whom the Court may authorise, and he shall by a certificate under his hand certify the time and mode of such service, to be endorsed on the Summons, without prejudice to the Judge taking proof thereof by oath if he think fit.
- Either party may obtain from the Clerk of Court Summonses to Witnesses, to be served at the option of such party either by himself as his agent, or by the Bailiff of the Court, with or without a clause requiring the production of books and writings in their possession or under their control.
- The parties shall be heard in open Court upon the day appointed, but the Judge may adjourn the hearing of any cause in such manner and on such terms, as to payment of costs or otherwise, as to him may seem fit.
- If the Complainant do not appear at the time appointed, and good cause for his absence be not shown, the Judge shall dismiss the complaint, and award a sum to the Defendant as costs, or adjourn the hearing of the same.
- If the Defendant do not appear, the Court may either hold him as confessed, and give judgment accordingly, or institute such inquiry into the cause of action as may be deemed necessary, and thereupon pronounce such decision as may be consistent with the ends of justice, either alone or with the assistance of Assessors or Jurors.
- Whenever the Court shall make a Decree, in the absence of any party interested in the subject matter of the suit, binding the rights of such party, the Judge may in his discretion, at the same or any subsequent Court, set aside such Decree, or any part thereof, and grant a re-hearing of the suit upon such terms, if any, as to payment of costs, giving security or otherwise as he may think fit, on sufficient cause shown for that purpose.
- When both parties appear, and from the nature of the cause or the conflicting statements of the parties it shall be necessary to take evidence, either party may be before, but not after, any evidence is taken, move that the cause be tried with the assistance of Assessors or Jurors.
- If from the nature of the case (*e.g.* an encroachment to an unlawful or injurious operation) the Court deem it necessary to repair to the spot, and there on view investigate and determine the matter, the Court

may proceed forthwith, or appoint a time for that purpose, and order the parties and witnesses then and there to attend.

- In all actions brought before the Court, the Judge shall be sole Judge, unless he think fit to take the assistance of Assessors or Jurors, or unless either of the parties shall move that the complaint be tried by Assessors or Jurors, and shall pay into Court the costs for the summoning and attendance of the Assessors or Jurors.
- The Assessors or Jurors shall consist of four persons of full age and good repute, who may be selected by the parties in the cause, from indifferent persons present in Court, if the said parties concur in this mode of proceeding. If they do not so concur, the trial shall be adjourned to another day, to be then fixed.
- The Clerk of Court shall thereupon cause to be summoned twelve Assessors or Jurors residing within the district, for the trial of the cause upon the day appointed.
- The Assessors or Jurors so summoned shall be chosen from time to time in alphabetical order, as their names shall appear in the Jury List for the district, which List shall be yearly, or oftener if he think proper, prepared by the Judge of the Court, and shall contain the names of all men residing within the jurisdiction of the Court, being holders of Miners' Rights or Business Licenses.
- It shall not be necessary to summon more than twelve Assessors or Jurors to attend any one sitting of the Court, and those summoned for the trial of any one cause shall be deemed to have been summoned for the trial of all causes to be tried at the same sittings of the Court with the assistance of Assessors or Jurors.
- Every summons of an Assessor or Juror shall be served on him personally, or by leaving the same at his ordinary place of abode, at least one clear day before the sitting of the Court.
- When the Assessors or Jurors shall be in attendance, if their number shall be odd, the Clerk shall strike off one, and the number being even, the complainant and defendant alternately shall each strike off one until the number be reduced to four.
- The four thus remaining shall be empannelled and sworn to give their verdict in the cause to be brought before them.
- Every such Juror thus empannelled shall be entitled to receive from the Clerk of the Court the sum of ten shillings, and the expense thereby incurred shall be the costs in the cause.
- If either party shall neglect or refuse to strike the Jury as above provided, or if the defendant shall be absent, it shall be lawful for the Clerk of the Court to strike the Jury instead of such neglecting, refusing, or absent party.
- No evidence shall be given by either party on the trial of any case except such evidence as may be material to the right of action, or to the defence.
- It shall not be necessary that the Assessors or Jurors give an unanimous verdict, but judgment shall be entered up in pursuance of the verdict of the majority.
- Every judgment entered up in pursuance of the verdict of a Jury shall have the same force and effect as if such judgment were entered in pursuance of the determination of the judgment of the Court alone.
- A minute of every decision shall be entered by the Judge, in a book to be kept for that purpose, and shall be signed by the persons, whether Assessors or Jurors, who concur in making such decision, and no formal order shall be necessary, and a copy of such minute shall, on demand, be given to any of the parties interested therein.
- It being competent to the Court, whenever it shall seem fit, to order the working of any miner's claim, affected by any matter in dispute brought before the Court, to be suspended until such matter shall have been investigated and adjudicated upon, if in any complaint there shall be set forth sufficient grounds, in the opinion of the Court, for an interim order or injunction on the person complained against to desist from working his claim; or from any act or proceeding in the working thereof likely to cause irreparable or serious injury, and if such relief or remedy be then claimed, the Judge may issue such order or injunction in the meantime. And afterwards on hearing the parties, may recall the same, or otherwise decide as he may see fit.
- All the costs of any complaint or proceeding shall be taxed by the Court, and shall be paid or apportioned between the parties in such manner as to the Judge shall seem fit, but in default of any special direction, such costs shall abide the event of the action.
- The Judge shall, in each case, direct what number of witnesses shall be allowed between party and party, and their allowance for attendance shall in no case exceed the highest rate of the allowance mentioned in the schedule.
- The costs of witnesses, whether they have been examined or not, may in the discretion of the Judge be allowed although they may not have been summoned.

- The complainant's solicitor shall be entitled to receive in full for his fees and costs, in addition to the costs actually paid by him, a sum not exceeding £
- The defendant's solicitor shall in every case in which judgment shall be given for or against the defendant, be entitled to recover in full of his costs and fees, in addition to the costs actually paid by him, a sum not exceeding £
- The Judge may make such order as he may think fit, concerning the times, and by what instalments, any sum of money for which judgment shall be obtained shall be paid; and all such money shall be paid into Court unless the Judge shall otherwise direct.
- Every Order, Decree, or Judgment made by the Court, shall be carried out and enforced in the same manner as any order or judgment of a Resident Magistrate may be enforced according to the Law for the time being in force for regulating summary proceedings before Justices of the Peace.
- The Judge may at all times amend all defects and errors in any proceeding in this Court.
- In default of the payment of any Fees, payment thereof, by order of the Judge, may be enforced by such means as may be employed to recover any sum of money adjudged by the Court to be paid.
- The Judge, the Clerk, and any other Officer, may refuse to do any act for which a fee shall be demandable, unless such fee shall be first paid.
- The appeal allowed by Section 25 of the Act shall be in the form of a case, agreed on by both parties or their Solicitors; and if they cannot agree, the Judge of the Warden's Court, upon being applied to by them or their Solicitors, shall settle the case and sign it, and such case shall be transmitted by the Appellant to the Registrar of the Court of Appeal.
- The Judge may, in pursuance of the 27th section of the Act, prescribe such additional Regulations as may from time to time be necessary for the orderly transaction of the business of this Court.

SCHEDULE OF FORMS.

1. Complaint.

In the Warden's Court of ___ District, in the Province of Otago, New Zealand.

Be it remembered that upon the ___ day of ___, 18 ___ cometh before me the undersigned, judge of the ___ District Warden's Court, sitting at ___ in the said Province, A. B. (address, description., &c.) and complains against C. D. (address, description, &c.) Defendant.

1. That (here set forth briefly but distinctly and explicitly the ground or cause of complaint, and if there be more than one ground or cause of complaint state each substantively, numbering them 1, 2, 3, &c)

Wherefore the Complainant claims that the Defendant be adjudged to (here state the nature of claim or relief sought.)

Stated before me at ___ aforesaid this
day of ___, 18
___ Judge.

2. Summons.

In the Warden's Court of ___ District, in the Province of Otago, New Zealand, A. B. (address, description, &c..) Complainant, and C. D. (address, description, &c) Defendant.

Whereas complaint hath this day been made before me the undersigned, the Judge of the said Court, by A. B. (address, description, &c.) Complaint, against C. D. (address, description, &c.) Defendant.

1. That (here set forth briefly but distinctly and explicitly the ground or cause of complaint, and if there be more than one ground or cause of complaint, state each substantively, numbering them 1, 2, 3, &c., as in complaint). Wherefore Complainant claims that the Defendant be adjudged to (here state the nature of the claim or relief sought as in the complaint.) These are therefore to command you the said C. D., in Her Majesty's name, to be and appear on the ___ day of ___, 18 at ___ o'clock in the ___ noon, at the Court-House at ___ before me to answer to the said complaint and demand (in any case falling under Rule 39, in which in the complaint an interim injunction is claimed, here insert) and in the meanwhile you are hereby enjoined to desist from (here state the matter of injunction distinctly) under the penalty, in case of disobedience of this injunction, contained in the Act.

Given under my hand and Seal this day of ___ in the year of ___ (L.S.) our Lord 18 at ___ in the District aforesaid.

___ Judge.

3. Certificate of Service.

I, ___ Bailiff to the Warden's Court at ___, do hereby certify that I served ___ mentioned in the within Summons, with a copy thereof, on the ___ day of ___ 18 ___, between the hours of ___ and noon.

E. F.

4. Summons to a Witness.

In the Warden's Court of ___ holden at ___, between A. B., ___ Plaintiff; ___ and C. D., Defendant.

You are hereby required to attend at the Court House in ___ on the ___ day of ___, 18, at the hour of ___ in the ___ noon, to give evidence in the above cause, on behalf of (plaintiff or defendant as the case may be), and then and there to have and produce (state any particular documents required), and all other books, papers, writings and other documents relating to the said action, which may be in your custody, possession, or power. In default of your attendance you will be liable to a penalty of Five Pounds, under section 54 of the "Gold Fields Act, 1862."

Dated this ___ day of ___ 18

C. D.

Clerk of Court.

To A. B. (address, description, &c.)

5. Clerk's Notice of Jury.

In the Warden's Court of ___ holden at ___, between A. B., plaintiff, and C. D., defendant. Take notice that this case will be tried by a Jury, the plaintiff (or defendant as the case may be) having demanded a Jury therein.

Dated this ___ day of ___ 18

C. D.

Clerk of Court.

To the plaintiff or defendant, as the case may be. (Address, description, &c.)

6. Summons to Juror.

In the Warden's Court of ___ holden at ___ You are hereby summoned to appear and serve as a Juror in this Court, at the (Court-house) on the ___ day of ___ 18 ___, at the hour of in the ___ noon, upon the trial of the cause or causes to be then tried by a Jury, and in default of attendance you will be liable to a penalty of Five Pounds, under section 54 of the "Gold Fields Act, 1862."

Dated this ___ day of ___ 18.

C. D.

Clerk of Court.

To ___. (Address, description, &c.)

7. Order fining a Juror for non-attendance.

In the Warden's Court of ___ holden at Whereas ___ was duly summoned to appear and serve this day as a Juror in this Court, upon the trial of the cause or causes to be tried by Jury at this Court. And whereas he has neglected, without sufficient cause shown, to appear and serve as a Juror at this Court, it is hereby ordered that he shall forthwith (or on the ___ day of ___ 18), pay to the Clerk of this Court a fine of £ ___ for such neglect.

Dated this ___ day of ___ 18.

By the Court.

C. D.

Clerk of Court.

Hours of attendance at the office of the Clerk (place or office) from ___ until ___ except on (here insert the days of the week on which the office will be closed) when the office will be closed.

8. Bond Where Plaintiff is Appellant.

Know all Men by these presents, that we, A. B., of ___ C. D., of ___, and E. P., ___ of ___, are jointly and severally held and firmly bound unto G. H., of ___, in £ ___,

A sum sufficient to cover the costs of appeal, say £ ___, being double the estimated amount.

to be paid to the said G. H., or his certain solicitor, executors, administrators, and assigns, for which payment to be made we bind ourselves, and each and every of us in the whole, our and each of our heirs, executors, and administrators, jointly and severally, firmly by these presents, sealed with our seals, and dated this ____ day of ____ one thousand eight hundred and ____ Whereas a cause is now depending in the Warden's Court of ____ holden at ____ wherein the above-bounden A. B. is Plaintiff, and the above-named G. H. is Defendant; and whereas as the above cause came on for trial in the said Court on the ____ day of ____ when a judgment was given for the said G. H., and whereas the said A. B. being dissatisfied with such judgment, gave due notice to the said G. H. of his the said A. B.'s intention to appeal from the same to the Supreme Court of New Zealand at ____ according to the "Gold Fields Act, 1862." And whereas it is thereby provided that the party who shall appeal as aforesaid shall give security to the satisfaction of the Court aforesaid, to appear and try such appeal and abide the judgment of the Court of Appeal therein, and to pay such costs as shall be awarded. AND WHEREAS the above-bounden C. D. and E. F., at the request of the said A. B., have agreed to enter into the above-written obligation for the purposes aforesaid, and the security intended to be hereby given has been approved by the Judge of the said Court, as appears by his allowance on the margin hereof.

I approve of this Bond. (L.S.) J. J., Judge.

Now the condition of this obligation is such that if the above-bounden A. B. shall appear and try the said appeal, and abide the judgment of the Supreme Court therein; and if the above-bounden A. B., C. D. and E. F., or any or either of them, shall pay unto the said G. H., his executors, administrators, or assigns, such costs as the said Supreme Court shall award, then this obligation shall be void, otherwise shall remain in full force.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the above-bounden.

L. S.

L. S.

L. S.

In the presence of—

9. Bond—Where Defendant is Appellant.

Know all Men by these presents, that we, A. B. of C. D. of ____, and E. F. of ____, are jointly and severally held and firmly bound to G. H. of ____ in £ ____,

A sum sufficient to cover the costs of appeal, say £ ____, being double the estimated amount.

to be paid to the said G. H. or his certain solicitor, executors, administrators, or assigns, for which payment to be made, we bind ourselves and each and every of us in the whole, our and each of our heirs, executors, and administrators, jointly and severally, firmly by these presents, sealed with our seals, and dated this ____ day of ____, one thousand eight hundred and ____ Whereas a cause is now depending in the Warden's Court of ____, holden at ____, wherein the above-named G. H. is Plaintiff, and the above-bounden A. B. is Defendant, and whereas the same cause came on to be tried in the said Court on the ____ day of ____ last, when a judgment was given for the said G. H., in the sum of £ ____, and whereas the said A. B. being dissatisfied with such judgment, gave due notice to the said G. H. of his intention to appeal from the same to the Supreme Court of New Zealand, at ____, according to the provisions of the "Gold Fields Act, 1862." And whereas it is thereby provided that the party who shall appeal as aforesaid, shall give security to the satisfaction of the Court aforesaid, to appear and try said appeal and abide the judgment of the Court of Appeal therein, and to pay such costs as shall be awarded. And whereas the above-named C. D. and E. F., at the request of the said A. B., have agreed to enter into the above-written obligation for the purpose aforesaid, and the security intended to be given has been approved of by the Judge of the said Warden's Court, as appears by his allowance in the margin hereof.

I approve of this Bond, (L. S.) J. J. Judge.

Now the condition of this obligation is such that if the above-bounden A. B. shall appear and try said appeal, and abide the judgment of the Court therein, and if the above-bounden A. B., C. D., and E. F., or any or either of them, shall pay unto the said G. H. his executors, administrators, or assigns, such costs as shall be awarded by the Court, then this obligation shall be void, otherwise shall remain in full force.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the above-bounden.

L. S.

L. S.

L. S.

In the presence of—

10. Case on Appeal.

In the Warden's Court of _____ holden at _____ between A. B. _____ Plaintiff and C. D. _____ Defendant.
This is a suit (here state the cause of action, and the facts.)
The question for the opinion of the Supreme Court is—First (here state the question for the opinion of the Court.)

(Signature of the Judge.)

11. Table of Fees.

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Contents.

The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review.

April 1, 1864.

ART. I.—THE BASIN OF THE UPPER NILE AND ITS INHABITANTS.

- *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile.* By JOHN HANNING SPEKE, Captain H.M. Indian Army, &c. London, 1863.
- *A Lecture on the Sources of the Nile, and on the Means requisite for their Final Determination. Delivered in the Theatre of the London Institution on the 20th January, 1864* By CHARLES T. BEKE, Ph. D., F.S.A., &c. [Not Published.
- *Address to the Geographical Society of Berlin, on the 6th June, 1863.* (Vortrag, &c.) By Dr. HEINRICH BARTH, C.B.
- *On the Origin of the Gallas.* By Dr. BEKE. From the "Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science," for 1847.

THE opinion that the source of the Nile was discovered by the celebrated traveller Bruce nearly a century

ago, is one which we have reason to believe is still entertained by many persons, who therefore cannot but be surprised at hearing that the discovery has only recently been made by Captains Speke and Grant.

It is not at all times easy to free the public mind from a fit popular error. Still, with the knowledge which we at present possess of the Upper Nile, it will, we think, be no difficult task to show, not only that its source was not discovered by Bruce, but that it still remains undiscovered; notwithstanding the claim made by Captain Speke to have worked out the great geographical problem which has hitherto defied solution.

In justice to the gallant and adventurous traveller whose work stands at the head of the present article, we hasten to explain that we have no idea of gainsaying any of the facts narrated in that work.

There is, however, an eclipse of the moon said, in page 243, to have occurred on the 5th or 6th of January, 1862, which requires explanation.

It is to his inferences from those facts, or his opinions formed, as we conceive, on insufficient data, that we demur; and we do not hesitate to assert that on many of these points we shall have to differ very materially.

Before, however, proceeding to the consideration of these matters, we will, with a view to render the subject generally intelligible to our readers, first take a general survey of the Nile and its head-streams, as they were known to us before Captain Speke's return from his last journey; for which purpose we shall avail ourselves chiefly of Dr. Beke's lecture, which stands likewise at the head of the present article.

The Nile is in every respect a most remarkable river. For a distance of more than 1300 geographical miles from the Mediterranean, into which it discharges its waters by several mouths, this mighty river, the largest of the African continent, and probably unsurpassed in length by any in the world, is a single stream. Fed by the copious rains of the tropics, collected by its innumerable head-streams and its immense lakes in the south, it is thus able to contend with the burning sun and the scarcely less burning sands of Nubia and Egypt, throughout this extent of country, without the aid of a single tributary,—a phenomenon presented by no other river.

Another peculiarity of the Nile scarcely less singular is, that for upwards of six hundred geographical miles above the point just indicated, or in all full 2000 miles from its mouths, the river receives no affluent whatever on its left or western side. On its eastern side, however, within the same limits, it receives three large tributaries—the Atbara or Bahr-el-Aswad (Black River), the Bahr-el-Azrek (Blue River), and the Sobat or Telfi; all having their origin in the elevated table-land of Abyssinia.

The Atbara (the *Astaboras* of Ptolemy) is called the Black River, from the quantity of black mud brought down by it during the rains, which is so great as to affect the colour of the main stream. This branch of the Nile is most important, because it contributes the largest portion of the slime which manures and fertilizes Egypt. It is not less important, perhaps, for the reason that by means of a "branch of the *Astaboras*," its waters with their fertilizing mud might be directed from the Nile, and poured down into the Bed Sea near Sawakin; in which case "the whole of Egypt and Syria, whose subsistence depends on that river, would perish with hunger." Such are the words of a Greek writer of the fifteenth century. At the present day, we may add, such a calamity (which Theodore, the present King of Abyssinia, actually threatens to inflict,) would prove scarcely less fatal to *our* manufacturers, by depriving them of the timely supply of cotton, which has begun to be received from Egypt.

The Bahr-el-Azrek or Blue River (the *Astapus* of Ptolemy), known in Abyssinia as the Abai, is that branch of the Nile with which we are best acquainted, from its having been supposed to be the main stream, first by the Portuguese missionaries in Abyssinia in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and after them by our countryman Bruce. Whatever reasons there may have been at that time for imagining the Blue River to be the Nile, they have now become invalid; since the diminutive size of this stream, as compared with the immense masses of water from the regions lying hundreds, nay thousands, of miles to the south, which are carried down past it by the main stream, proves it to be only a tributary like the Atbara.

The main stream or true Nile (the *Nilus* of Ptolemy), usually called the Bahr-el-Abyad or White River, was a quarter of a century ago unknown above the junction of the Blue River at Khartum, with the exception of a small portion of its course explored by M. Linant in 1827. Between the years 1839 and 1842, however, three expeditions were fitted out by the late Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, and despatched from Khartum up the White River, with the object of exploring the Nile to its uttermost sources. The results of these expeditions, especially the second of them, were most important. In the ninth parallel of north latitude they reached and passed through the lakes or marshes, at which, eighteen centuries before them, the two centurions of the Emperor Nero had turned back; and after discovering three large streams flowing through extensive plains, where geographers had taught them to look for the river's sources in the Mountains of the Moon,—a chain supposed to traverse the the continent of Africa from east to west,—they proceeded up the middle stream of the three, and succeeded in penetrating southwards to within five degrees of the equator; and though nothing positive was determined on any of these expeditions with respect to the position of the sources of the Nile or the Mountains of the Moon, it clearly resulted that both of these had been entirely misplaced in our maps.

As far as the ninth parallel of north latitude, there can be no doubt that the Bahr-el-Abyad, or White River, is the Nile. Above that parallel, where the three great arms of the river meet, it yet remains to be decided which

of those three arms is the upper course of the Nile.

The middle one, which was selected by the Egyptian exploratory expeditions, is generally regarded as the main stream. But it may be questioned whether the western arm, called Bahr-el-Ghazal, is not in reality the Nile of Herodotus and all other writers of antiquity before the time of Claudius Ptolemy of Pelusium, the renowned astronomer and mathematician, who flourished in the second century of the Christian era; and also whether the Sobat, which joins the Bahr-el-Abyad from the south-east by means of three streams forming a delta of considerable size, may not be one of the two arms of which Ptolemy made the Nile to consist, the other being the Bahr-el-Abyad itself; the sources of both arms being placed by that geographer in the Mountains of the Moon. In the existing state of our knowledge of the Upper Nile, we may, however, be content to follow the example of the officers of the Egyptian expeditions, and regard the river which they denominated the Bahr-el-Abyad, or White River, as the Nile. This river was ascended by the second of those expeditions to the neighbourhood of Gondókoró, in $4^{\circ} 54'$ north latitude; and numerous Egyptians and Europeans have since then penetrated about one degree further to the south.

Before quitting this part of our subject, we may suggest to our geographers and map-makers that they would do well to discontinue the terms "Blue Nile" and "White Nile," as only tending to mislead. So long as the White River was but partially explored, and there remained room for contending that Bruce's "Nile" was the true Nile, a compromise was not unreasonably effected between the two rivals by regarding them *ex æquo* as the White and Blue "Niles." But now that Bruce's river is demonstrated to be no Nile at all, but merely the *Astapus* of Ptolemy (as the learned D'Anville contended a century ago), it would be absurd to continue to apply to it the name of "Nile" in any shape.

We will briefly recapitulate the conclusions come to by Dr. Beke. The Atbara, Black River, or Takkazie, is the *Astaboras* of Ptolemy; the Blue River, or Abai (now called the Blue "Nile" for the last time), is the *Astapus* of Ptolemy; and the White River as far as 9° north latitude, is the *Nilus* of ancient history; whilst to the south of that parallel the Sobat and the upper course of the White River are apparently the eastern and western arms of the Nile of Ptolemy; the Nile of Herodotus and all historians and geographers anterior to Ptolemy, being the Bahr-el-Ghazal, of which the upper course has been but partially explored, but of which a large branch, named Djour, running parallel to the Bahr-el-Abyad, has been traced as far as about the parallel of Gondókoró. Trusting that we have thus cleared the ground, or we might rather say the water, sufficiently to see our way, we now proceed to the consideration of the alleged discovery by Captain Speke of the source of the Bahr-el-Abyad or White River, declared by him, without any qualification, to be *the Nile*.

The expedition of which the results are given in this traveller's Journal, was undertaken by him and Captain Grant in the year 1860, with a view to complete what had been left undone on the previous expedition of 1856, on which the former officer accompanied Captain Burton.

The main object of the first expedition had been to visit and explore an immense lake, named Nyassa, or the "Lake of Unyamwezi," said to extend from the equator to the twelfth parallel of south latitude, and so laid down in a map—known as the "Mombas Mission Map"—published by the Royal Geographical Society in the first volume of their Proceedings; for which purpose Captain Burton was directed by the Society to proceed to Kilwa (Quilóá) on the east coast of Africa, in about 11° south latitude; and after surveying the lake and completing his labours in that quarter, he was instructed "to proceed towards the range of mountains marked upon our maps as containing the probable sources of the Bahr-el-Abyad, which (it was stated) it will be your next great object to discover."

As that portion of Africa in about 8° north latitude, where this "range of mountains" is "marked upon our maps," had been traversed by the Egyptian expeditions fourteen or fifteen years previously, without a trace of any mountains having been met with; and as this imaginary range of mountains had long previously been expunged from all continental maps of Africa, as well as from such English maps as made any pretensions to tolerable accuracy; it certainly does not say much for the knowledge of the interior of Africa possessed by the Royal Geographical Society, that they should have given such antiquated Instructions to Captain Burton.

But, if behind the age as regards the sources of the Nile, they were not less so with respect to the enormous lake Nyassa; for Captain Burton, on his arrival at Zanzibar, soon "heard sufficient to convince him that the Nyassa or Kilwa Lake is of unimportant dimensions, and altogether distinct from the Sea of Ujiji"—now best known as Lake Tanganyika; adding the significant remark that "though these two waters had been run into one by European geographers, no Arab of Zanzibar ever yet confounded them;" and he further stated that "this consideration mainly determined his entrance into Africa by the great western line of road leading through Unyamwezi," instead of entering at Kilwa, in accordance with the instructions of the Royal Geographical Society.

It is certainly surprising that Captain Burton should have received such instructions, when the existence of two lakes (at the least), instead of one, had been long known; and only a few months before he and his companion, Captain Speke, left England, Dr. Beke, who was then in Mauritius, published in the *Athenæum*

Of July 12, 1856.

some very precise information respecting these lakes, which were not only asserted to be distinct and separate, but "the roads to them were likewise quite distinct and in different directions; that to the Nyassa Lake starting from Kilwa and proceeding to the southward of west, whilst that to the Nyamwezi Lake leads either from Buromayi or from the mouth of the river Pangani in a direction to the north of west:" the former of these roads being the one Captain Burton was directed to take, and the latter that which he eventually adopted.

The particulars of the expedition of Burton and Speke have been long before the public; so that it is unnecessary to dwell on them here, further than to state that, at a distance of nearly six hundred geographical miles from the coast, they reached the main object of their journey, Lake Tanganyika, which they navigated and partly explored. The elevation of this lake is 1844 feet above the ocean, and its waters are fresh; which leads to the inference that it must have an outlet either to the north or to the south. Unfortunately, the travellers did not visit either extremity, so that they were unable to decide anything positive on the subject. In the opinion of both Burton and Speke, the outlet is towards the south; in accordance with the suggestion of Earl De Grey and Ripon, when President of the Royal Geographical Society in 1859, that it may yet be found to be connected with Lake Nyassa. The evidence collected by Dr. Beke tends, on the contrary, to show that the outlet is towards the north, in which case Tanganyika would be connected with the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and would, in fact, be the upper course of the Nile. Upon this point it would be premature to express any decided opinion; but the following recorded evidence is certainly deserving of consideration:—

"Many years ago Mr. Macqueen received from a native of U-Nyamwezi, named Lief-bin-Said, some valuable information After describing the lake with remarkable accuracy, he added—'It is well known by all the people there, that the river which goes through Egypt takes its source and origin from the lake.' In confirmation of this assertion of Lief-bin-Said, Capt. Speke himself, on his return from his first journey, recorded the following statement made by Sheikh Hamed, a respectable Arab merchant: 'A large river called Marungu supplies the lake at its southern extremity; but, except that and the Malagarazi river on the eastern shore, none of any considerable size pour their waters into the lake. But on a visit to the northern end, I saw one which was very much larger than either of them, and which I am certain flowed out of the lake; for, although I did not venture on it I went so near its outlet that I could see and feel the outward drift of the water.' And in his present 'Journal' (p. 90), the same traveller thus expresses himself:—'Ever perplexed about the Tanganyika being a still lake, I inquired of Mohinna and other old friends, what they thought about the Marungu river [at its southern extremity]: did it run into or out of the lake? And they all adhered to its running into the lake.'"—Lecture, p. 30.

Captain Burton being laid up by severe illness, the travellers were prevented from carrying out the instructions given them to proceed home northwards; but on their return from Tanganyika to the coast, Captain Speke made an excursion from Kaze, the chief trading station of U-Nyamwezi—the "Country of the Moon," I as it has been fancifully rendered—to the northern lake, Nyanza, respecting which Burton had obtained intelligence, and which Speke considered to be larger than Tanganyika and to be connected with the Nile.

On his return to England in 1859, Captain Speke lost no time in making arrangements for a second expedition, being that which he undertook in 1860, accompanied by Captain Grant, and from which they both returned to England last year by descending the Nile to Egypt. Notwithstanding the time employed on this adventurous journey through the heart of Eastern-Intertropical Africa,—a journey which must always occupy a conspicuous place in the annals of African Discovery,—its main points may be soon related. Proceeding from Zanzibar to Kaze in U-Nyamwezi, the central point of the former expedition, the travellers thence turned northwards; but instead of directing their steps towards the southern extremity of Lake Nyanza, as Captain Speke had done on the former occasion, they took a course to the westward of north, passing between Nyanza and the northern portion of Tanganyika, and traversing the countries of U-Zinza and Karague; after which they entered the kingdom of U-Ganda, and skirting the western end of Nyanza, arrived at; the residence of the king, Mtesa, on the shores of the lake, which they here reached for the first time.

Here they were detained several months by the arbitrary and capricious monarch; and when at length they obtained leave to depart, instead of being allowed (as they had desired) to navigate the lake and proceed down the river issuing from it, "the fleet admiral put a veto on this," and ruled that—

"The better plan would be to deposit our property at the Urondogani station, and walk by land up the river, if a sight of the falls at the mouth of the lake was of such material consequence to us."—p. 449.

Accordingly, the travellers left the shore of the lake and proceeded northward on their way to Urondogani; but on reaching Kari, about twenty miles from that place, Captain Speke states that—

"As it appeared all-important to communicate quickly with Petherick, and as Grant's leg was considered too weak for travelling fast, we took counsel together, and altered our plans. I arranged that Grant should go to Kamrasi's direct with the property, cattle, and women, taking my letters and a map for immediate despatch to Petherick at Gani, whilst I should go up the river to its source or exit from the lake, and come down again

navigating as far as practicable."—p. 458.

This one-sided arrangement resembles that of the "two pretty men" of the nursery rhyme,—

*"You go before with the bottle and bag,
And I'll follow after on little jack-nag."*

Its effect was to deprive Captain Grant of the gratification of participating in what was manifestly the realization of the grand object of their long and perilous journey. Captain Speke reached the "Nile" alone, and he thus describes the impression which the scene made on him:—

"Here at last I stood on the brink of the Nile; most beautiful was the scene, nothing could surpass it! It was the very perfection of the kind of effect aimed at in a highly-kept park; with a magnificent stream from six hundred to seven hundred yards wide, dotted with islets and rocks, the former occupied by fishermen's huts, the latter by sterna and crocodiles basking in the sun,—flowing between fine high grassy banks, with rich trees and plantains in the background, where herds of the nsunn? and hartebeest could be seen grazing, while the hippopotami were snorting in the water, and florikan and guinea-fowl rising at our feet."—p. 459.

From this point Captain Speke, still alone, ascended the left bank of the river, till he—

"arrived at the extreme end of the journey, the furthest point ever visited by the expedition on the same parallel as King Mtesa's place, and just forty miles east of it. We [?] were well rewarded; for the 'stones,' as the Wa-Huma call the falls, was by far the most interesting sight I had seen in Africa . . . Though beautiful, the scene was not exactly what I expected; for the broad surface of the lake was shut out from view by a spur of the bill, and the falls, about twelve feet deep and four hundred to five hundred feet broad, were broken by rocks. Still it was a sight that attracted one to it for hours."—p. 466.

The author adds:—

"The expedition had now performed its functions. I saw that old father Nile without any doubt rises in the Victoria Nyanza, and, as I had foretold, that lake is the great source of the holy river which cradled the first expounder of our religious belief."—p. 467.

If there be anything to console Captain Grant for not having formed part of "the expedition" on this memorable occasion, it must be the knowledge that Captain Speke is mistaken in his idea that he saw here the source of the holy river. The poet's words,—

*"Arcanum natura caput non prodidit ulli,
Nee licuit populis parvuum te, Nile, videre,"*

have not yet lost their force. All that Captain Speke has really done is to see the river *Kivira*, which he assumes to be the Nile, issue from Nyanza, which he incorrectly calls its source:—or hardly this, since, when he was at the Ripon Falls, he says he did *not* see the river's exit from the lake.

Captain Speke now descended the river *Kivira* again to Urondogani, and thence proceeded to Chaguzi, the residence of Kamrasi, the King of U-Nyoro; having on the road fallen in with Captain Grant, who, in spite of his "weak leg," had walked back a considerable distance to meet him.

On his way both to and from the Ripon Falls, Captain Speke crossed two large watercourses, or "rush-drains" as he calls them, named Luajerri and Kafu, both of which are described as conveying the waters of Nyanza into the *Kivira*, thus making the lake to have three outlets.

This phenomenon has given rise to much discussion, based, of course, on the assumption that there is but one great lake,—the "Victoria Nyanza," as it is styled,—to which these three outlets belong. It may, however, be worthy of consideration whether it is not possible for Captain Speke to be mistaken in his assumption:—whether, in fact, his "Victoria Nyanza" may not be a repetition, on a smaller scale, of the "Lake of Unyamwezi" of the Mombas Mission map.

Let us see what evidence there is to prove that this expanse of water—of which the area is at least 25,000 square geographical miles—is a single lake. On his first journey, in 1858, Captain Speke merely visited the southern extremity of the lake in about 2° 30' south latitude. On his second journey he and Captain Grant, though they skirted the north-eastern side of the lake, did not reach it except at the Murchison Creek, in 0° 21' 19" north latitude, and 32° 44' 30" east longitude. When the travellers quitted the lake at this place, they went northwards to Kari, whence (as already related) Captain Speke proceeded alone to the Ripon Falls, in about the same latitude as the Murchison Creek, but forty-five geographical miles further to the east, though here he did not succeed in again seeing "the broad surface of the lake" (p. 460);—so that, in point of fact, the Nyanza was actually visited at only two points, the one at the north and the other at the south end. And it must be remarked

that the coloured route-line, shown on Captain Speke's map as extending along the northern end of the lake from the Murchison Creek to the Ripon Falls, is wrongly inserted; for such a route was never taken by either of the travellers. Everything then, beyond what has been stated above, was derived by Captain Speke from native oral information. How easy it is at all times for such information, even if correct, to be misunderstood, is well known, and in this particular instance it is proved by the admissions of the author himself.

When at Mtesa's capital on the Murchison Creek, he heard that the king was going "with his women on a pilgrimage to the Nyanza;" and on his wishing to be of the party, he was told this might not be, as no one was ever permitted to see the women.

"Well, said I, if I cannot go to the Nyanza with him (thinking only of the great lake, whereas they probably meant a pond in the palace enclosures, where Mtesa constantly frolics with his women), I wish to go to Usoga and Amara, as far as the Masai; for I have no companions here but crows and vultures."—p. 324.

From this it is manifest that the author was already at cross purposes with respect to Nyanza. Indeed it could not be otherwise, when he himself is under the necessity of explaining, with reference to another occasion, when the king "had started for the Nyanza and wished him to follow without delay," that—

"Nyanza, as I have mentioned, merely means a piece of water, whether a pond, river, or lake; and as no one knew which Nyanza he meant, or what project was on foot, I started off in a hurry," &c.—p. 389.

Such being the indiscriminate use of the term by the natives, we cannot be surprised at the author's employing it as indefinitely. In page 279, when speaking of the Mwérango river, "a broad rush-drain of 300 yards' span," which lower down its course is called by him the Kafu, he, on not very certain or conclusive evidence, declares it to be "one of the branches of the Nile's exit from the Nyanza;" whilst at the top of the next page he describes this river as going "to Kamrasi's palace in U-Nyoro, where it joined the Nyanza, *meaning the Nile.*"

On such insufficient and inconclusive evidence, what certainty have we then as to this great "Victoria Nyanza?" As far as we can see, it may be a single lake, or it may be two separate lakes, or indeed even a larger number. It will doubtless be urged that the author surely must have possessed the means of obtaining correct information of what he was so near to. But the same, or even more, might be said in favour of the missionaries Erhardt and Rebmann; and yet, notwithstanding their many years' residence at Mombas, and their intercourse with the natives and knowledge of their language, they fell into the error of confounding the lakes Nyassa, Tanganyika, and Nyanza, and blending them all three into the slug-shaped "Lake of Unyamwezi," which is shown in the margin of Captain Speke's map; and if (as it would appear) the author was mostly "thinking only of the great lake," the existence of which was with him a foregone conclusion, his error would be far less inconceivable than that of the missionaries, who had no preconceived ideas on the subject.

After a considerable detention at Chaguzi, the travellers proceeded on the last stage of their journey, following the course of the river downwards for about fifty miles, as far as the Karuma Falls, in 2° 15' north lat. Here the Kivira, running to the west, was quitted a second time; and Captains Speke and Grant continued their journey northward, as far as Faloro, in 3° 10' 33" north lat., where they fell in with the persons who had been engaged to meet them by Consul Petherick. After leaving the river at the Karuma Falls, they appear to have quite lost all traces of it; and as the people whom Captain Speke met "would or could not tell him where the stream had gone to," the heads of the villages were called together—

"To give me (he says) all the information I sought for, and went with me to the top of a high rock, from which we could see the hills I first viewed at Chopi, sweeping round from south by east to north, which demarked the line of the Asua river. The Nile at that moment was, I believed, not very far off; yet, do or say what I would, everybody said it was fifteen marches off, and could not be visited under a month."—p. 585.

On this Captain Speke coolly remarks, "I knew in my mind all these reports were false," which they most undoubtedly must have been, if he himself is not wrong in his assumption as to the "Nile;" for the very first march from Faloro brought him to "Paira, a collection of villages *within sight of the Nile!*" "It was truly ridiculous," he exclaims;—

"Here had we been at Faloro so long, and yet could not make out what had become of the Nile. In appearance it was a noble stream, flowing on a flat bed from west to east, and immediately beyond it was the Jbl (hills) K#k#, rising up to a height of 2000 feet above the river."—p. 591.

A short way below this they reached Apuddo, in 3° 34' 33" north lat., where they were shown the tree said to have been marked by Signor Miani two years previously as his "furthest." Here they remained several days, occupying themselves with sporting, and seemingly quite indifferent as to the Nile; but on the sixth day, when following a herd of buffaloes, Captain Speke relates that—

"After walking up a long sloping hill for three miles towards the east, I found myself at once in view of the Nile on the one hand, and party were still in the minority. It is a curious fact, that every ministerial crisis in the colony has been decided by a majority of one; so evenly have parties been divided throughout.

The war was carried on with varying fortune, until receipt of a despatch informing the Governor that the

Secretary of State for the Colonies—while thinking it indispensable that severe punishment should be exacted on account of the unprovoked murders committed by the tribes south of New Plymouth [Ngatiruanui and Taranaki]—would learn with satisfaction that William King had been induced to make such submission as would enable the Governor to accommodate his quarrel with him without danger to the British supremacy. Accordingly, the head of the Native Land Purchase Department was sent to hear what terms the insurgents had to offer. He had a meeting with the chief of Ngatihaua, William Thompson Tarapipipi, the king-maker, who had come down from Waikato as a mediator. But no conclusive understanding was arrived at. An interview, however, took place between Thompson and King, in presence of the Waitara natives, and the leading men of the Waikato and Ngatiruanui, at which it was agreed that the subject of dispute—the land at Waitara, and the question of peace or war, should be left to the decision of Thompson. At once, with Spartan brevity, he gave his orders:

Waikato, return home.

Te Atiawa! To Ngatihaua.

Ngatiruanui! Home.

Let the soldiers return to New Plymouth.

As for the Waitara, leave it for the Law to protect.

The command was forthwith obeyed.

Shortly afterwards, the Governor arrived. King, indisposed to meet him, retired inland with a number of his people. The Governor's terms were accepted by the remnant who remained; the first article being as follows:—"The investigation of the title and the survey of the land at Waitara, to be continued without interruption." It is worthy of notice, that when the report of the investigation, so far as it should have been at that period carried out, was moved for in the House, the Government were unable to produce it.

Thus did the war come apparently to an end, as usual in New Zealand, without any decided advantage on either side. It was not peace, but a cessation of hostilities; and in the opinion of many of even those who had been prominent in native advocacy, the greatest mistake of all.

The peace party, repudiating the title of "peace at any price," had come into power. They, in their turn, defeated a motion; of want of confidence, by a majority of one. Shortly afterwards, the Assembly being still in session, a telegram from England reached the colony, which was read—"Governor re-appointed." But when the regular mail came in, it was found that two letters—a *G* and a *y*—had been accidentally omitted. Governor Browne received a despatch highly complimentary, but informing him that Her Majesty's Government were about to avail themselves of the peculiar qualifications and experience of Sir George Grey, then at the Cape of Good Hope. Governor Browne left New Zealand, bearing with him the respect and good wishes of opponents and supporters alike.

Governor Grey had a harder task before him than was anticipated in England. It had been expected that the personal influence which he was supposed to have acquired over the natives would enable him to bring them to reasonable terms; and he seemed at first to be himself of the same opinion. But he was warned at the outset that he would find an essential change in the native mind—that they would stop their ears to the voice of the charmer—that his "mana" was gone. The Maori had made a greater stride in knowledge than in civilization, bringing them up to the most dangerous stage for any people—that of unregulated progress. They had become thoroughly intractable; knowing that our promises had not been kept—that nothing of a substantial nature had ever yet been done for them by the Government, they had resolved to put no further trust in Europeans, but to think and act for themselves. It soon became clear that Governor Grey could do no more than any other clever and prudent man could do in his place. But no more was expected by the colonists, who showed themselves almost unanimously ready to give him willing support. For it happened that those among them who had the most strenuously opposed him during his former term of office, belonged (we think with only one exception) to the peace party; and with one accord subordinated all past grievances to the common object. For it was already no secret that the "new policy" was to be reversed.

Governor Grey forthwith proceeded to inquire for himself, and was not long in discovering that the statements on which the minority in the House had based their demand for inquiry were substantially correct. Once satisfied as to that, one course of action only remained—to restore the Waitara, to place himself *rectus in curia*, and then to deal with the remaining questions according to the exigencies of the moment. In this he was eventually supported by the responsible Government, among whom were two who had strongly advocated the military occupation of the disputed block.

The grounds of the Governor's decision are thus summarized in a despatch written by the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

- That William King's residence, on the disputed land upon the south bank of the Waitara, was not merely, as had been always represented by the sellers, by permission of the Teira's father, but in virtue of an arrangement made by all that section of the Ngatiawa tribe for the sake of defence against the Waikatos.
- That a large number of natives, between 200 and 300, were living upon the block at the time when it was offered for sale, whose dwellings and cultivations were destroyed when possession was taken the military.
- That Teira, as he now asserts, never intended to sell the paha, one of which was in his own occupation, and did intend to except from sale a reserve of 200 acres, although no such reserve was named in the deed of sale, as ought to have been done."

The ministry base their acquiescence on the ground of having been previously unacquainted with these facts. For this, deriving our information on this part of the question from papers laid on the table of the House, we are unable to account. The first of the three points had been most distinctly affirmed by the peace party; so had the second, except with regard to the numbers, which were not known to have been so large. We cannot multiply quotations; but the following extract from Wi Tompson's letter to Governor Browne is conclusive against the supposition of the fact being a new discovery:—

"War was made on William King, and he fled from his Pah. The Pah was burnt with fire; the place of worship was burnt, and a box containing Testaments; all was consumed in the fire; goods, clothes, blankets, shirts, trousers, gowns, all were consumed.

"The cattle were eaten by the soldiers, and the horses, one hundred in number, were sold by auction by the soldiers.

"It was this that disquieted the heart of William King, his church being burnt by fire. Had the Governor given word not to burn his church, and to leave his goods and animals alone, he would have thought also to spare the property of the Pakeha. This was the cause of the Pakeha's property being lost (destroyed). When William King was reduced to nakedness through the work of the Governor, he said that the Governor was the cause of all these doings. They first commenced that road, and he (William King) merely followed upon it."

The third point is based upon a late admission by Teira himself; but the question of the reserves was mooted in the House, as also that of the boundaries; though the attempt to elicit accurate information from the Government was unsuccessful. It appears, indeed, by the reports lately received, that these various statements have been controverted in the House; but the Governor on learning the state of opinion, sent down a fair challenge as to fact by message. It must be remembered that the war party were from the first a hard-hearted majority, as may be supposed from their having gone so far, in 1861, as to negative a motion for attaching Sir William Martin's rejoinder to the severe attacks all duly printed among the Parliamentary papers—which had been directed by the Government, by Mr. Richmond, and by Mr. Busby, against his inquiry into "The Taranaki Question." We are not yet in possession of the final proceedings of the session, but expect to receive, before the completion of this article, intelligence from the colony, which will enable us to offer a more specific opinion on the subject of the question between the Governor and the Assembly.

So far everything pointed to a peaceful solution. But the expectation was premature. A few lines must be spared in explanation of the cause which led to the renewal of hostilities. The Waitara, native territory, is on the northern boundary of the province of Taranaki. To the south of the province is a block called the Tataraimaka, occupied by English settlers under Crown grant. When we drove King from Waitara, the natives drove us from Tataraimaka, and claimed it by right of conquest, as we held Waitara. During the suspension of hostilities, it was distinctly announced by the natives, and especially by the Waikatos, that any attempt to repossess ourselves of Tataraimaka would be treated by them as a fresh declaration of war; for they held it as an equivalent to Waitara. Consequently, Tataraimaka was Governor Grey's chief difficulty. Of course, however well disposed he might have been to temporize with the natives, and to let the sense of injury wear out, it was unendurable that English settlers should remain ousted from their allotments, which had been granted by the Crown. All were agreed that they must be reinstated at any cost. But Governor Grey had made up his mind to restore the Waitara, and had only to proclaim the restoration. What would seem, upon the face of it, to have been a great error in judgment was now committed. The troops were marched into Tataraimaka before the issue of the proclamation. The consequence was, that the natives kept their word, and renewed the war after their native; fashion, by a terrible and shocking murder.

It appears from the papers presented to the Assembly, that the issue of the proclamation declaring the abandonment of the Waitara purchase had been delayed on account of the difficulty which the responsible ministry found in making up their minds about the matter; though what they had to do with a purely native matter is not quite clear. Governor Grey, in his account of the affair, says, fairly enough:—"I take great blame to myself for having spent so long a time in trying to get my responsible advisers to agree in some general plan of proceeding. I think, seeing the urgency of the case, I ought perhaps to have acted at once, without, or even against, their advice; but I hoped, from day to day to receive their decision,—and I was anxious, in a question

which concerned the future of both races, to carry as much support with me as I could; indeed, I could not derive the full advantage from what I proposed to do unless I did so." The admission does credit to the writer; but it appears to us that a fallacy—the *ignoratio elenchi*, lurks in the reasoning. The argument, as we understand it, is—that if the Ministers had agreed sooner, the proclamation would have preceded the military occupation of Tataraimaka. This is true, yet seemingly beside the question, which is—Why were the troops moved at all before Ministers had made up their minds? The natives had held Tataraimaka so long, that there could have been no great loss of national honour in suffering them to hold it unmolested a short while longer.

Almost immediately afterwards, the Waikatoes, who are supposed to have instigated and directed the murders, rose in arms. This time, the natives placed themselves entirely in the wrong, and a severe lesson has to be administered. There is no longer a peace party in New Zealand. Yet should justice be tempered with mercy. Let it be not forgotten that the present war is but a continuation of the former one, originally provoked by ourselves.

We must now turn back to the session of 1862, which was signaled by two remarkable events—the rejection of the Duke of Newcastle's offer to commit the management of the natives to the colonists; and the abrogation by act of the Assembly, of the Government monopoly of land sales.

As to the offer, it was mistimed. The conduct of native affairs, refused while easy, was pressed upon the colonists in a time of difficulty. They had moreover been angered by imputations cast upon them, almost from the foundation of the colony; to which colour might be given should they fail, as was not unlikely, to extricate the colony from the difficulties into which it had been plunged; they had heard the war called "a settlers' war," and were therefore unwilling to do anything that might tend to confuse their duties with those of the Governor, which it was now more than ever necessary to keep distinct; and they suspected—justly or unjustly—the motives which prompted the offer. For they supposed it to be preparatory to a claim upon the Colonial Treasury for the expenses of an Imperial war. "Settle first the difficulties in which you have yourselves involved us," was virtually the reply of the colonists; "start us fair, and we will undertake to govern the natives, defraying every stiver of the cost of quarrels of our own raising, should we so far mismanage what we undertake. But we respectfully decline, at present, to implicate ourselves with that for which we were not allowed to become responsible." The refusal seems to have caused much disappointment at the Colonial Office; for Governor Grey had somewhat prematurely informed the Secretary of State, "that he had arranged to consult his responsible Minister in relation to native affairs, in the same manner as upon all other subjects."

By the Native Lands Act, a great act of justice was done to the Maori by the colonists, who, it is only right to say were stoutly supported by Governor Grey. After twenty years' agitation of the question by the northern settlers, a measure was introduced, having for its object the unqualified recognition of the native title over all land not ceded to the Crown, and of the natives' right to deal with their land as they pleased, after the owners, according to native custom, had been ascertained. The promise implied in the Maori version of the treaty of Waitangi—that natives of New Zealand should be allowed to have as good a title to their lands as Europeans, and that they should in the event of their selling or leasing, be allowed to obtain the value of such lands, has been fulfilled. The New Zealand land question is ended.

The foregoing pages were already in type when the latest intelligence from the colony reached this country. Concerning this we are unable to speak with that positive knowledge which thus far we have brought to bear upon the subject; being henceforth obliged to rely on the papers presented to the Assembly on newspaper articles, and the reports of the debates. The first are probably trustworthy; the second must be received with caution, colonial newspapers being mostly characterized by strong party spirit, and much employed in contradicting each other. The debates are not very well reported, unless when the speeches are supplied or revised by those who delivered them.:

Another session of the New Zealand Parliament has been held. In the previous session the colonists had declined to accept the management of native affairs until immediate difficulties should have been overcome. This time, however, grateful for the prompt and efficient aid rendered by the Home Government, they consented to undertake the task, thus doing away at last with that system of double government which ought never to have existed and which had proved so fertile of imbroglia. A change had, moreover, taken place in the circumstances under which the previous refusal had been made. The main points of the question had now been brought into prominent relief; much misconception had been removed, and the colonists could now venture to accept without fear of incurring responsibility for previous events. They had no longer to guard against the possibility of the rebellion being considered as a "settlers' war." The Waitara incumbrance had also been cleared away by the Governor, to whom, in our opinion, the whole credit is due. For it is doubtful, to say the least, whether any responsible Ministry could have ventured on a measure so distasteful to the majority in the House.

In this matter Governor Grey seems to have been not very fairly used. He had laid before the Assembly the facts and evidence on which he had based his restoration of the Waitara. In consequence of the manifest

hesitation to accept them, he offered a fair challenge, inviting the distrustful to join issue on the question of fact. The challenge was only productive of the two following resolutions, which do not meet the ease:—

"1. That this House, having supported the measure taken by his Excellency the late Governor of New Zealand, to repress the armed interference of W. King at Waitara; because as set forth in its Resolution of August 16, 1860, in the opinion of the House, such measures were 'indispensable for the due maintenance of her Majesty's authority'—considers that the renewed and definitive recognition by his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, in his despatch of the 25th August, 1863, 'of the justice of exerting military force against W. King and his allies,' has happily rendered it unnecessary for this House to controvert or supplement statements made by his Excellency Sir George Grey, in his despatches on the Waitara question.

"2. That, in the opinion of this House, the good faith of the Crown and the interests of both races of Her Majesty's subjects in this colony, demand that the chief Teira and his people should be protected from possible illegal aggression; and that in justice to him, and in compliance with the request contained in his petition to this House, the investigation into the title to the Waitara block promised by Governor Gore Browne and by Governor Sir G. Grey should be completed at the earliest practicable period."

Much is implied, but little is expressed. Surely such is not the manner in which a public question should be dealt with. It is deemed "unnecessary to controvert or to supplement statements made by his Excellency Sir George Grey, in his despatches on the Waitara question." The time has been when his despatches, during his former tenure of office, were treated with merciless severity; but then they were tangibly and down rightly impugned. The controverted statements were specified; the counter assertions and disproofs set down with minute precision; opportunity for vindication was freely offered. Now the Duke of Newcastle's authority is resorted to, apparently for shelter; but how his Grace's "recognition," in England, should settle questions of fact in New Zealand it is not easy to understand.

The second resolution is a mystification. It is clear that Teira, and all other of Her Majesty's native subjects, ought to be protected from possible aggression. But such has not hitherto been our practice in New Zealand. For our own ease and quietness, we have allowed them to maintain their feuds at pleasure. If the resolution implies no more than a change in our previous policy, it is a step in the right direction. But it seems to hint at more. In regard to the concluding observation—that the investigation of the title to the Waitara should be completed at the earliest possible period—it is gratifying to observe that in this matter, all are now of one accord. But it is remarkable that the mover of this resolution should have been one of those who opposed investigation in the session of 1860.

A bill entitled "The New Zealand Settlements Act" was passed, which we trust will receive careful attention from the law officers of the Crown. Divested of technical phraseology, it is in reality an Act empowering the Governor to confiscate land on suspicion of treason, giving subsequent compensation to such of the owners as shall be able to prove their innocence. While regretting with the Governor that it should have been "found necessary to pass laws conferring temporarily on the Government powers which, under the British rule, are only granted by the Legislature in times of great public danger," we freely admit that some such enactment is required. It is clear that the lands of the rebel natives must be charged, so far as they suffice, with the cost of the war. It is also manifest that, owing to the complication of tribal tenure, nothing short of arbitrary power could deal effectively with the variety of cases that must arise. Nor is there any likelihood that the power will be abused. But a very serious question still remains behind,—whether the Act be within the powers of a Colonial Parliament. What if the Assembly were to go one step farther, and pass bills of attainder? While carefully avoiding anything bearing even the semblance of a legal argument, we take occasion to observe that the New Zealand Constitution Act prohibits the enactment of any law repugnant to the laws of England; not only to statute law, but also (a prohibition too often lost sight of) to the common law, which nothing but an Act of the Imperial Parliament can override. There is no desire in the New Zealand Assembly to transgress their legitimate powers, but there is much difference of opinion as to the extent of those powers. If the law officers of the Crown should deliberately affirm that the Act in question is not *ultra vires*, there is an end to all further dispute. Should they feel themselves obliged, on technical grounds, to advise its disallowance by the Crown, all practical inconvenience might be avoided by substituting an Act of the Imperial Parliament. In any case, such procedure would be advantageous. Such an Act would obviate, among the natives, much heart-burning, jealousy, and suspicion of interested motives. It might even be cheerfully acquiesced in. For although they look down upon the "White Runanga," they pay willing allegiance to the Queen, by whose authority they would suppose such a law to have been made.

The signal success of General Cameron, who assaulted and carried, after a desperate resistance, the entrenched position of the Waikatos at Rangiriri, is supposed to have brought the war "virtually to an end." We refrain from anticipating the future; but believe the announcement to be premature. Should the natives change their tactics, and avoid making a stand in force, hostilities may yet be prolonged for an indefinite time. They are perfectly well aware that we cannot follow them (away from the water) any faster than we can make roads; and

that while their commissariat costs them nothing, we are expending at the rate of so many pounds an hour. The question of war or peace depends solely upon the present temper of the natives engaged; upon which no one in this country can pretend to offer an opinion. It must also be borne in mind, that when we shall have done with Waikato, Ngatiruanui and Taranaki, whose atrocities cannot be condoned, have still to be disposed of.

Be this, however, as it may, an intricate and troublesome question still remains between the colonies and the mother country—that of the apportionment of the expenses of the war. We incline to believe, that if difficulty arises, it will be only on questions of account. The colonists, while steadily maintaining that neither technically nor morally are they *especially* responsible for the cost of an Imperial war, are far from being unmindful of the efforts of the mother country in their behalf. They are willing to contribute as far as the limited resources of the colony will allow. There are no symptoms of a niggardly spirit among the thinking men, by whom, and not by those who pander to the passions of the hour for the sake of a few stray votes at an election, the feelings of a country must fairly be judged. Close interpellation must be expected in committee of ways and means, concerning that additional penny in the pound of income tax which the colony is accused of having inflicted on the tax-payers at home. But it does not appear that the ultimate charge, after subtracting the ordinary expenses of the troops, who have to be supported in one part of the world or another, will be nearly so heavy. As a matter of course, the land confiscated on account of rebellion, in theory escheats to the Crown; in practice, the colony will have to account for the market value, whatever that may be. It appears indeed to be supposed in New Zealand, that these lands will be found capable of bearing the whole of the burden. We are not so sanguine, but have no misgivings about the feeling with which the question will be entertained on either side. It will be liberal and becoming to both. Yet it is high time that some definite arrangement should be come to about the cost of "England's little wars." The colonies, when once allowed the management of their own affairs, have no right to depend upon the mother country for defence, either from rebellion from within, or against aggression from without, so long as they contribute nothing, by way of taxation, to the maintenance of the Imperial armaments. It is easy to raise the well-worn cry of "no taxation without representation;" but it is as easy to raise a counter cry against taxing one portion of the empire for the exclusive advantage of another. All alike are bound in fairness to share the burdens of the empire together with the benefits; and until this be agreed to, it will be difficult to withstand the arguments of those economists who maintain that it would be better for the mother country to sever the connexion, turning her colonies adrift. The equitable arrangement would be, for all alike to contribute, on the principle of mutual insurance, the British Government in return rendering assistance whenever it might be needed, free of additional charge; and this, if insisted on, might be reached with less difficulty than experience would lead us to suppose. For the tables have been turned. In the old times, whenever a colony felt herself aggrieved, her first resource was to threaten to "cut the painter." Now, on the contrary, that the value of the connexion is better understood, and that all real causes of complaint have disappeared, England could bring any one of her dependencies to order, by simply retorting the threat; provided only that she could succeed in inducing belief that she would act up to her expressed intention.

ART. VI.—TAINÉ'S HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

- *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*. Par H. TAINÉ. Trois Tomes. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1863.
- *The Afternoon Lectures on English Literature*. London: Bell and Daldy.
- *English Writers. The Writers before Chaucer; with an Introductory Sketch of the four Periods of English Literature*. By HENRY MORLEY. London: Chapman and Hall. 1864.

It is neither difficult nor meritorious to swell the chorus of praise chanted in honour of him who, by his literary prowess, has ascended to the pinnacle of fame. The real duty of a critic consists in forestalling the universal verdict, by decreeing to him whose name is comparatively obscure, and whose works, though of striking excellence, are not already popular, the laurel crown which the general public will afterwards consider to be his proper and well-earned guerdon. About three years ago, when discharging that duty, we introduced to our readers a young Bench author, of whose abilities we had formed a very high estimate, and whose writings thoroughly merited, as we thought, to be studied and appreciated in this country.

See an article on the "Critical Theory and Writings of H. Taine," in the *Westminster Review* for July, 1861. It is a curious coincidence that another writer, in an article similar in tone and scope to the foregoing one, introduced M. Taine to the American public through the medium of the *North American Review* for July, 1861.

Moreover, we believed that M. H. Taine was destined to render still greater service to literature, and attain a loftier rank among its most distinguished cultivators, than he had then done or achieved. The work by him which heads this article, fully confirms the correctness of our anticipations. It will be strange indeed should his name continue unfamiliar to lettered Englishmen! M. Taine has a title to their notice and respect which it would be ungracious to overlook; for he has produced the most elaborate and valuable history that now exists of the copious and splendid literature of England.

In order to do full justice to the result of M. Taine's labours, we must pass with brief mention two valuable works in which the same subject is treated by native writers. "The Afternoon Lectures on English Literature" are entitled to a careful perusal. Each of the topics is handled with marked discrimination and uncommon freshness, that on "National Character" displaying, in addition, both subtlety and depth of thought. "The Writers before Chaucer" is the first instalment of a larger work, in which Mr. Morley proposes to traverse the whole field of our literature. The plan is a vast one. If the succeeding volumes shall be as carefully and skilfully composed as the first, Mr. Morley will have succeeded in worthily doing what he says in the preface it is his object to do, that is, "to tell, with something of the sustained interest of national biography, the story of the English mind." The work will be indispensable both for reference and study.

When writing the history of our literature, M. Taine inculcates and supports a theory of criticism and a theory of history. On a former occasion we explained his theory of criticism, and expressed our dissent from the author's view that, by means of his theory, it would be possible to give to the results of criticism the certainty of scientific demonstrations. We still think, as we formerly thought, that in M. Taine's hands his theory leads to important conclusions; but we attribute this far more to the talent of the writer than to the use of his theory. We shall again state what that theory is, without entering into a discussion as to its value; we shall next state M. Taine's views as to how history ought to be written, and then give a sketch of the history of our literature from his point of view, and endeavour to make that sketch reflect with fidelity M. Taine's particular sentiments and opinions.

According to him every writer is governed by a dominant principle. All his writings bear the impress of a master-thought, and if this master-thought be grasped, the nature and quality of his genius can be estimated and disclosed. External circumstanced influence a man's genius and modify its development. Like the plant which if left to itself will become a stately tree, but which if tortured and twisted by the elements, or human devices, will remain dwarfed, or assume an unnatural shape; so will the growth of a writer's genius terminate in abnormal or capricious results, if banefully affected by his position in life and the circumstances of his era. In order, then, to ascertain with correctness in what a writer's characteristics consist, it is necessary to determine both what he was by nature and to what extent his natural bent was influenced by external circumstances. What is true of an individual, is equally true of the nation of which he forms a part. A nation's literature is chiefly useful in representing the innate character and acquired bias of those who compose it. When writing the history of national literature, these three questions must be posed and answered:—First, from what *race* does the nation spring? Second, what *position* did it occupy when the various sections of its literature were produced? Third, at what *period* were these sections begun and ended? By *race* is meant the innate and hereditary dispositions implanted in man at birth, and with which are usually associated marked peculiarities in frame and temperament. By *position* is meant the particular part of the earth whereon man lives, and the various accidents of politics and social status by which he is affected. Besides the first impulse and the given condition, there is the velocity quired, and this constitutes the *period*. When national character and surrounding circumstances are in full play, they do not operate on a blank page, but on one where a distinct impress is already perceptible. According as the page be regarded at one time or another the impression will appear different, and the operation proceeding under changed conditions will suffice to alter the final result.

In truth, history is a psychological problem. "The only distinction between problems in morals and in physics is, that the direction and amount of the forces cannot be determined and weighed in the former as in the latter. If necessities or faculties are quantities having degrees like pressure or weight, these quantities are not measurable like those of pressure or weight. We cannot clothe them in a correct, or approximately correct, formula; we can but have and give with regard to them a literary impression; we are reduced to note and cite the salient facts wherein they are manifested, and which roughly indicate about what part of the scale we must class them." In both cases, however, the final result is produced after the same rule. It is great or small, in proportion to the smallness or magnitude of the fundamental forces, and as the effects of *race*, of *position*, and *period*, combine to add something to each of these forces or to nullify each other. Hence it is that long barren epochs, and epochs of striking success, appear at irregular intervals and without apparent reason in the life of a people. The cause of these appearances is internal contrariety or concord. It was the concord of the creative forces which produced the finished politeness, the regular and noble literature, of the age of Louis XIV. and of Bossuet; the grandiose metaphysical systems and the all-embracing critical spirit of Hegel and Goethe. Discordance between these forces produced the imperfect literature, the scandalous comedy, and abortive drama of Dryden and Wycherley.

The problem which history ought to solve is—"Given, a literature, a system of philosophy, a society, an art or a class of arts, what are the moral states in which they are produced, and what conditions of race, position, and period are best fitted to induce these moral states? There is a distinct moral state suitable each of their formations and their offshoots; there is one for art in general and for every description of art, for architecture, painting, sculpture, and music; each of them has its special germ in the wide field of human psychology, each

its law of virtue by which we see it flourish, as if by chance, and isolated among surrounding failures, like painting in Flanders and Holland during the seventeenth century, like poetry in England during the sixteenth century, like music in Germany during the eighteenth century. The rule of human growth is what history must find; the appropriate psychology of each formation is what it must frame; the complete picture of these essential conditions it must strive to produce. Behind the smeared page should be sought and disclosed the peculiar sentiments, the ferment of ideas, the frame of mind which prevailed when the document was written. In this respect, a great poem, a novel, or the confessions of a man of genius, are infinitely more instructive than a pile of histories and a crowd of historians. "I would give fifty volumes of charters and one hundred volumes of diplomatic documents for the Memoirs of Cellini, the Epistles of St. Paul, Luther's Table-talk, or the Comedies of Aristophanes." The study of different literatures is the best preparation for composing an ethical history and advancing towards the knowledge of those psychological laws upon which events depend. It is the special feature of English civilization, that, over and above its spontaneous development, it presents a compulsory deviation, that it underwent the last and most influential of conquests, and that the three conditions whence it proceeded, race, climate, and the Norman invasion, may be regarded in its monuments with perfect distinctness; so well, indeed, that we may study in its history the two most important sources of human transformation, I mean nature and restraint, and they may be studied, too, without pause or uncertainty, in an authentic and complete series of monuments. I have striven to define the original motive-springs, to show their gradual effects, to explain how they have resulted in bringing to light great works in politics, religion, and literature, and to unveil the mechanism whereby the barbarous Saxon has become the Englishman of the present day."

The element of race which has influenced and determined the course and character alike of English history and of English literature, is Saxon. The idea of duty, in other words, [*unclear: self-de*] exercised for a noble end, was the ruling principle of [*unclear: that*]. The Saxons were continent, and faithful to their [*unclear: marriage*]. They produced no love songs, because they regarded love as a serious thing and the reverse of a frivolous pastime. In their social as in their conjugal relations they were grave and sober; in Saxon England as in Germany, "amidst the gloom of the melancholy temperament and the savagery of a barbarous life, we see the tragic faculties of man alone dominant and active, the strong power of love and the strong power of will." Hence it is, the heroes of the Anglo-Saxon and the Germanic poems are truly heroic. Of this, the poem of "Beowulf" is a striking example and conclusive proof. The Anglo-Saxon poets crowded their thoughts into short verses ornamented with three words beginning with the same letter. Their supreme efforts were directed towards condensing to the utmost their thoughts and expressions, giving to both the greatest conciseness, and thereby making them produce the greatest possible effect. The traits which distinguish Anglo-Saxon poetry also distinguish that which will one day succeed it.

By their sadness, their aversion for a sensual and an expansive existence, they were admirably prepared to embrace the Christian faith, and to produce biblical poems like those of Caedmon; but when they wrote in Latin, they displayed a natural incapacity to adopt the Latin spirit. Unable to think or reason, the profoundest of them "re-wrote the dead doctrines of dead authors." The national literature expired when its cultivators ceased to employ their native language. Yet the peculiar genius of the race was too innate and permanent to decay or be destroyed by any external influence, and if the Anglo-Saxon genius vanished after the conquest, "it was as a river which sinks into and runs under the soil. It will issue forth after the lapse of five hundred years."

The Normans who subjugated the Anglo-Saxons were of Scandinavian origin. They had first settled on French soil, had intermarried with the natives, and their offspring had become imbued with the ideas and had acquired the national characteristics of French-men. They formed the French language so completely that Frenchmen even now understand their codes and their poems. A century and a half of residence in France had refined their manners and polished their ideas to such a degree as to make them consider the Anglo-Saxons illiterate and barbarous. The Anglo-Saxon was by nature prone to meditation, and found in his meditations natives and incentives to action. The Norman's natural tendency was to "*conceive an event or an object*," and to do this speedily and clearly; he was no visionary, and did not possess high imaginative powers. "His emotion was skin deep; he was not impressed by an object in its complexity or totality, but piecemeal, in a discursive and superficial manner. Hence, no European race was less poetical." Norman poets sought facts, strung them logically and harmoniously together; never adorning them with warm colours or embodying them in splendid pictures. They were too fluent and too clear, while the Anglo-Saxon poets were too brief and too obscure. "How to co-ordinate ideas is what the French have taught Europe; what ideas are most pleasing they have shown to Europe, and these are the things which the French of the eleventh century, first with the soldier's lance, then with the master's rod, and lastly with the schoolmaster's birch, were occupied during five hundred years in teaching and exhibiting to their Saxons."

All the efforts of the Normans to impose their manners and language on the conquered race wholly miscarried. That race was too inert and stolid to be materially affected by the influence brought to bear upon it. The mass of the people clung to old habits and the old language with wonderful courage and tenacity, the result

being that the habits and speech of the mass dominated those of the few. The Norman had to learn the language in order to command his Anglo-Saxon dependents, or to converse with his Anglo-Saxon wife. His children were taught Anglo-Saxon by their mothers and nurses. At length a new language was formed, having for foundation and idiom the old Saxon, containing several Norman words and phrases, and being the tongue spoken and understood by the whole body of the nation. While this transformation was in progress, several literary works were produced, but these had little value. They were imitations, translations, and unskilful copies; mere repetitions of French works without their merits and with greater faults. The only literature of which England could be proud was her ballad-poetry produced by uneducated men to express the feeling of their class, heartily relished by those for whom it was composed, admirable because of the genuineness of the sentiments expressed, and the vigour and truth of its tone.

Chaucer was the first great writer of the new language, as well as the founder of a new literature. Although impregnated with the notions of his time, yet in one respect he far outstripped his contemporaries. He was the first who studied and noted differences of character, who essayed to image forth living personages, personages whose past history could be read, whose future actions could be divined, and who, after the lapse of four hundred years, stand forth before our eyes as individuals and as types and occupy places in our memories like the creations of Shakespeare. If, in some of his works, Chaucer wrote only to [unclear: an] others and himself, in others, because he had studied and [unclear: reflex] he wrote with the gravity of a thinker and the [unclear: solicitude] great artist. His "Canterbury Tales," instead of being a [unclear: si] string of incidents like other contemporary poems, is a carefully arranged and completed whole. Because so perfect as a whole it is so noteworthy. Preceding poets, whether barbarians or [unclear: se] barbarians, warriors of the heptarchy or knights of the Middle Age, expressed their sentiments in the manner most natural and congenial to them, but without heeding form of expression or method of arrangement. In Chaucer, we see for the first time the presiding spirit which, at the moment of conception, sits in judgment on the thing conceived, and says, "Erase that sentence, it is a repetition of the preceding one; unite these two ideas, they do not hang together; re-write that description, it is spun out." When a writer acts thus he is, where Chaucer was, "on the brink of independent thought and fruitful discovery." "Although five hundred years apart from them, yet he approaches the Elizabethan poets by his gallery of pictures, and the reformers of the sixteenth century by his portrait of the good priest." He approaches them, but no more. He did wholly emancipate himself from the bondage of the Middle Age. "To-day he composes the 'Canterbury Tales,' yesterday he translated the 'Romance of the Rose.' To-day he studies the complicated mechanism of the heart, discovers the consequences of the primitive training and dominant habits, and invents the comedy of manners; to-morrow he will take delight only in strange events, pleasing allegories, in amorous dissertations imitated from the French, in learned moralities copied from the ancients. He is in turn a minstrel and observer; instead of taking, as he ought, a full pace, he advanced a half pace only." What checked him as well as others was the scholastic philosophy.

That philosophy taught men not to look around them and observe, not to meditate and record the result, but to consult authorities in place of experience, to cull the thoughts of others instead of cultivating their own minds. That philosophy was as dogmatic as it was unfruitful. Whoever ventured to differ from it, ran the risk of meeting the fate of Roscelin and Abélard, of being excommunicated, imprisoned, or exiled. The majority of the authors of this period wrote without having anything to say. Among poets the "moral Gower" was little better than a pedant. Lydgate displayed talent and imagination, especially in his descriptions; being unable to address the mind, he tried to dazzle the eyes. Hawes's "Temple of Glass" is a copy of Chaucer's "Palace of Fame," and his "Passetyme of Pleasure" an imitation of the "Romance of the Rose." If originality of tone can be anywhere procured, it is in Barclay's translation of the "Shippe of Fowles," and Lydgate's translation of the "Danse of Death." In Skelton's satires we see an entire disregard of style, metre, rhyme, language, and art. Yet there is life in his verse, though of an ignoble and contemptible kind. "It is a kind of life, however, possessing two great features soon to be made manifest, the hatred of the ecclesiastical hierarchy which constitutes the Reformation, the return to sense and natural life which constitutes the Revival."

During the Middle Age man has been degraded into a manikin, capable only of repeating the catechism and singing hymns. To this period of depression and inanity succeeded an age of discovery and action. New worlds and new sciences were discovered, property became more secure and life more comfortable, wealth increased, and with its increase came new desires, tastes, and habits, a new ideal of life, and a new literature. The Revival was at once Pagan and Saxon in character; "A Latin race cannot invent save when expressing Latin ideas; a Saxon race cannot invent save when expressing Saxon ideas; and we shall find among the master minds of the new civilization and poetry the descendants of old Caedmon, of Adhelm, of Piers Plowman, and of Robin Hood."

Chief among the poets of the new literature are Surrey and Sir Philip Sidney, the former more mindful of his masters than of his feelings, the latter a genuine and brilliant poet. But Sidney was one of a large band, little inferior to him in talent, and the authors of works which rank hardly below his own. There is one form which

towers above all the others. Chief among the poems of that period "is one which is truly divine, so divine that the reasoners of succeeding ages have found it wearisome, which even now it is with difficulty that any one can comprehend—the Faërie Queene by Spenser."

Spenser is a creator and a dreamer of the most natural and instinctive kind. Among modern poets he most closely resembles Homer. He is at all times simple and clear, never abrupt; he never omits any argument, never employs words except in their primitive and common significations, and always ranks ideas in their natural order. Like Homer, he, too, is redundant and infantine, keeps nothing back, abounds in obvious reflexions, incessantly repeats striking ornamental epithets. We feel that he perceived all objects under a uniformly beautiful aspect. He painted them with all their details, without haste or hesitation; and, without fearing the departure of the enchanting vision, he carefully noted all its outlines. Indeed, he is too diffuse and too much disposed to forget both himself and his audience. His thoughts are spread forth in vast and redoubled comparisons, like those of the old Ionian bard.

Everywhere he proves himself to be both a colourist and an architect. His great poem differs from all similar productions of the Middle Age in being a work of art. From the manner in which it is composed we are compelled to sympathize with its author. In it are depicted not objects merely, but himself also. His dominant thought is apparent in the great work of which it was the product and which it directed. "Spenser is superior to his subject, embraces it in its entirety, shapes it to his purpose, and thereby imprints on it the distinctive mark of his mind and of his genius. Each narrative is arranged in concert with another, and all in view of a certain effect which is produced; hence it is that a certain beauty springs from this combination, that which is in the poet's heart and which his entire work contributes to render palpable; a noble and yet charming beauty, composed of moral elevation and of external attractions, English in sentiment, Italian in its externals, chivalric in substance, modern in its perfection and rendering manifest a unique and admirable period when Paganism appeared in a Christian race and the worship of form in a northern imagination."

This period was a short one. From the beginning of the seventeenth century men's manners and minds had been deteriorating. The court of James the First was a scene of vulgar debauchery. Literature changed its character. The best poets, such as Carew, Suckling, and Herrick, cultivated the pretty instead of the beautiful. The general aspects of things did not impress them, nor did they care to depict the essence of things. They had none of the large conceptions, the involuntary penetration, which distinguished the great Elizabethan writers, by means of which men become parts of the objects they behold, and acquire a capacity for creating them anew. They were mere court favourites, who made a parade of imagination and style. Their love songs were not inspired by any genuine sentiment. Instead of the divine shapes, the virgin and passionate expressions we meet with in the works of the old writers, we find in their works only pleasing trifles embodied in pleasing verses.

Another sign of decadence was the prevalence of affectation. A studied style always degenerates into jargon. The first masters of an art discover the idea, and being imbued with it, give themselves up to produce it in its own natural form. The imitators, who succeed them, purposely reproduce that form, and alter by [*unclear: ggerating*] it. Some of the affected writers possessed talent, among them Quarles, Herbert, Habington, and Donne. The latter displayed great force, as well as great coarseness, in his [*unclear: satires*]. But he wilfully spoilt his natural gifts, and succeeded, after intense exertion, in fabricating absurdities. For example, when addressing his mistress, he says, in order to prove the intensity of his passion for her—

*"O do not die, for I shall hate
All women so, when thou art gone,
That thee I shall not celebrate,
When I remember thou wast one."*

Be it remarked, that at this time the grave Malherbe, in his "Tears of St. Peter," wrote things nearly as absurd as anything penned by Donne, and that the sonneteers of Italy and Spain were guilty of the like follies. Hence we may conclude that an age of poetry was about to terminate throughout Europe.

On the frontier line of the old and the new literature stands Abraham Cowley. Like Pope, having a better acquaintance with books than with human passions, he cared more for words than things. Although capable of saying what he pleased, yet, unfortunately, he had nothing to express. Excepting in some descriptive pieces, and a few tender effusions, he gives no signs of feeling. His poetry sprang from his brains, and not from his heart. His amorous poems serve only to show the extent of his scientific attainments and his knowledge of books—"that he is acquainted with geography, is versed in anatomy, has a tincture of medicine and astronomy, and is able to discover parallels and allusions fitted to split a reader's head." Yet he possessed a description of talent unknown to the old masters, indicating a different kind of culture, requiring for its development different manners, and betokening a new state of society. In truth, Cowley was a prose writer, and was the first

Englishman worthy of that name. "His prose is as easy and sensible as his poetry is perverted and irrational. The writers of a succeeding age took his prose for a model. He was the progenitor of the dignified and admirable race of essayists perpetuated by Temple and ending in Addison.

Towards the close of the Pagan Revival, men still looked upon Nature, not to admire and embody their admiration in poetry, but in order to study and comprehend her laws. Artists and learned men were all impressed with the notion that Nature has an independent existence, that every being contains within itself the mainspring of its action, that the causes of events are laws inherent in things; "an all-powerful idea, whence sprang modern civilization, and which at this period in England and Italy, as formerly in Greece, gave birth to true science alongside of perfected art; producing, after Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo, the school of anatomists, mathematicians, and naturalists which culminated in Galileo, and, after Spenser, Ben Jonson, and Shakespeare, the school of thinkers encompassing Bacon and preparing the way for Harvey." "A prodigious influx of facts, America discovered, antiquity revived, philology restored, arts invented, industry developed, human curiosity traversing the [*unclear*: far] past and the whole earth, contributed to furnish materials, and prose writing began." From the universal ferment arose many striking thoughts, but few beautifully written books. There were wanting both that analytic power which is the art of following step by step the natural order of ideas, and that conversational talent which is the art of refraining from wearying or shocking others. Style was so ornate that the sense was eclipsed by the ornaments. Prose was very unequal in quality, being either too poetical or too dull. But the writers thought for themselves and believed what they said. A new spirit emerged from the superabundant mass, the spirit of scientific inquiry.

Robert Burton was imbued with this spirit. His "Anatomy of Melancholy" is composed with the regularity of a treatise by Thomas Aquinas. The torrent of erudition contained in it is guided throughout into correctly-cut channels. There is too vast a mass of ideas, and an absence of selection, yet the result was a more valuable product than had been known before. Sir Thomas Browne was equally imbued with the same spirit; but he was a poet as well as a pedant. "No other thinker better represented the restless and prolific curiosity of the age. No other writer has ever manifested in equal measure the splendid and sombre imagination of the North." He carried his poetical gifts into his scientific investigations. In the presence of Nature he was like an artist. Before a living visage, he was an observer "who noted every trait, every movement of the physiognomy, in order to divine the passions and inner character, incessantly correcting and cancelling his interpretations, and altogether impressed with the notion of invisible forces acting beneath the outward covering." He posed questions, suggested explanations, withheld his reply. Though he did no more, yet this was sufficient. Whoever shall seek truth as earnestly and in so many ways as he did, with an equal scrupulousness in making sure of the prize, will approach it as closely as he

Among the band of learned men, of dreamers, and of seekers after truth, Francis Bacon stands conspicuous: he was the most comprehensive, rational, and innovating spirit of the age. Like his forerunners, he was naturally prone to clothe his ideas in magnificent apparel. In that age, a thought did not seem completely expressed unless it had been endowed with shape and colour. What distinguished him in this respect was that the image concentrated the thought. "His style is admirable for its richness, gravity, and vigour, being at one time solemn and symmetrical, at another condensed and incisive, always laboured and coloured. Nothing in English prose is superior to his diction." He was pre-eminent for a practical turn of mind such as we observe in Bentham, and which circumstances combine every day to render the predominant trait of Englishmen. For pure speculation he had little taste: it was the application which delighted him. His philosophy is merely an instrument; indeed, each science, and science as a whole, were regarded by him as tools. How to enable man to accomplish whatever his capacity fits him for, and extend his empire over Nature, were the objects he had at heart. "Whence came this great and just idea?" It could not have germinated and flourished during a period of discouragement: and decay, when the end of the world was expected, when the Christian mysticism of the earlier ages, when the ecclesiastical tyranny of the fourteenth century, demonstrated man's helplessness by perverting his inventive faculties or in restraining his freedom of will. That idea was the offspring of the age. In order that man should aspire to be master of things and should labour to better his condition, it is indispensable that everywhere there should be amelioration in progress, industry thriving around him knowledge increasing, the fine arts spreading, that an incalculable weight of evidence should be constantly proclaiming the reality of his power and the assurance of his improvement. The age in which Bacon lived co-operated in doing his work. His great merit lay in foreseeing what science and industry would one day accomplish. He taught man what route to take, but did not follow it himself; he taught them how to discover natural laws, but he never discovered a law of nature. Although the first to announce the promised land, yet he refrained from entering it.

The most original fruit of the Revival in England was the drama. Its peculiar trait is naturalness. No other drama is more complex, because at no other period was man so complete, It is as unique in history as the period during which it arose, being "the work and picture of a young society as natural as unbridled, and also as tragic

as itself." The originators of a new and national drama are always thoroughly imbued with the sentiments they express. They reflect popular feelings better than other men, because those feelings actuate them more powerfully than others. With the exception of Beaumont and Fletcher the Elizabethan dramatists were all sons of the people, though poor, they were educated, their poverty contrasting strongly with their attainments. Ben Jonson was the son of a bricklayer, and a brick-layer himself; Marlowe was the son of a shoemaker, Shakespeare of a woolstapler, Massinger of a nobleman's servant. They lived as they best could, wrote for bread, went on the stage. Peel, Lodge, Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare were actors. Most of them lived hard, and died like dogs. They were the willing slaves of their passions, and wrote plays representing characters who indulged every passion to excess. The actions of these personages appear strained and exaggerated to us; but they are really true to nature as it was then understood. "At the present day we no longer know what nature is; we still entertain the benevolent prejudices of the eighteenth century concerning nature; we behold it humanized by two centuries of culture, and accept its acquired tranquillity for innate moderation. At bottom the natural man is blindly impelled by irresistible impulses, passions, appetites, and lusts," as are the personages in Marlowe's plays. In the closing scenes of his "Dr. Faustus" we see the "living, acting, natural individual man; not the philosophical symbol created by Goethe, but the primitive and genuine man, an impassioned and excited being, the slave of his passions and sport of his dreams, altogether absorbed in the present, filled with lusts, contradictions, and; absurdities, and who, shouting and shuddering, with cries of joy and of anguish, wittingly and willingly rolls over the edge and down the side of his precipice. The whole English drama is concentrated there, like a plant in its germ, and Marlowe is to Shakespeare what Perugino is to Raphael."

Marlowe was succeeded by others who constructed their plays with greater regard to the rules of art; the result of their labours being the most life-like and extraordinary drama ever produced. The new art which they practised was great, because it was natural: it was Germanic and fundamentally opposed to classical art. It disregarded the usual laws of proportion, the logical laws of connexion. Those who practised it did not regard man as possessing any one passion, but an innate character; did not view the hero in his heroic aspect only, but as an individual endowed with specific habits and displaying personal traits. While the men of this drama are more manly, the women are more feminine than elsewhere. Both bear the stamp of their origin. No other than a Germanic race could furnish heroines like those of Shakespeare, or like those of Ford, Greene, Webster, Beaumont, and Fletcher. The abnegation, patience, and inexhaustible affection displayed by those heroines, are qualities unknown to the women of Latin race, and, above all, are unknown in France.

When a new kind of civilization gives rise to a new kind of art, several men of talent give a partial expression to the prevailing sentiment, and one or two men of genius express it perfectly. Ford, Marlowe, Massinger, Webster, Beaumont, and Fletcher were those men of talent. In their plays we find detached scenes, passages, and particular characters, which could not be surpassed; but we also find numerous scenes, passages, and personages which are gross failures and egregious caricatures. Where they failed, the men of genius succeeded. Among Elizabethan dramatists the two men of commanding genius were Ben Jonson and Shakespeare.

Ben Jonson studied the authors of antiquity till he became thoroughly imbued with their ideas; but so great were his natural powers, that the pressure of his acquired knowledge did not impede their free exercise. He possessed the classical gift of arranging and developing ideas in the most effective manner, according to the rules of rhetoric and eloquence. If other poets deserve to be called visionaries, he might be styled a logician. Herein lay his; talent and his defect. Although he wrote more correctly and planned his plays far better than his predecessors, yet, unlike them, he could not breathe life into his personages. He was too observant of rule and method. He chose some quality or vice, made of it a personage, and gave it a distinguishing name. When endeavouring to create characters, he was contented with a surface glance, ignored the fundamental springs of human nature, and created nothing which lives in the memory of mankind. In his works, we see for the first time a settled and carefully worked-out plan, an intrigue having a beginning, middle, and end; in short, an art similar to that taught and practised by Molière and Racine. Besides this, he had the prominent characteristics of his age and race, a sense of what is natural and life-like, an exact knowledge of minute details, the ability of openly describing strong passions in vigorous terms. The men of his day never shrank from literal truthfulness of expression.

His satirical comedies were attempts to work a new vein. There is little that is charming in them, but they are works of great power and of genuine humour. Unlike Molière, Ben Jonson had nothing of the philosopher in him; hence, instead of seizing and fixing the leading traits of human life, the predominant features of his country and time, he selected as subjects for his comedies evanescent follies and too universal vices.

That he was a true poet is proved by his "Masques," which overflow with the splendour and the imagination which characterized the works of the great writers of the English Revival. In his love-songs, his poetical genius is still more apparent. Each of them resembles an antique idyl in grace, voluptuousness, and charm. It was when stricken in years, oppressed by poverty, and confined to his room by disease, that his

poetical gifts were most lavishly displayed. "A halo of poesy shone around the paralysed old man. He may well encumber himself with science, and burden himself with theories, become a critic on the stage, and a censor of mankind, the heavenly visions have never departed from him; he is the brother of Shakespeare."

To Shakespeare, the dominating spirit of that age, we now come, Resounding phrases and formal eulogy are wasted when applied to him. He does not require to be praised, but to be comprehended, and in order to comprehend him we must call science to our aid.

Properly speaking, man is by nature irrational as his body is naturally prone to disease; both reason and health are exceptions states and happy accidents. If we ignore this, it is because our inward promptings have grown into partial harmony with the courses of things. Yet the primitive forces are latent beneath an apparent regularity, and burst forth in their might in times of danger and revolution. Our ideas do not naturally range themselves in consecutive order, but press each other in undisciplined crowds. Hence, man possesses no distinct and independent power of action: he is composed of a series of impulses and teeming fancies, which have been subdued but not destroyed by civilization; these may remain for a time in partial equilibrium; man's true life, however, is that of a lunatic, who at intervals simulates sanity, but who is really of "the stuff that dreams are made of." Such is man as conceived by Shakespeare. Than he, no other writer has pierced so profoundly beneath the outer crust of good sense and logic which covers the human machine, for the purpose of discovering the brute forces which constitute its substance and its spring.

Shakespeare accomplished this because he was endowed with "imagination all compact."

The following are M. Taine's own words: "Il avait *l'imagination complète*; tout son génie est dans ce seul mot."—Vol. ii. p. 67.

When ordinary men think out a subject they do so in detail, perceiving an isolated side of it, perhaps one or two sides together; their mental vision cannot reach farther, an infinite chain of intertwined and multiplied properties escapes them altogether; they have a suspicion of something beyond their ken, and this suspicion is the sole part of their idea which represents to them what they cannot know. Shakespeare, on the other hand, instantly conceived an object as a whole, with all its connecting links and outlying dependencies; all its parts and properties being instantaneously mirrored in his imagination, and, conceiving in this fashion, he was capable of reproducing his conceptions in the same way that Nature creates. "The other artists of his time could do likewise; they had the same cast of mind and the same idea of life: in Shakespeare we discern similar faculties of larger growth, and an identical idea in bolder relief."

When we survey and analyse Shakespeare's plays and countless creations, we perceive in all of them the special imprint of that wondrous imagination which constitutes his genius. All his personages have a trait characteristic of himself; in the background of the vast crowd we recognise the poet's figure.

His imagination was impressed far more strongly and by minuter objects than ours. Because of this, his style is so overlaid with imagery and extraordinary metaphors; it being the product of a mind that at the slightest touch produced too much and rebounded too violently. Because endowed with his peculiar imagination, he was capable of exercising such marvellous penetration, as to grasp in an instant all the results of a situation, all the details of a character, make them manifest in every action of a and personage, and endue his figures with the hues and sharpness of reality. That imaginative faculty which he possessed renders him so fascinating to us. Hence, regarding him as Desdemona did Othello, we love him because he loved much and suffered much.

The section devoted to Shakespeare is the most elaborate one in M. Taine's work. It would require more pages than we have lines at our command to give an adequate outline of it. Hence we have contented ourselves with giving a bare abstract of M. Taine's opinions regarding Shakespeare's genius.

The Christian succeeded the Pagan Revival. Although the English Reformation was brought about indirectly, yet when five millions of men abandon one faith for another, whatever be the circumstances which lead to this, it is unquestionable that fire millions of men are desirous of conversion. Roth the new faith, the English Bible and the Prayer-book, were adapted to the English race; they appealed to innate predispositions, and opened out to their imaginations a prospect which had special attractions for men of that race, the prospect of a better life than what they led here, of an existence beyond the grave happier than an earthly one. Unlike the Roman Catholicism it superseded, Protestantism was not antagonistic to science, poetry, or free inquiry. Bishops, and clergymen of lower grade, wrote poetry; for example, Hall, Corbet, Wither, and Donne. Theologians like Hooker, John Hales, Jeremy Taylor, and Chillingworth called reason and philosophy to aid them when discussing religious tenets. "Then arose a new literature, elevated and original, eloquent and measured; armed both against the Puritans who sacrificed liberty of judgment to the tyranny of the text, and also against the Catholics who sacrificed free inquiry to the tyranny of tradition, battling alike against the slavery of literal interpretation, and the slavery of a fixed interpretation."

Foremost among the authors of the new literature appears Hooker, at once the mildest and most conciliatory of men, the soundest and most convincing of logicians, capable of taking comprehensive views of

human nature, and worthy of respect in the double capacity of a father of the church and one of the founders of English prose. John Hales and Chillingworth ably laboured in the same field and with not less success. In Jeremy Taylor we recognise a writer of genius, a prose poet, endowed with the imagination of Spenser or Shakespeare. His imagination was so complete as to enable him to grasp the real even in the mine, and the ideal in its highest heaven.

Between the new faith as embraced and expounded by men of position and education and men of low estate and no learning, an opposition speedily arose. Men who interpreted the Bible literally were dissatisfied with the church as established by law. Events concurred to give those men supreme power for a period, when they essayed to establish the kingdom of heaven upon earth. The view which they took of life was fatal to literature. They had no admiration for the beautiful in art or letters, and a literature devoid of the sentiment of beauty is an abortion. They held in abhorrence the natural promptings of the heart, and a literature in which these promptings are not depicted is worthless. The drama, and poetry, eloquence, and ornate writing were stigmatized by them as abominations. Some of Prynne's pamphlets are vigorous productions, but the histories of that time are for the most part dull and insipid. The memoirs, even those of Ludlow and Mrs. Hutchinson, are spun out and wearisome: the authors of them, as Guizot has remarked, "appear forgetful of themselves and wholly concerned for the destiny of their cause." Many works of piety were produced, plenty of solid and convincing sermons like those of Baxter, Barclay, and Calamy, of personal narratives like those of Baxter, Fox, and Bunyan. The artist, however, is absorbed in the Puritan. If we find a Milton among them it is because he was superior to his sect. The Puritans had but one poet, one who attained the beautiful in seeking the useful, and who by accident proved himself a great artist.

The foundation of English Protestantism is salvation by faith, and in rendering that doctrine popular no artist has rivalled John Bunyan. He had the kind of imagination best adapted for creating and describing supernatural impressions; an imagination which acted independently of his volition, and governed him like a master spirit. Allegory, the most artificial of all kinds of composition, was natural to him. "His allegories are hallucinations as sharply defined, as complete, and as healthy as ordinary perceptions. No one, excepting Spenser, is so lucid." Bunyan has the flow, the naturalness, the ease and the clearness of Homer, and approaches the singer of heroes and creator of deities as nearly as an Anabaptist tinker can do. "I am wrong; he approaches him still closer. Inequalities of rank disappear before the sentiment of sublimity. Grandeur of emotion elevates to the same height the peasant and the poet. And here allegory aids the peasant. It alone, in the absence of inspiration, can paint heaven; for it does not profess to paint it: by displaying heaven in a figure, it declares it invisible, like the burning sun which we cannot gaze on, but can behold the reflection in a mirror or a rivulet. Thus the unseen world remains shrouded in mystery; warmed by allegory, we can imagine, beyond the splendours we see, and can feel, behind the beauties disclosed to us, the infinity which remains concealed, and the ideal city vanishing as soon as seen, ceases to resemble that lumbering Whitehall which Milton built for Jehovah."

Milton was not gifted with the imaginative powers of the Elizabethan poets: his impulses and passions were under his control; his logical power was great, and his erudition boundless; he was thoroughly qualified to compose odes, but not to create souls.

As a prose writer, while deficient in elegance and amenity, he displays unsurpassed vigour. "It is doubtful if Voltaire's cutting sentences would prove more mortal than the blow of such an iron mace as this. 'If in less noble and almost mechanick arts he is not esteemed to deserve the name of a compleat architect, an excellent painter, or the like, that hears not a generous mind above the peasantry regard of wages and hire, much more must we think him a most imperfect and incompleat divine, who is so far from being a contemner of filthy lucre, that his whole divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly and brutish hopes of a fat prebendary, deanery, or bishoprick.' Were Michael Angelo's prophets to speak, it would be in this style; and while regarding the writer we repeatedly perceive the sculptor." The powerful logic which lengthened his periods, buoyed up his images. Sustained metaphors like his acquire an exceptional amplitude, pomp, and majesty. They are spread out without interfering with each other, and resemble the ample folds of a scarlet mantle, bathed in light and fringed with gold. Every literature will be ransacked in vain to discover any poetry which can match Milton's prose.

As a poet Milton differed widely from his masters, the great Elizabethan poets. He wrote not from impulse but after reflection, and aided by his books; he conceived objects through the medium of books as much as in themselves. It was the sublime and not life which moved him. He wrote incomparable poems, but none of them have that warmth of colouring and vividness of outline which distinguish works proceeding direct from the imagination and untinged with reflection.

The subject which he chose for his great epic was far better suited for a lyrical drama in the style of the "Prometheus" of Æschylus. The supernatural can only be successfully treated in a style which makes us forget reality. We should expect Adam and Eve to act and feel in conformity with their primitive natures Satan and the

Messiah in conformity with their superhuman natures. To have accomplished this might have baffled Shakespeare. Milton, a logician and reasoner, failed in the attempt.

Adam and Eve, in the "Paradise Lost," resemble an English couple of Milton's time; for example, Colonel Hutchinson and his wife. They reason so correctly, and give so many proofs of culture, that we should have expected them at least to have invented clothing. Adam's discourse is so edifying, and his morals are so correct, that he must have passed through England on his way to Paradise. "He is the true head of a family, an elector, a member of parliament, a graduate of Oxford; he is consulted on occasion by his wife, and gives scientific answers to her queries. When an angel visits them, Eve prepares a repast with the alacrity and skill of a practised housekeeper. Happily, as the meats are uncooked, there is "no fear lest dinner cool." At dessert Eve leaves the table and goes into the garden. Desiring to alter its arrangement, and requiring Adam's aid, he compliments her this fashion:—

*"Nothing lovelier can be found
In woman, as to study household good,
And good works in her husband to promote."*

The description of heaven reminds us of earth as much as the picture of our first parents. Milton's Jehovah strongly resembles Charles I., and his celestial dwelling is modelled upon Whitehall. How very different is the God of Goethe in the second part of "Faust!" If any one wish to know how far Milton has fallen short of his subject, and would measure the depth of his fall, let him peruse that genuine Christian poem the Apocalypse.

But if he failed in some things, he has wondrously succeeded in others. In the "Paradise Lost," the finest part is the description of hell; the true hero of the poem is Satan. Spenser has created as striking figures, but he had not the tragic force requisite to depict hell to a Protestant. Nothing more sublime was ever penned than the spectacle which Satan witnessed when issuing from his den.

Born with noble instincts, which were strengthened by solitary meditation, by learning, and by logic, Milton became master of a store of maxims and beliefs which no temptation could sap, which no reverse could overthrow. His grandiose imagination illumined his prose writings with an unexampled affluence of imagery, and enabled him to attain in his odes and lyrical pieces to an unsurpassable pitch of sublimity. During the first part of his career the spirit of pagan antiquity; during the second, that of modern Christianity, inspired him and tintured his writings. The odes and choruses produced during that first period are almost perfect. Fettered and constrained during the second period by his theological opinions and bent of mind, he filled his epic poem with cold dissertations; he degraded God and man into vulgar mouthpieces for his opinions, and only displayed his genius in imbuing Satan with his own haughty republican spirit, in producing magnificent descriptions of scenery, in creating colossal spectres, and in consecrating his poetical gifts to the eulogy of religion and of duty.

The England of two different periods is reflected in Milton's writings. We see the England animated with the sentiments and tastes which are represented in the works of Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, and the brilliant band of poets that for half a century adorned her soil and illustrated her genius. We also see the England of the Puritans, in which a practical religion had taken root, in which measured common sense and narrow views prevailed, yet which attained to the highest possible eminence in power, prosperity, and freedom. "From this point of view Milton's style and ideas are historical monuments; they concentrate, recall, or forestall the past and the future, and within the compass of a single work we can study the events and sentiments of several ages and of one nation."

"When we turn over the works of the court painters during the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., and leave Vandyke's noble portraits for Lely's figures, the descent is sudden and profound; we seem to have left a palace and entered a brothel." The restoration of Charles II. was followed by the triumph of licentiousness. Virtue was decried as puritanical; duty was considered synonymous with fanaticism; man's better nature was swept away in the vicious torrent; the mere animal survived, who sated his lusts without regard for modesty or for justice.

One of the first literary products of the new state of society was Butler's "Hudibras." This poem "contains neither action nor naturalness; is filled with abortive satires and gross caricatures; is devoid of art, measure, and taste; is written in a puritanical style transformed into an absurd gibberish, its envenomed rancour missing the mark by its very excess, and disfiguring the portrait it essays to trace." One of the leaders of fashion and an admired poet of this time was Rochester, who wrote of love in the style and language of a cold-blooded and jaded libertine.

Hobbes was the philosopher of this society. In direct contrast to the Puritans, the courtiers had degraded human existence into an occasion for animal gratification. Hobbes taught that the mere animal part constituted human nature. The courtiers were atheists and brutes in conduct; he was the same in speculation. They had

erased from their hearts every fine and generous sentiment; he erased every fine and noble sentiment from the human heart. His theories were modelled on their manners; his system was a manual for their guidance. In him, as in Descartes, was manifested for the first time a mode of philosophizing which soon became general throughout Europe. It consisted "in granting perfect independence to reason, which, disregarding tradition, and misapplying the results of experience, recognised its sovereign in logic, in mathematics its model, its organ in speech, and its audience in polite society; which busied itself with minor truths found material for speculation in man in the abstract, its formula in ideology, in the French Revolution its glory and condemnation its triumph and its end."

The new society had no taste for the dramatic works which had been the delight of a bygone age. Shakespeare's plays were re-cast, yet even then did not attract so well as the productions of playwrights of the day. From the theatre where the new plays were acted, "even Charles II. and Rochester could depart more firmly convinced than ever that virtue was only a pretence, the pretence of cunning rogues who wished to sell themselves dearly."

Dryden, Crowne, Shadwell, Afra Behn, Etherege, and others composed the new school of dramatists. By far the most conspicuous and successful of that school was Wycherley. He is, without exception, the filthiest writer that ever sullied the drama. He appears to have laboured as earnestly to disgust as to deprave his audience. "Whatever he composes or states, whether he creates or copies, blames or praises, his plays calumniate mankind, repel when they attract, and harden as well as corrupt." However, he possessed, in common with his countrymen, the gift of vigour.

The change which gradually took place in the mode of life during the seventeenth century, directly affected literature. Men grew more polished in manner, passed their time in paying visits and turning compliments: they endeavoured to amuse their neighbours, and expected to be amused in return. To shine in conversation was accounted a merit. To write as men conversed was considered a duty; hence, writers grew solicitous about style and language, the structure of periods and choice of epithets, and were prompted to express clever things in a neat manner as much by vanity as good taste. One of the leading writers of this class was Sir William Temple. His learning was superficial, his acquaintance with affairs considerable, his love of ease was only equalled by his desire to be envied for an amount of knowledge which he did not possess. Sir John Denham, in his poem entitled "Cooper's Hill," displayed a finished rhetorical style. With respect to style, as well as other matters, France exercised a direct influence over England at this period. "Bossuet was consulted, Corneille translated, Molière imitated, and Boileau's authority respected." This influence is distinctly traceable in the comedies of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar. The first of them was a gross writer, the others displayed more urbanity than libertinage. Yet both the art and the philosophy Molière were absent from their productions. They were clever men but no thinkers. Their works had a striking, but short-lived success, and are not now regarded among the most praiseworthy monuments of English literature. "Essays, romances, pamphlets, and dissertations superseded the drama, and the English classical art, withdrawn from departments of literature repugnant to it, was employed upon works better fitted to express and perpetuate it."

While the English drama was declining, and before it has become extinct, some noteworthy comedies were produced; for instance, "The Beggar's Opera" of Gay, and "She Stoops to Conquer" of Goldsmith. More striking and brilliant were Sheridan's works. Although they always glitter, yet the metal of which they are composed is not always of first-rate alloy. Each of them resembles an exquisitely engraved phial, into which the author has distilled all his wit, and all the results of his reflection and reading. "The School for Scandal" is composed of two of Fielding's heroes, Blifil and Tom Jones, and personages borrowed from Molière's "Misanthrope" and "Tartuffe." The result is most dazzling spectacle of literary fireworks ever witnessed. If Sheridan's productions are less solid than the stronger meats of the earlier dramatists, they furnish an admirable dessert to the literary banquet. The dessert over, we leave the table. Sheridan was the last writer of English comedies. After him, comedy gave place to farce. At the present day, no other dramatic literature is so barren as that of England. The explanation is, whereas formerly literary men could find but a scanty audience unless they wrote for the stage, they can now address a larger and more intelligent audience through the medium of books. In England novels have superseded plays.

In tracing the progress and fall of the modern English comic drama, we have passed over the most conspicuous English writer of the seventeenth century, and the founder of the classical literature of England. John Dryden was formed by nature and circumstances to be a great writer rather than a great poet, being more akin to Corneille than to Shakespeare. He was too good a theorist to be a great artist; too clever a critic to produce great poems. In composing heroic plays on the model of French tragedies and intended to rank with them as compositions, he failed in his object; "because literary style blunts dramatic truth, dramatic truth corrupts literary style, because his works were neither sufficiently life-like nor sufficiently well written, because he was neither a great poet nor a great orator, and was destitute alike of the passion and imagination of Shakespeare, of the urbanity and art of Racine." His only notable poetical success was his famous ode, but even

it is addressed to the senses rather than the heart. Dryden succeeded best in those branches of literature for which his nature and talents qualified him; in producing finely versified pamphlets and dissertations, biting satires, faithful translations, and clever imitations, and in writing clear, idiomatic, and excellent prose.

After the Revolution of 1688, it would seem as if nothing had been gained by the final establishment of constitutional government in England. At no other period were the people more lawless, or statesmen more corrupt. The populace drank ardent spirits to excess. Members of Parliament took bribes without shame. Many of the peers plotted to overturn the constitution and restore the exiled dynasty. Vile intrigue and brutal debauchery were the occupations and amusements of men holding high position, and who plumed themselves on setting the fashion. Even the grave and polished Lord Chesterfield inculcated on his son to be gallant to women, and cringe to men in power, citing as noteworthy examples of successful men the two greatest profligates of the age, Lord Bolingbroke and the Duke of Marlborough.

However, the bad lay on the surface; the nation was still sound at the core. Polite society did not give the tone to the body of the English people, as was the case in France at the same period. The mass of Englishmen retained a sense of morality, and was still subject to the law of duty. The race was too religious by instinct to be rendered permanently irreligious by circumstances. When Wesley and Whitfield began to preach, it was evident that their listeners were naturally predisposed to religious impression.

Sermons formed a large portion of English classical literature. Tillotson was so famed for his style, that Dryden called him his master in the art of writing. To a Frenchman his style seems heavy and insufferably wearisome. But his sermons were admirably suited for his audience. They desired to be taught, not to be charmed; to be confirmed in their opinions and induced to apply them in practice. Barrow is equally heavy, but his analytic capacity and logical grasp have never been equalled. Without employing any rhetorical artifice, he could explain and demonstrate whatever he undertook, and could carry conviction to the minds of his hearers. South, who was regarded as the wittiest of divines, would be regarded by Frenchmen as coarse beyond measure. Yet the preaching of English divines was far more effective than that of their French contemporaries. "If Barrow be redundant, Tillotson heavy, South trivial, and the others unreadable, they are all convincing; their discourses are not models of eloquence, but instruments of edification. Their glory consists not in their books but in their works. If they wrote badly, they formed men's manners."

It was necessary, however, in addition to forming men's manners to defend the faith against the assaults of free-thinkers. Bolingbroke, Toland, Tindal, and Mandeville were encountered greater men than themselves; the most notable men in science, learning, and letters siding against them. But neither the laity nor the clergy distinguished themselves in philosophical speculations. If Berkeley produced his theory of the non-existence of matter, it was not in the interests of independent philosophy; but with a view to undermine the bases of immoral and materialistic theories. Newton proved himself a great mathematician, but a poor philosopher. Locke studiously avoided lofty inquiries. He wrote his book to settle what objects are within and what are beyond the reach of the human intellect. Having defined these limits he rested satisfied. Hume went further, but in the same path. He endeavoured to explode the highest kind speculation altogether. According to him we cannot know either substance, cause, or law; when we affirm that one fact is linked to another we do so gratuitously, and cannot prove our assertion. The natural consequence of this sweeping scepticism was a reaction towards established beliefs. Reid became alarmed for the stability of society, and set up common sense as the supreme judge of truth. "If a municipal corporation were to order a system of philosophy, Reid's philosophy of churchwardens would be selected." It was not in the domain of metaphysics but of psychology that the thinkers of that day distinguished themselves. The best fruits of their labours were theories of the moral sentiments. In this field Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Price, Smith, Ferguson, and even Hume laboured diligently, and reaped original and lasting ideas.

The predominant trait of the English mind at this period was a consciousness of the dignity of personal independence, and a sense of the importance of maintaining individual rights and respecting the rights of others. This conviction inspired those orators who, in the diversity of their talents, the energy of their opinions, the magnificence of their diction, rivalled the most renowned orators of ancient Greece and Rome. The elder Pitt was never more sublime than when asserting the inherent rights of men: a Miltonic and Shakespearian vehemence were displayed in his splendid harangues. The unbridled passion and masculine assertion of right which distinguished political speeches, gave pith and effect to political writings also. When Junius condensed his sentences and chose his epithets, it was not for the sake of improving his style, but that his utterances might wound more deeply and insult more grossly. In his hands, artifices of [unclear: rhetone] became instruments of torture. "Has any other human [unclear: wri] than Junius, Swift excepted, cherished and concentrated within his heart hatred and venom? Yet he was not vile, for he believed himself to be acting as the servant of justice." Other more genial temperaments displayed the same [unclear: characteristics] discern them even in him who was the favourite of fortune in infancy; who was hailed as the first of debaters, and selected to lead a great party upon attaining manhood; whose [unclear: manners] bland and sociable, whose enemies overlooked his faults,

and who was adored by his friends; who was not wearied by toil, embittered by rivalry, or spoiled by power, and the richness of whose genius was manifested in the persuasive flow, the unadorned beauties, the uniform lucidity of his speeches. Yet on occasion no one could match even Charles James Fox for vehemence of language and virulence of invective. A sort of impassioned exaggeration predominated in the discussions concerning the impeachment of Warren Hastings and the French Revolution. It was manifested alike in the piercing rhetoric and stilted declamation of Sheridan; in the pitiless sarcasm and sententious pomp of William Pitt. The force which distinguished them all was the most prominent trait of the leading spirit of the time, Edmund Burke.

Burke was superior to other men, not alone in the extent of his erudition, but also in the comprehensiveness of his views. He possessed an imagination so fertile and vivid as to be able to conjure up distant countries and strange nations with every particularity of scenery, of costume, of habit, and of physiognomy. To the mental powers which form the man of system, were conjoined in him the qualities of heart which form a fanatic. He nobly combated for noble causes. He opposed the excesses of power in England, the excesses of the people in France, and the tyrannical exercise of authority by individuals in India. "Everywhere he became the champion of a principle or the opponent of a vice, and, equipped with his astounding knowledge, his lofty reason, and splendid style, he rushed to the attack with, the unquenchable and intemperate ardour of a moralist and a knight-errant." In common with his neighbours he was wholly deficient in good taste.

The difference between the courtesans of Sir Peter Lely, and the maidens, and mothers surrounded by their children of Sir Joshua Reynolds, indicates what a transformation had taken place in English society. Every walk of life gave evidence of the alteration. Bakewell had improved the breed of sheep; Arthur Young had introduced improvements into agriculture; Howard had improved the prisons; Arkwright and Watt had revolutionized industry; Adam Smith had reformed political economy, and Bentham the penal code; Locke, Hutcheson, Ferguson, Butler, Reid, Stewart, and Price had reformed psychology and ethics. Manners had become refined; the Government was more stable; religion was held in veneration. In one thing only did the nation fall short; it had no capacity for lofty speculations. At this same moment proficiency in this last point constituted the chief glory of France.

When the French Revolution occurred, the English nation was conservative and Christian, while France was a nation of freethinkers and revolutionists. Neither understood, and each detested the other. Never were differences between the minds and the civilizations of the two countries more strongly marked, and it was Edmund Burke, who, with the superiority of a thinker and the bias of an Englishman, placed the points of difference in the clearest possible light.

While the foregoing changes, which occupied the whole of the eighteenth century, and ended in giving to England a fixed ethical and political character, were still in progress, two men arose who were opposed to each other in politics, who were the antithesis of each other in manners, culture, and intellect, and in whom we can clearly discern the inner characteristics of the foregoing changes; they were Jonathan Swift and Joseph Addison.

The writings of Addison are masterpieces of English urbanity and English sense: all the points of his character and incident of his career contributed to mature that sense and urbanity. His poem entitled "The Campaign," which made him so famous, is a model of conventional and classical style. As he truly said in the *Spectator*, the aim of his prose essays was "to banish vice and ignorance out of the territories of Great Britain." These writings had an astonishing success, quite equal to that of the most popular modern novels. This was because they abounded in genuine English sense: both his talent and doctrines harmonized with the requirements of his age and country. "He taught that time is capital, that occupations are duties, that life is a business and nothing else." If he regarded life from a loftier than a sensual point of view, he never rose to the contemplation of it from the heights of philosophy. His system of morality was earthly and practical. The expectation of a future state never obscured his consideration of the best way to enjoy life. He founded virtue both on morality and self-interest. The chief concern, according to him, is "to be easy here, and happy afterwards." The sum of his philosophy is that "the business of mankind in this life is rather to act than to know." However meanly we may estimate his views, it was no trifling thing to succeed as he did in making morality fashionable.

Addison's prose is a pure well of classical style. It is rich in ornament, yet devoid of rhetoric. It is always lucid, and presents old ideas under new and pleasing aspects. Its defect is too great monotony. However perfect it may seem to an Englishman, yet a Frenchman would find grave fault with it. Compared with the prose of Tillotson, it is charming; compared with that of Montesquieu, it is but half polished. If Addison were well qualified for teaching the French rules of conduct, they could show him in return perfect models of conversational style.

Though classical by culture, he had the fondness of his race for nature. Possessing a lively imagination, he could depict with minuteness all the incidents of a situation or consequences of an action. He created Sir Roger

de Coverley, and proved that he had but another step to make in order to rank with Richardson and Fielding as a novelist. All his writings indicate that he was a poet. But there is more poetry in his prose than in his verse: this is chiefly conspicuous in his "Vision of Mirza." That tale is an epitome of Addison's distinctive talents. In it may be perceived those shades of difference which separate the classical literature of England from that of France. These are, "a more bounded and practical reason, a more poetical and less eloquent urbanity, a fund of wit richer and more copious, less sociable and less delicate."

In striking contrast to the genial Addison stands forth Swift—

"The most unhappy man of genius of the classical era and of history; English to the backbone, inspired and carried away by the preponderance of his English qualities, possessing that profundity of desire which characterizes the race, that excess of pride which habits of freedom, of command, and of success have imprinted on the nation, that sturdy practical cast of mind which the exercise of affairs has rooted in the land; who was excluded from the sphere of power and action by his unbridled passions and untractable arrogance; debarred from poetry and philosophy by his piercing, yet narrow common sense; deprived of the consolations afforded by a life of contemplation and the occupation furnished by a practical career; too superior a man to give himself up heart and soul to any one religious sect or political party, too contracted to find a resting-place in the high doctrines which conciliate all beliefs, or to cherish the expansive sympathy which embraces all parties; condemned by nature and circumstances to fight for, without being attached to a cause, to write without being enamoured of the art, to think without attaining to a dogma, who was a condottiere against all parties, a misanthrope with regard to mankind, a sceptic with regard to beauty and truth. Yet these very circumstances and that very nature which forced him beyond the pale of happiness, of love, of power, and of science, elevated him, in an age of imitation of French models and the practice of classical moderation, to an extraordinary eminence, where, by the puissance of his original and inventive genius, he equals Byron, Milton, and Shakespeare, and manifests in bold relief the characteristics and mind of his nation. Sensibility, a practical mind, and pride, contributed to form his unique style, which is terrible in its force, overpowering in its coolness, practical in its effect; dipped in scorn, truth, and hatred, a dagger vengeance and of war, which aroused the shrieks or caused the deaths of his enemies when subjected to its edge or poison. As pamphleteer against both the Opposition and the Government, he rent in pieces or smothered his adversaries by his irony or his judgments, delivered with the tone of a judge, sovereign, and executioner. As man of the world and poet, he may be said to have invented the atrocious pleasantry, funereal mirth, and convulsive gaiety of bitter contrasts, and, even while encumbered with the mythological armour, he created a poetry of his own by depicting the crude details of low life, by indulging in pitiable antics, by unsparingly revealing filthy particulars which others conceal. A philosopher against all philosophy, he created the realistic epic, the solemn parody, resembling a mathematical deduction, as absurd as a dream, as trustworthy as an affidavit, as fascinating as a tale, as debasing as dirty rags wreathed like a crown around the head of a god. Such was his wretchedness and his strength: we turn away from the spectacle with hearts contracted yet filled with admiration, remarking inwardly that a burning palace is still a beautiful object, to which artists will add, that it is most beautiful when in flames."

The English novels of the classical era were essays in an untrodden literary field. They differed from the Spanish romances of the Middle Age in neither exalting nor engrossing the imagination, and from the French novels of the eighteenth century in neither reproducing nor embellishing the sentiments and language of polite society. The objects of their writers were to depict scenes taken from life, to analyse character, suggest plans of conduct, decide upon motives to action.

Daniel Defoe was the first as well as the most successful cultivator of this new field. His mind was singularly solid precise, and destitute of ingenuity, enthusiasm, and grace. He had the matter-of-fact imagination of a tradesman. It would seem as if he had himself enacted what his heroes performed, so literally and correctly did he describe every detail of their actions. Before him, no one had been so realistic; nor have any of his successors equalled him in this respect. The realistic writers of the present day are immeasurably inferior to him: what he did was done naturally; what they do is the result of choice, calculation, and artifice. He deceived not the eye but the mind. "His very imperfections were servicable to him; the absence of art had the effect of profound art; his negligences, repetitions, and diffuseness contributed to produce an illusion: nobody could object that a certain trivial and unimportant piece of detail would have been invented; it would be said that an inventor would have omitted it because perfectly useless; that art selects, adorns, and interests; that an artist would never have heaped together such a mass of trifling, common-place incidents; that what Defoe wrote could not be fiction but must be truth."

Two leading ideas govern morals, and have always governed them in England. Either conscience must be acknowledged as sovereign, or instinct must be taken for guide. At one time men have considered themselves the slaves of rule, at another entitled to pursue the bent of their inclinations. These two ideas have alternately had the mastery over Englishmen. "From Shakespeare to the Puritans, from Milton to Wycherley, from

Congreve to Defoe, from Sheridan to Burke, from Wilberforce to Lord Byron, we see licence succeeded by constraint, tyranny by revolt, and this contest between rule and nature is depicted in the novels of Fielding and Richardson.

Richardson's "Pamela" was composed with the express object of eulogizing virtue and disparaging vice, and proved so successful that Dr. Sherlock recommended it from the pulpit. However, both it and his other works are too padded with moral lessons. A novelist should insinuate and not preach morality. Richardson's artifice is so transparent that we reject his conclusions, knowing very well that the lot of the virtuous is not so splendid, nor that of the vicious so sad, as he would have us believe. Human nature, when moved by vehement passions, bursts the barriers within which he would confine it. Nature punished him for his deficient love for her, by always concealing her countenance from him.

Nature as she really is, as opposed to Richardson's conception of her, was what Fielding professed to represent. "By nature we mean the secret passions, some baneful, for the most part vulgar, and always blind, which we carry within and which influence us, which are imperfectly concealed beneath the cloak of decorum and reason we throw over them, which we suppose to be under our control, but which govern us, the actions we ascribe to ourselves being caused by them." It was the art and delight of Fielding, as of Molière, to make his personages act rationally, and then exhibit to the reader, through a rent in the outer cloak of decorum and reason, the vanities, follies, lusts, and concealed hates which constituted the mainsprings of their conduct. He, too, is a moralist; but regarding nature as wholly opposed to rule, he makes of virtue an instinct and generosity a primitive inclination. There is a great void in Fielding's representation of nature. "Cervantes, whom he copied, and Shakespeare, of whom he reminds us, showed that delicacy of mind is as truly natural as rade and boisterous vigour: in the large harvest which Fielding [*unclear: ped*], he forgot the flowers." The outbursts of the senses, the surging of the blood, and tender effusions were familiar to him, but with nervous exultation and poetical ravishment he had no sympathy. "Man, as conceived by him, is but a fine buffalo, and this perhaps is the most suitable hero for a nation that glories in the nickname of John Bull."

Smollett copied life with more fidelity: he was less jovial than Fielding, and less straitlaced than Richardson; but his pictures want the illumination of genius. His heroes are all gross and sensual, without having the redeeming quality of goodness which is possessed by those of Fielding. In his hands Fielding's generous wine became transformed into the fiery liquor of a tavern; but his "Humphry Clinker" was an original work, and is interesting as a study of character. The study of human follies was carried to excess by Sterne. He regarded everything through a magnifying glass. He sought for and described whatever was absurd, affected, and scandalous in men. As manners were refined, literature became more polished, the grossness of Smollett and indecency of Sterne were tabooed, and the novel, before reaching the almost prudish hands of Miss Burney, passed through the honest hands of Goldsmith. When we look upon a picture by a great Flemish artist, we shall probably see a woman making her market, or a burgomaster draining a long glass full of beer, or some other homely incident. The personages may be of low station, and the incident may be trivial, yet all the personages have such a look of contentment and self-satisfaction, that we feel disposed to envy them. A similar impression is made on us by a perusal of Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield."

In the centre of a large group of writers we behold one whom Goldsmith adored even when the butt of his caprice, with whom Gibbon, Reynolds, Garrick, Burke, and Sir William Jones delighted to hold converse. His society was courted by every one; his decisions were law; he was the arbiter of style. We inquire whether it was the liberality of his opinions that attracted all men to him, and are told that he was the Hercules of [*unclear: Toryiste*] that he hated the Whigs, thought James II. and Charles II. the best of monarchs, and considered Voltaire and Rousseau to be rascals. We turn to his writings, and find little to charm us. Throughout them all the same solemn tone predominates; by him classical prose was brought to the perfection that classical poetry was by Pope. "Art could not be more consummate, or nature more outraged." We can well understand that a rhetorical generation would take him for master, and accord to him that pre-eminence in eloquence which had been accorded to Pope in poetry. What astonishes a Frenchman is the kind of ideas that he made popular. His truths are too indisputable, his maximum we already know by heart. "He teaches that life is short, that men ought to improve themselves during the brief space at their disposal; that a mother should not educate her son in the fashion of a dancing-master; that men should repent of their sins, yet shun superstition; that it is always right to be busy but not in a hurry. We thank him for these sage counsels, at the same time saying inwardly that we could have dispensed with [*unclear: th*]. However, they pleased those to whom they were addressed, because those who read them loved sermons, and this writer's essays are sermons. His readers did not desire dainties [*unclear: but*] and wholesome food. In this respect, these essays are a [*unclear: nation*] aliment. A Frenchman finds the food insipid and [*unclear: heavy*] because it pleased their palates, Englishmen regarded [*unclear: with*] favour and revered as a philosopher the respectable and [*unclear: unbeable*] Samuel Johnson.

After viewing the caricatures of Hogarth, it may be remarked that the lessons taught by him seem fitted for the education of barbarians. It may also be said that there is nothing amiable in the English lay preachers, such

as Defoe, Hogarth, [*unclear*: Smollet] Johnson, and others. To this we reply, that moralists are useful under certain circumstances, and that these moralists transformed a society of semi-barbarians into a society of civilized beings.

In all the works produced between the Restoration of the Stuarts and the French Revolution, we perceive over and above genuine English traits, the impress of a classical style. Every writer from Waller to Johnson, from Hobbes and Sir William Temple to Robertson and Hume, aspired after the same ideal. Their efforts had for result the perfection of prose compositions, of all works appertaining to conversation and eloquence; the impoverishment of all poetical works, and the production of historical works written in correct language and agreeable style, but utterly lacking both colour and picturesqueness. The predominance of this special style is manifest in the poets of Queen Anne's reign. Open the first that comes to hand, Parnell or Philips, Addison or Prior, Gay or Tickell, and the same kind of versification and general turn of thought will be perceived. All have the same features; all are cast in the same mould. We seem in the presence of a family of plants: the names differ, the height, size, and colour differ, but they all belong to one class. One plant will manifest the pervading type with greater distinctness than the others. Pope is to his brother poets what that plant is to the family. In him, we have the type of the class.

It is always unfortunate for a poet to be what Pope was, too great a master of versification; as he is certain to become more of a versifier than a poet. Pope wrote verses in the style of an Italian singer who should make a shake on every note. His style is exceptionally condensed and ornate. Excepting naturalness, it wants nothing. His poetry resembles cookery, an art in which excellence can be attained without the aid of genius, what is essential being a light hand, observant eye, and practised taste. His "Rape of the Lock" and "Dunciad" were universally admired by his contemporaries, and extolled by them as far surpassing the "Lutrin" and "Satires" of Boileau. The eulogy, if deserved, is not excessive, seeing that the larger portion of Boileau's verses resemble those of a clever schoolboy, the smaller portion those of a clever undergraduate. Although the "Rape of the Lock" is on a par with most French poems as respects cleverness, it is far inferior to all French poems in polish. Had Pope dedicated it to a Frenchwoman instead of to an Englishwoman, the dedication copy would have been returned with the advice to go and learn manners, seeing that for one compliment to the fair sex contained in it, there are ten sarcasms against feminine frivolity.

Yet there was true poetical stuff in Pope. To be sensible of this we must read his works in fragments. Thus it is at the close of all literary periods. What is true of Pliny the younger and of Seneca is equally true of Pope. A paragraph, a sentence, or a couplet by them is a masterpiece. Pope's descriptive talent was great: the imitative harmony of his verses has never been surpassed. He was an excellent rhetorician, and could versify precepts and arguments with marvellous skill. Despite his art, his writings soon weary us. Stendhal has said that a woman of forty is beautiful in the eyes of those only who have loved her when young. Unfortunately, Pope's muse is not merely forty, but one hundred and forty years old to us. We cannot regard it with the eyes of his contemporaries. To them, nature unadorned was unendurable. To us nature is all in all, and, in proportion to the intensity of our love for nature must be our distaste for the writings of Pope.

Prior did not attain classical elegance, although employing classical forms. Gay was an English La Fontaine, which means that he resembled La Fontaine very distantly. The first who broke through the crust of conventional mannerism was Thomson. If his style be too emphatic it is truly opulent. He painted what he saw, and because he loved it. Thirty years before Rousseau, Thomson expressed Rousseau's sentiments, and in a very similar style. After this, Ossian was fabricated by Macpherson, "Ossian, who along with Oscar, Malvina, and the others, went the round of Europe, and ended about 1830 in supplying baptismal names for hair-dressers and milliners." Gray and Akenside, who skilfully imitated the poetry of ancient Greece, Beattie with the nerves of a young girl and the affectation of an old maid, Goldsmith, Collins, Glover, Watts, Shenstone, Smart,—all occupied themselves with sentimental poetry, were disposed towards melancholy, to indulge in reveries and dissertations, and willingly mounted on stilts in their endeavours to attain the grand style. The most celebrated of them was Young, who having lost his wife and children consoled himself by composing his "Night Thoughts." There are certainly many flashes of imagination in his poems. In making Christian philosophy the subject of a poem, he anticipated M. de Chateaubriand and M. de Lamartine. In the odes of Gray and reflections of Akenside are to be found the melancholy sadness, the exquisite art, and beautiful reasoning which compose the one-half of M. de Lamartine's poetry.

History was the only branch of literature in which England was truly original at this time, and classical art prevented history attaining its proper growth. Gibbon, Robertson, and Hume were imbued with French notions, and wrote with French art. They were liberal, moderate, and impartial in their views and judgments, and were destitute of fanaticism and prejudice; but they dwarfed human nature, and painted revolutions and outbreaks like men who had lived in dusty libraries; they judged fanatics with the coolness of parsons and the smiles of sceptics, effaced the distinguishing traits from human nature, and covered the rough surface of truth with a uniform and brilliant varnish.

As the nineteenth century approached, the classical age finished its work, and a new literary era commenced. Society had grown wealthier and more enlightened, the middle class had become better educated and more powerful, men were thrilled with new desires and aspired after higher standards of excellence. France led the way in the revolution in manners; Germany in the revolution in ideas. Two currents of thought, the one French the other Germanic, spread over England, and the result was the foundation of modern literature.

Robert Burns, a poor Scottish peasant, was one of the earliest who manifested with striking clearness the altered spirit of the period. Dissatisfaction with the prevailing social inequalities first cradled him into poetry. Like Rousseau, he wrote in the capacity of an oppressed plebeian who had risen in revolt. He detested the official cant of the time, and loved nature with unexampled enthusiasm and constancy. The majority of his poems show an utter disregard for established and acknowledged precedents in style and ideas, being protests against invidious distinctions of class or creed, and demands for position in society on the sole ground of personal merit. His poems were written, not to flatter or please society, but to express his genuine feelings and give [*unclear*: vent] to his strong passions. After protracted listening to formal and empty declamation, we hear in them the echo of a man's voice; nay more, we enter into close commune with a human soul. Like other men of natural genius and imperfect culture, he is very unequal. When mimicking the formal epistolary style which had long been fashionable, he excites our compassion: when appearing, as he sometimes did, ashamed of being accounted an untutored peasant and poor villager, he erred as those men usually do who owe everything to merit and nothing to fortune. After all, his shortcomings are trifling, and do not lessen our admiration for his incomparable genius.

William Cowper was another of the innovators in poetry. He wrote for pastime, regardless of popularity. He described the most commonplace incidents, not after the fashion of realists, but in the style of a true poet. He saw matter for poetry in the sparkling of burning logs, in the motion of fingers plying the needle, because—and this is distinctive of a poet—all objects issued from his mind not only better defined than when they entered it, but also purified, ennobled, and coloured, like thick vapours which the effects of distance and light transform into satin clouds fringed with purple and gold. He demonstrated the absurdity of seeking poetical subjects in heroic deeds in palaces in Greece or in Rome, when they lie around us, if we but knew it; if we know it not, the blame is ours. Crabbe did this also; but he handled things in the classical style, and was, as has justly been remarked, a Pope in worsted stockings. True poetry consists in the sensations with which we regard objects. Cowper did not strive to render his ideas conspicuous by antithesis or repetition; being a true poet, he contented himself with noting his sensations.

Next appeared the romantic school. Its founders, Southey, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, were radicals in politics as well as innovators in poetry. When young they talked about founding a society in America, from which kings and priests were to be excluded; in riper years they were devoted churchmen and staunch Tories. They wished to dispense with poetical diction, and employ the ordinary speech of ordinary men. They discarded the conventional forms of verse. Southey and Coleridge were especially assiduous in making new rhymes and inventing new metres, some of which were as happy and some as bad as those adopted by Victor Hugo. "It was as if a plebeian, having thrown off a court-dress, and seeking another one, had borrowed one piece from a barbarian, another from a knight, another from a peasant, and another from a journalist, and, without being sensible of the want of congruity, had decked himself in the motley garment, and was contented with it, till at length, after several essays and failures, he became conscious of his real wants and selected suitable apparel."

While these attempts were being made, two ideas gained the ascendancy over men, the one leading to the production of historical, the other of philosophical compositions. The predominance of the one tendency is visible in Southey and Sir Walter Scott, of the other in Wordsworth and Shelley. This tendency was not confined to England, but was manifested throughout Europe; in France it influenced Victor Hugo, Lamartine, and Musset; in Germany, in far stronger measure, it influenced Goethe and Schiller Rückert and Heine. The first of these ideas was the recognition of the fact that every age and race had a separate ideal; that the barbarians, the men of feudal times, the knights of the Revival Mussulmans, and Hindoos had each an ideal of the beautiful which was really beautiful. Recognising this, men began to paint ill heroes of a particular clime and race, surrounded by the accessories which accorded with their characters, and endeavoured also to enter into their feelings and sympathize with their views. Englishmen are disqualified by nature for succeeding in such an undertaking. "They regard their own form of civilization as the most rational, their own morality as superior to that of any other nation, and every religion, except their own, extravagant." In order to write an Indian poem, it is necessary to be something of a pantheist at heart, and something of a visionary. In order to write a Greek poem, it is necessary to be a polytheist at heart, pagan at bottom, and naturalist by profession. Hence, Heine has written so well about India, and Goethe so well about Greece. However, after every attempt in this line, it has become generally felt "that it is in the writers of bygone ages, that we must seek for a picture of bygone ages; that the only real Grecian tragedies are those written by Greeks; that the historical romance

must give place to a authentic chronicles, like modern to original ballads; in fine, that historical literature of the above sort must pass away or be transformed into criticism and history, that is to say, into an-exposition of, and a commentary upon documents."

What, for instance, is the value of the historical sketches of the most notable man of that age, whose reputation was European, who was more popular than Voltaire, and whom some ranked with Shakespeare? Did Sir Walter Scott really revivify the past in his poems and romances? No, he stopped short on the threshold, preferring that which would interest to that which was true. Had he painted the past as he knew it to have been, the picture would have shocked the majority of his readers he dared not draw with fidelity either the voluptuous enthusiasts of the Revival, or the heroic brutes and ferocious beasts of the Middle Ages. His real glory lay in throwing a poetical and unfading halo over his native land, in making Scotland for ever attractive to mankind.

Coleridge and Wordsworth carried into poetical literature the spirit of philosophy. Wordsworth was by nature a thinker and dreamer. He saw a beauty in common things to which others were blind. Being so much of a philosopher, he addressed the heart rather than the senses. In "The Excursion" we forget the absence of scenic decoration in our admiration for the chastity and elevation of the thoughts contained in it. The same philosophical spirit which influenced Wordsworth, the staunch Tory, influenced in equal measure Shelley, the uncompromising socialist, just as formerly the classical style served as an instrument in the hands alike of the genial Addison and of the misanthropical Swift. Shelley was destitute of that knowledge of men which most poets possess: his personages are phantoms. He lived in another world than ours, a world governed by other laws. In his poetry, fancy disported like a happy child with a splendid skein of forms and colours. Has any one since Spenser and Shakspeare had visions so tender and enchanting as he had and described? Could anything be more exquisite than several of his poems, especially that on the "Sensitive Plant"? The history of that plant is the history of himself. There was a poetical fitness in his identifying his own life with that of a plant. Assuredly, there is a soul in all things; underneath the external covering is a secret essence—something we know not what, of the divine, of which we catch a glimpse at intervals, but never obtain a clear view and full knowledge. This presentiment and aspiration which all modern poets have felt, are expressed sometimes, as by Campbell and Wordsworth, in Christian meditations; sometimes, as by Keats and Shelley, in pagan visions. They all felt the palpitation of the great heart of Nature, and wished to penetrate to its recesses, either by way of Judæa or Greece, by means of consecrated dogmas or proscribed doctrines. The greatest of them died in the attempt. Their poetry was mutilated in scaling the lofty height they aspired to mount. Byron alone reached the summit.

Byron was proud and passionate by nature, and inclined to rebel against all established customs and opinions. Only when attacking somebody or thing were his powers brought into [unclear: fell] play. His life and poetry were for the most part those of a [unclear: Skal] transported in to modern times, and who, in a world too well regulated, could find no congenial employment.

Compared with the prodigal splendours of Byron, the writings of Wordsworth and Scott seem dry and poor. Never since æschylus has more tragic pomp been displayed than in some passages in "Childe Harold." Yet he is no mere phrase-maker or scene-painter; he has lived among the scenes he depicts, he has experienced the emotions he recounts. In "Manfred" we observe the two products which civilization has caused to flourish in England, an imperious will and practical talent. If in "Faust Goethe has shown himself the poet of the universe, in "Manfred" Byron has shown himself the poet of the individual; and if the genius of Germany has its interpreter in Goethe, the genius of England has its interpreter in Byron.

"Over and above British cant, there is universal hypocrisy over and above English pedantry, Byron warred against human rascality." This is the true sense of "Don Juan." When he wrote it, experience of life had taught him what man really was the sublime sentiments of "Childe Harold" had vanished from his mind. He had come to regard man as a being who spends the principal portion of his time in sleeping, eating, and [unclear: yawing;] in working like a horse, and amusing himself like a monkey After passing the greater part of life in braving public opinion and employing his poetical powers to defend revolt, he finally took delight in composing a poem directed against all human and poetical conventions. Yet even "Don Juan" languished under his hands. The latter portion lacks the fire and spontaneousness of the earlier. In his longing after novelty and excitement, Byron went to lead a life of action in Greece, and just as he had begun his new career he died.

Looking backwards across the ages in which were produced the literature of which we have written the history, we can now embrace at a glance the whole course of English civilization.

The most important element in it is the principle of race. A body of Angles and Saxons extirpated or subjugated the natives of Britain, effaced all vestiges of Latin culture, and welcomed in the Danish invaders recruits of kindred blood. "This is the aboriginal trunk; from its substance and innate qualities nearly all future vegetation will spring." Beyond a few warlike poems lad a few religious hymns and poems, some of them very remarkable on account of the vehemence and splendour of their style, Anglo-Saxon literature was barren. Excepting that the nation has become Christian, it was nearly as barbarous after the lapse of six centuries as at its origin.

"The empire of this world belongs to the mightiest." Hence the rude Anglo-Saxons succumbed before the more cultured Normans, whose mental resources sufficed to quadruple their bodily powers. The Conquest gave an impress to the history and character of the people which has never been obliterated: it imprinted on their character and history that practical and political bias which distinguishes both from those of other Germanic races. Norman organization repressed the energies, but did not eradicate the innate capacities of the Anglo-Saxons. Their position and necessities forced them to band themselves together against their Norman masters, in order to resist oppression to defend their lives and their properties, to strive to restore their old laws, to obtain or extort charters; and being engaged in this way they gradually acquired those faculties and inclinations by which freedom is won and a nation founded. By a happy accident the Normans were obliged to obtain the aid of their Anglo-Saxon vassals against the encroachments and tyranny of regal power. When the Anglo-Saxon yeomen took their seats in Parliament alongside of the sons of Norman nobles, the social inequality between the two races was at an end. The bulk of the nation had been too much engaged with hard travail to have had any leisure for the cultivation of letters. Hence the prevailing literature was either produced by Norman pens or adapted to Norman tastes. With the exception of ballads, the Anglo-Saxons after the Conquest produced little that is attractive or noteworthy. Only one man towered highly above the rest of his contemporaries—Geoffrey Chaucer. For a second time, we find a civilization of five centuries comparatively sterile, if we except Chaucer's poems, in important literary works.

During the barbaric era a nation of Germans had settled on English soil; the feudal age imposed on that nation habits of resistance and of association, and fostered political and utilitarian tastes. At the period of the European Revival, five great nations started together in the same career. "From all appearance, we should infer that accidents and circumstances controlled their speed, their fall, or their success. Not so; on themselves alone will depend the result; each will prove the founder of his fortune; chance can have no influence over events so vast; national inclinations and national faculties, overturning or raising up obstacles, will irresistibly conduct each to its destined place, some to the lowest depth of decadence, others to the summit of prosperity. After all, man is his own master and his own slave." Look at an Englishman of the sixteenth century, and you will perceive in him the powers and aptitudes which during three centuries will govern his progress and shape his constitution. In the works of Shakespeare, Jonson, and the tragic dramatists, in those of Spenser, Sidney, and the poets, we behold represented with incomparable profundity and splendour all the national traits, as these were moulded and fixed by the events and influences of preceding centuries. By nature and circumstances the nation was prepared to embrace Protestantism, and to manifest the Protestant spirit, which consists in the determination to obtain the mastery over self, and in acting on the conviction that man is a free moral being, who having conceived for himself and in the sight of God what is the rule of conduct, is bound to apply this rule to himself and to others with unflinching energy. This spirit disappeared during the debauch of the Restoration, but reappeared afterwards, and obtained the ascendancy it has ever since retained.

Two principles influenced the literature of the eighteenth century, the desire to copy French models, and the disposition to display English traits. The result was, that such works as essays, pamphlets, parliamentary speeches, political satires, or personal lampoons, were all good in their way, being correctly written, sensible in tone, well adapted either to instruct a friend or pain an adversary. In all works of a high speculative class and of poetry, that literature is extremely poor, if not wholly deficient.

Wealth, education, and prosperity gradually transformed the nation. The fount of poesy which welled forth so copiously during the sixteenth century, welled forth again towards the beginning of the nineteenth, and a new literature arose. The influx of new ideas was perceptible in every branch of this literature. To introduce continental ideas in science and letters was then, as it is now the aim of the most distinguished minds. The men who now labour for this object are patriots as well as innovators: they wish to renew rather than destroy. They know that England is finally established on a sure basis, and that she is more capable than any other nation of future progress without either! forgetting or disregarding the traditions of the past.

Whatever exceptions may be taken to some of M. Taine's doctrines, it is unquestionable that he has mapped out the epochs of English literature with singular originality and precision, that he has analysed the works of the greatest English writers with acuteness, has stated the results of his investigations with a fulness and grasp of thought which denote an acquaintance with that literature at once minute and comprehensive, and an admiration for whatever is noble in it, as genuine as rare. His doctrines, as stated in our sketch, appear to disadvantage; they lack those accessories of illustration and argument which in the work itself illumine and enforce them. The doctrine which underlies all his speculations, that of the influence of race, has never yet been applied to our whole literature by any other writer. Of its importance we are fully aware. That even M. Taine has not applied it with perfect success we attribute to the imperfection of his generalization. The Saxon race is undoubtedly the backbone of the English people; but other races have had an influence on their history and progress. No one who carefully considers the peculiar talents displayed by such very dissimilar yet very national writers as Edmund Burke, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and Thomas Moore can contend that these men displayed much in

common with the Saxon temperament and talent. That Celtic influence has largely modified the Saxon character is rightly, though rather too unreservedly, maintained by Mr. Morley. According to him, "but for early, frequent, and various contact with the race that in its half-barbarous days invented Oisín's dialogues with St. Patrick, and that quickened afterwards the Northmen's blood in France, Germanic England would not have produced a Shakespeare." "It may be said that there is in the unmixed Anglo-Saxon an imagination with deep roots and little flower—solid stem and no luxuriance of foliage. The gay wit of the Celt would pour into the song of a few minutes more phrases of ornament than are to be found in the whole poem of Beowulf." The admission that there has been a Celtic influence at work in English literature would not destroy the value of M. Taine's speculations, it would merely necessitate the reconsideration and enlargement of his doctrine. It is the narrowness, not the tendency, of his doctrine which dissatisfies us.

The absence of a detailed account of the origin, progress, and character of English journalism is a great blemish in a work purporting to be a history of English Literature. This omission may be remedied in a future edition, as well as several trifling errors of detail, which on a careful revisal of the work must become apparent to its author. When reviewing a work so valuable and masterly as this one, we gladly exchange what Chateaubriand styled the paltry and meagre criticism of faults, for the large and prolific criticism of beauties. The beauties predominate. As a piece of historical composition, this history has few equals in our day. As a gallery of pictures, it rivals the matchless work of Macaulay; as a statement of philosophical views, it more than rivals the pregnant disquisitions of the late Mr. Buckle.

No other history of our literature can match M. Taine's in comprehensive grasp of thought, brilliancy of style, and trustworthiness of statement. It deserves a conspicuous place in every library filled with the immortal works of which it narrates the history, explains the character, and magnifies the excellence. English literature now owes the same debt to a French author which that of Italy owes to a Frenchman, that of Germany to an Englishman, and that of Spain to an American. If we would understand the history of Italian literature, we must turn to us the work of Ginguené; if we would comprehend the greatest genius that Germany has produced, we must peruse Mr. Lewes's life of Goethe. Whoever desires to become acquainted with the literary talent which Spaniards displayed before their intellectual powers had been repressed by the tyranny of the Inquisition, had been dwarfed and blighted by superstition and religious bigotry, must turn for information to the great work of Mr. Ticknor. Until superseded by a better history than any yet produced, M. Taine's masterly volumes will supply the best and most finished picture that can be found of the noble literature of England.

Art. VII.—The Philosophy of Roger Bacon.

- *Fratis Rogeri Bacon, Opus Majus, à Samuele Jebb. [unclear: Londini] editum. 1738.*
- *Fratis Rogeri Bacon: Opus Tertium, Opus Minus, Compendium Philosophise.* Edited by J. S. BREWER. London 1859.
- *Roger Bacon: sa Vie, ses Ouvrages, ses Doctrines.* Par Emile Charles. Paris. 1861.
- *Histoire des Sciences Naturelles au Moyen Age.* Par F, A POUCHET. Paris. 1853.

Educated people are for the most part agreed that social and political revolutions are caused by changes in the state of opinion. Any rational account of events thus becomes an account of the ideas which have governed those events, and the philosophy of history and the history of philosophy are in effect resolved into one. But the substitution of one belief for another is rarely direct and immediate. In individuals generally and always in societies, there is a transition period, more or less marked both in duration and intensity, of doubt, hesitation, and questioning. It was thus that, in the history of science, the negative method of Zeno divided the abstract physical theories of the Ionic school from the more precise views which Aristotle [unclear: tained] on the nature of the material world; it was thus that, in the history of morals, a complete body of Ethics was disengaged, by the questioning of Socrates, from the confusion of physical and metaphysical ideas which had previously obscured it; and in a later age, in obedience to the same law, Theology itself entered upon its most dogmatic phase under the hand of Aquinas, after [unclear: Ablard] had shown the difficulties which beset any systematic statement of religious doctrine.

The negative method, as such, has therefore a definite place in the order of speculation, and plays a part, and by no means an unimportant one, in those successive changes of belief from which great events arise. But the degree of its influence and the permanence of its effects vary with the source from which it springs. The suspense produced by a conflict of opinion with opinion in what is called metaphysical science, ends either in a mere balance of judgment, or else refers the inquirer back by some different road to his original point of departure. In either case it is equally and wholly negative. The suspense produced by the conflict of phenomena with opinion in physical science produces, first, distrust, then inquiry, and leads, finally, to proof. It is, then negative in its inception and positive in its result.

The history of the natural sciences becomes therefore a very important consideration for whoever desires to

trace the course of European civilization: for there is no pursuit which so directly [*unclear: ds*] to keep alive the habit of watchful inquiry as the study of Nature,—none in which it is more necessary that men should be hard of belief and suspicious of any evidence short of the best,—none in which credulity is so immediately punished by error,—none through whose whole course from its simplest to its most complex form, an open and a balanced intellect is more constantly necessary. This habit of mind is the result of the physical method, and is perfectly independent of the positive value of the acquisitions of the particular sciences to which that method is applied. It may be found, and is found, in times when, owing to the absence of some necessary condition, the course of discovery has seemed to be arrested or diverted into a barren channel. But, whenever found, it has not failed to react upon social life by preparing the way for those changes of opinion upon which the structure of society ultimately rests.

It is chiefly from this point of view that the philosophical system of Roger Bacon deserves to be considered at this day. No additions to our positive knowledge are to be looked for from the labours even of the wisest of the schoolmen. But the class of thinkers of whom Bacon has come down to us as the representative in the thirteenth century, exercised an influence on mediæval history which it is worth while to attempt to understand. In the midst of an almost universal slavery, they kept alive the traditions of liberty; they vindicated the right of free inquiry even in matters in which it is unimportant whether they were right or wrong,—in the barren fields of metaphysics, and in the investigation of mysteries which they could not hope to understand;—and they did this in the face of persecution, in spite of Popes and Bishops and General Councils of the Church. Such men were Roscellinus, Abélard, and Roger Bacon.

The thirteenth century was a period of reconstruction and change throughout the whole of western Europe. It witnessed in France the substitution of an absolute monarchy for a [*unclear: feudel*] league; in Germany, the establishment of the territorial sovereignty of the princes; in Spain, the emancipation of the people from the dominion of the Moors; and in England, the fusion of the Norman and Anglo-Saxon races into one organic whole. During its course there was seen, both in France, in Germany, and in England, the creation of a national language and the dawn of a national literature. It was then that, by obtaining municipal privileges, the towns first became of account in European States; it was then that the people took rank with the nobles and the king as an acknowledged part of the nation.

These constitutional changes all point to some antecedent change in the state of thought and opinion; and contemporary history makes it clear that, from one cause or another, the Intellectual world had been deeply stirred. The revolt of the albigensian churches, the rise of the Mendicant Orders, the rapid extension of universities throughout the Continent, are only some of the forms in which this movement was manifested. Its main cause we believe to have been the sudden impulse given to speculation by the introduction of the Arabian texts into the studies of western Europe. Nor will this cause seem inadequate to the effect, when it is remembered that it was through the writings of Averroes alone that the schoolmen became first acquainted [*unclear: wa*] the physical works of Aristotle. Under the influence of those writings, of the questions to which they gave rise, and of the methods which they suggested, there grew up a degree of scepticism which had not been seen before, and which the material in the hands of even the boldest thinkers of preceding ages were not fitted to develop. It is true that those eminent men had made the most of the problems before them. Out of the doubt of Porphyry regarding the nature of genus and species—a question, as M. Cousin well observes,

Abélard, p. 240.

scarcely worthy to occupy the dreams of philosophers, rose the theory of Nominalism. In Roscellinus culminated the scepticism of that first period. When it had been established that universal terms did not exist at all, that they were mere words, and when the principle of Nominalism had been applied to almost the only Christian doctrine to which it is directly applicable,—the dogma of the Trinity—speculative criticism reached the limit at which, having regard to the materials before it, it was obliged to pause. With a somewhat wider range of subject, by playing the theory of Nominalism against the theory of Realism; by constructing a method of logical criticism, and using that method in theology; above all, by the fruitful idea of balancing the evidence for and against a given proposition, Abélard, the pupil of Roscellinus, carried still further the freedom of opinion, and struck the first blow at authority. But we remember what Abélard did, we should not forget with what instruments he did it.

The "Timæus" in the version of Chalcidius, the two introductory treatises of the "Organon" in the translation of Boethius, four logical commentaries by Boethius himself, and the introduction of Porphyry, form the sum of the external aids to speculation in the twelfth century. But in the early part of the thirteenth century a large addition was made to the materials of thought: many original works of Averroes were translated for the first time, and several treatises on natural science, chiefly in the departments of medicine, mathematics, and astronomy—the work of Siding Arabic doctors—became known. The "Logics" of Aristotle were completed in a Latin version from the same source; and to them was added the more suggestive parts of the Peripatetic philosophy, especially the Physics,

"Tempore Michaelis Scoti, qui annis 1230 transactis apparuit deferens librorum Aristotelis partes aliquas de naturalibus et mathematicis, cum expositoribus sapientibus magnificata est Aristotelis philosophia apud Latinos."—Baon, *Opus Majus*, c. 36. It is probable that, as M. Renan points out, this date indicates the time at which Roger Bacon first became acquainted with the translations of Michael Scot. One of these bears the date 1217, and we know that they were all done about the same time at Toledo. the Metaphysics, and the Nicomachean Ethics. At Toledo, and at the Court of the Hohenstaufen, a regular staff of translators was constantly engaged, of whom Herman of Germany and William of Flanders are the best known, and also, if we may trust Bacon, among the worst.

Herman, like Michael Scot, was in the service of the Hohenstaufen. "Hermannus Alemannus, et translator Manfredi, nuper à D. rege Carolo devicti," says Bacon, *Opus Tertium*, c. 25. He translated the glosses of Alfarabius on Rhetoric as equivalent to that work, and the abridgment of the Poetics, by Averroes, as equivalent to the Poetics. Aristotle's latter treatise was not known in the Middle Ages, except by this translation of Averroes' [*unclear*: abridguess] "Male translatus est," says Bacon of it, "nec potest sciri, nec adhuc in usu [*unclear*: vuest] quia nuper venit ad Latinos, et cum defectu translationis, et cum squalore." —*Opus Majus*, c. 36. "Hermannus quidem Allemannus—de libris [*unclear*: logicæ] busdam quos habuit transferendos in Arabico, dixit ore rotundo quod [*unclear*: negseive] logicam. Nec Arabicum verum scivit, ut confessus est, sed Sarracenos [*unclear*: ten] in Hispania qui fuerunt in suis translationibus principales. Et sic de [*unclear*: Michaelae] certum est. quod Andreas quidam Judæus plus laboravit in his operibus [*unclear*: quam] ipse."—"Omnes autem alii ignoraverunt linguas et scientias et maxime like Willelmus Flamingus."—*Compend. Studii*, c. 10.

It was to be expected that the introduction of so much new matter would give a fresh impulse to the progress of free thought. Given the "Physics" of Aristotle with which to work, the question could scarcely remain where it had been placed by Abélard, on the basis of his Logics. Natural science being the subject of all others in which our knowledge first assumes a positive form, it is there that we may hope to find the most strongly-marked indications of that questioning habit of mind which is equally the condition and the result of progress in positive philosophy. With these motives and advantages, what did the thirteenth century add to the conception handed down to it by the twelfth century? How far does the doctrine of Bacon supplement and extend that of Abélard? To give an effective reply to these questions, we should understand clearly to what point critical inquiry had been carried before his time. It had not gone further than to weight negative instances against positive assertions. Abélard had simply followed the advice given to the youthful Socrates; he had considered not only what was, but what was not. He formed tables of *antitheta*, something like those in the Sixth Book of the "De Augustinis," and he placed on each side quotations from the Fathers, from the Bible, and from Greek and Roman writers for and against the several propositions. But he expressly refrained from drawing a conclusion, or from pronouncing any opinion on the value of authority as such. Bacon's first efforts were directed to a solution of the problem left thus incomplete. The question he put to himself was this—Within what limits, and within any limits to what extent, are we to be bound by the *dicta* of past and present ages? Is the statement of Aristotle conclusive on a question of science? Is the teaching of the Church conclusive on a doctrine of religion? If so, may we safely rely on the authority of a commentator as expressing the mind of Aristotle, or on a *dictum* of a Father as expounding the opinion of the Church? On this latter point he gives a decided reply. His advice is in all cases—refer to the original writings to endeavour to ascertain the facts with which you propose to deal. Aristotle, in the shape in which he is presented, is utterly untrustworthy.

"I am sure," cries Bacon, "that it would have been better for the Latins had the Aristotelian philosophy never been translated, than done so obscurely and perversely, as is proved by those who spend twenty or thirty years upon it, and the harder they work the less they know and as I have myself proved in the case of all who have closely followed the books of Aristotle."

"Certus igitur sum quod melius esset latinis quod sapientia [*unclear*: Aristotelis] translata esset, quam tali obscuritate et perversitate tradita, sicut eis qui [*unclear*: nunt] ibi triginta vel viginti annos, et quanto plus laboraverunt, tanto minus [*unclear*: unt] probatur, et sicut ego probavi in omnibus qui libris Aristotelis [*unclear*: adhæse-] —*Compend. Studii.*, c. x.

In theology no less than in philosophy bad translations prevail; the text of the Vulgate is for the most part horribly corrupt—"Textus est pro majori parte corruptas horribiliter," as he idiomatically puts it;—even the saints blundered in their translations, and if so, adds Bacon, much more those who cared little or nothing about sanctity.

"it si sancti erraverunt in suis translationibus multo magis alii qui [*unclear*: parum] nihil de sanctitate curarent."—*Compend. Studii*, c. x.

St. Jerome is the only writer who can be relied on, but as he stood alone and in opposition to the ancient habit of the church, he was sometimes afraid to give the proper rendering.

"Sed quia solus fuit et contrarius antiquæ consuetudini ecclesiæ non [*unclear*: ausus] transferre omnino ut

oportuit."—*Opus Majus*, p. 34. See *Opus Tertium*, p. 92.

And when he did he incurred no little odium as a tamperer with the letter of Scripture. In vain he pointed out the errors of the Septuagint; every one stood up for the translation of the Seventy as if their life had depended on it—"Omnes stabant maxime pro translatione LXX. sicut pro vita."

Opus Majus, Pars Tertia, c. i.

Jerome, therefore, lest he should frighten his contemporaries with too much novelty, admits that he allowed many passages to stand which he knew to be wrong.

It is this rooted conviction of the utter worthlessness of all the translations of his day, which makes Bacon place grammar on the threshold of his philosophy. "There are five things," says he, "without which neither Divine nor human subjects can be known; of which the first is grammar;"

Ibid., ad init.

he then observes on the differences of idiom and the impossibility of preserving the spirit of the original in a translation, and concludes that unless the sciences are read in the language in which they are written, they had better not be read at all. It is, of course, unnecessary to say that Bacon did not confine the term grammar to the restricted meaning it usually bears; he meant by it the general Knowledge of a language, as well as of its structure. Nor did he pause here. He seems to have had an idea of comparative grammar and of the existence of some laws regulating the forms of universal speech. "Substantially, grammar is the same in all languages, although it has accidental variations."

"Grammatica una et eadem est secundum substantiam in omnibus [*unclear: lic*] accidentaliter varietur."—*Gram. Græc.* Ms. c. i., quoted by M. [*unclear: Ch*] p. 263.

The Schoolmen would have avoided many blunders into which they have fallen had this hint been acted on.

Philological criticism, however, carried to its utmost point only enables us to be sure that we understand the meaning of the writer before us. Having ascertained his opinion, how far are we bound by it? The general practice of scholasticism was decisive on the point. Whatever had been handed down from antiquity was admitted without inquiry as authoritative; whatever a father of the Church or a writer of reputation chose to say on any subject whatever was final; whatever was believed by a man's superiors, he himself was bound to believe.

"Matris exempla sequitur filia, patris filius, domini servus, prælati [*unclear: sub*] magistri discipulus. Nec discernimus a juventute exempla [*unclear: seniorum*] imitanda vel non; sed passim omnia recipimus tanquam salutifera cum [*unclear: tas*] ut in pluribus et frequentius sint pestiferæ: tam in studio quam in vita."—*Compen. Studii*, c. iii. p. 415. (Ed. Brew.)

You might quote a poet on a matter of philosophy, you might quote a divine on a matter of taste—it mattered not; if they were old and if they were respectable, their opinion was equally binding. In science as in religion, in what cases soever any one of these three sanctions—the sanction of time, of name, or of position—could be invoked, the jurisdiction of independent judgment was in effect ousted.

Bacon's criticism on this standard of belief is substantially as follows:—As to the sanction of age, he observes, sensibly enough, that the ancients as such are no wiser than the moderns; on the contrary, somewhat less so, since later generations inherit the labours of their predecessors, and have always made additions and corrections to what they received.

"Posteriores successione temporum ingrediuntur labores [*unclear: priorum*]-semper posteriores addiderunt ad opera priorum et multa correxerunt et [*unclear: pla*] mutaverunt, sicut maxime per Aristotelem patet qui omnes sententias præcedentium discussit."—*Opus Majus*, c. vi.

And therefore, while antiquity is to be respected, it is not necessarily to be followed; the presumption is against an opinion which is merely old: the past is liable to the errors of the present, and is without several of those aids which the present enjoys.

As to the respect due to individual men, this was a matter of some delicacy, on which his position as the correspondent of the Pope led to considerable reserve. But he ventures to say that Aristotle was ignorant on several subjects: he did very well for his time—*secundum possibilitatem sui temporis*—but was by no means infallible. Avicenna is sometimes grossly wrong; even [*unclear: Avert*] is open to criticism. These, however, are all scientific writers: with regard to the saints and fathers his opinion seems to have varied. In the "Opus Majus"

"Opus Majus," c. i.

he expressly excludes them from his strictures on authority. "I by no means intend that solid and true authority which is either granted to the Church by the will of God, or which is naturally engendered in the sacred philosophers and prophets through their merit and dignity." But in a later work, the "Compendium of Theology," written after his imprisonment, he allows that the saints are not infallible—that they have often blundered, and advanced much which is open to doubt. In reality, we suspect Bacon felt that there was very little difference between Aristotle and St. Augustin.

As to the claims of living men, of whatever place or condition, to lead opinion, that was a presumption not to be endured. Against those who pretended thus to control thought he pours out, in the most unmeasured language, accusations of vanity and of ignorance. His criticism of the principle of authority cannot be better summed up than in the following remarkable passage: "Authority is worth nothing unless a reason for it be given; it makes us believe, but does not make us understand; we yield to authority, but we are not convinced by it."

"Auctoritas non sapit nisi detur ejus ratio nec dat intellectum sed [*unclear: credutatem*], credimus enim auctoritati, sed non propter eam intelligimus."—[*unclear: Com*] *Studii* p. 397. (Ed. Brew.)

On a careful review of all that Bacon has said on this subject, and making the necessary allowances for the indecisive manner in which he occasionally speaks, his criticism of the grounds of belief is seen to mark a clear advance on that of any former mediæval thinker. He first pointed out the difference between the assent which proceeds from not thinking of a thing, from custom, from hero worship, and that which is grounded on a conscious act of the intelligence; he first protested against being obliged to receive a statement as true because some one else held it to be so: to the assertion that learned men are to be believed, he first added the limitation, "in the matters in which they are learned;" and he put the doctrine of the wisdom of the ancients on the footing on which it has ever since remained.

Next to the irrational following of authority, the great defect of the mediæval philosophy was the extreme prominence it gave to the deductive method. That method, as Lord Bacon observes, is no match for the subtlety of nature; it therefore forces our assent, but has no power over the fact. The weakness here pointed out was as keenly apprehended by Roger Bacon as by the author of the "Novum Organon." Says the former: "There are two modes by which we know, namely, argument and experiment. Argument shuts up the question, and makes us shut it up too; but it gives no proof of it, nor does it remove doubt, and cause the mind to rest in the conscious possession of truth, unless the truth is discovered by the way of experience;" and then he illustrates by examples what he means: "If a man who had never seen fire were to prove, by satisfactory argument, that fire burns, the hearer's mind would not rest contented with this, nor would he avoid the fire, until, by putting his hand or some combustible substance into it, he had proved, by his own experience, the fact which he had been taught by reasoning. And this holds even in mathematics, where demonstration is most powerful; for let any one have the clearest proof about an equilateral triangle, yet, without experience of it, his mind will never hold to the question, nor will he care for the proof until experience has been given him, but then the man accepts the conclusion in all quietness."

"Duo sunt modi cognoscendi scilicet per argumentum et experimentum Argumentum concludit et facit nos concludere quæstionera sed non [*unclear: certi*] neque removet dubitationem, ut quiescat animus in intuitu veritatis [*unclear: nisi*] inveniatur via experientiæ. Si enim aliquis homo qui nunquam vidit [*unclear: ig*] probavit per argumenta sufficientia quod ignis comburit—nunquam [*unclear: propter*] quiesceret animus audientis nec ignem vitaret antequam poneret [*unclear: manum*] rem combustibilem ad ignem ut per experientiam probaret quod argumentum edocebat.—Et hoc habet in mathematicis ubi est potissima [*unclear: demonstratio*] vero habet demonstrationem potissimam de triangulo æquilatere sine experientia nunquam adhærebit animus quæstioni nec curabit sed negliget [*unclear: usquequ*] detur ei experientia,—sed tunc recipit homo conclusionem cum omni quiete."—*Opus Majus*, p. 336. (Venice Ed.)

Argument, then, according to Roger Bacon, merely terminates the discussion, but does not prove the fact—"Concludit quæstionem sed non certificat;" according to Lord Bacon, it binds our assent, but does not coerce things—"Assensum itaque astringit non res."

"Nov. Org.," Aph. 13.

To this faulty instrument of investigation Bacon opposes experience. He does not confine himself to vague praises of the advantages of the experimental method, but lays down a scientific doctrine on the subject, and distinguishes with perfect correctness direct and indirect experience,—experiment and observation.

"There are," he remarks, "two kinds of experience, of which we one acts through the external senses, and is that by which, aided with instruments, we have our knowledge of the heavenly bodies. This experience does not satisfy us, inasmuch as it does not give accurate information about bodies, owing to the extreme difficulty of applying it.

"De Scientia Experimentalis," c. 1.

The other kind is the one which alone can give us a complete experience of what nature and art can do, and in such a manner that all error is eliminated and truth only remains. This science has three great prerogatives in respect of the other sciences. One is, that it investigates their conclusions by experience: for the other sciences derive their principles from experience, but draw their conclusions by argument from the principles so established; but if they wish for a particular and complete verification of their conclusions, they must have recourse to the science of experiment."

"Opus Majus," p. 338.

Elsewhere the same idea is expressed in somewhat different language—

"There are three ways by which we can arrive at truth: authority, which only produces assent, and which requires to be justified by reason; argument, whose most certain conclusions are wanting unless they are verified; and experience, which is of itself sufficient."

Ibid., ad fin.

While reading these passages, we seem to be already breathing the air of the sixteenth century. In the works of no other writer up to that time do we find the procedure of science described with equal force and conviction; nor has even Lord Bacon related with more precision the conditions and the effects of the process on which the foundations of experimental inquiry are laid.

In contrasting the system above described with the speculations of the most advanced thinkers of the twelfth century, one can scarcely avoid the inference that its great scientific superiority is due to the new direction which had been given to study since their time. A scepticism produced by metaphysics alone might possibly have led to an equally trenchant criticism of the claims of authority to command assent; but it certainly would not have led to any limitation of syllogistic reasoning, nor could it have supplied a motive for appealing to experience to verify the conclusions which that reasoning supplies. No one whose attention had not been early called to the observation of natural phenomena would have entertained the notion of testing results as well as ascertaining principles. But such a man would soon be convinced that even the apparently strictest inference may be eluded by what Lord Bacon calls the subtilty of nature: he would learn in his practice the necessity of measuring each step by the standard of fact. And among those Franciscans who were constantly engaged in the treatment of disease, some doubts of the value of the syllogistic process, some reliance on observation and experience, would surely spring up. But so far as we know, it was only in the mind of Roger Bacon that these doubts crystallized into a system, and that the interpretation of nature is consciously preferred to the anticipation of it.

"Rationem humanam qua utimur ad naturam, anticipations Naturæ (quia res temeraria est et præmatura), at illam rationem quæ debitis modis elicitur a rebus, *Interpretationem Naturæ* docendi gratia vocare consuevimus."—*Nov. Org.* 26.

It would be unfair not to own that Bacon's practice was frequently behind his theory. Notwithstanding his forcible language about the prerogatives of experimental science and his bitter invectives against frail and unworthy authority, we find him occasionally resting on authority with childlike faith, and treating his favourite science as if its only prerogative was to provoke a smile. The most striking and valuable part of the "*Opus Majus*" is the treatise with which it concludes, "On Experimental Science. In this treatise Bacon points out several vulgar errors which have crept in owing to the willingness of the world to accept facts on mere report: he instances the belief that adamant can only be split by goat's blood, that hot water freezes sooner than cold, and many other like cases. Presently he enters upon the consideration of how health may be preserved and old age retarded, and this leads to some examples of the wonderful power of certain herbs and unguents. They are, in truth, sufficiently remarkable. We pass over the man mentioned by Pliny, who put a great deal of oil inside and outside his body, by means of which he was enabled to preserve the vigour of manhood to his hundredth year.

"*Opus Majus*," p. 355.

Our attention is first arrested by a story told of an old woman in the diocese of Norwich, in Bacon's own time. She had eaten nothing, he assures us, for twenty years: "And yet she was fat and in good condition, as the Bishop proved by a careful examination of her."

"Et fuit pinguis et in bono statu, nullam superfluitatem emittens de corpore sicut probavit episcopus per fidelem examinationem."—*Opus Minus*, p. 373. (Ed. Brew.)

"Nor," he adds, "was this a miracle, but a work of nature." More notable still is the account of an experiment instituted by a certain philosopher at Paris. This sage observing the longevity of the serpent tribe in general, determined to find out their secret. To this end he caught a snake, and with a most praiseworthy devotion to the method of direct experiment, proceeded to cut it up into small pieces, taking care, however, to leave the skin of the belly entire. What was thus left of the snake crawled as well as it could to a certain herb, on touching which it was immediately made whole. "The experimenter then joyfully gathered the leaves of the plant, which were of an admirable greenness."

"*Opus Majus*," p. 534.

The greenness which is most to be admired is not that of the plant.

Hitherto Bacon's teaching has been viewed from its purely logical side. We find him laying down the canons of belief, and distinguishing the functions of the ratiocinative and inductive processes. What were the subjects to which the weapons thus prepared were to be applied? What was his theory of science as a whole, and in what order or relation did he conceive its parts? In the "*Compendium Studii*" he addressed himself particularly to this question.

"In everything which we wish to learn we should employ the best possible method, . . . and this method consists in studying those subjects which precede in the order of science, before those which follow in that order; and in learning what is easy before what is difficult, the general before the particular, the less before the greater. We should also choose the most select and useful studies, because life is short."

Sed ad omnia scienda modus optimus requiritur. . . . Modus enim est [unclear: at] priora in ordine doctrinae sciuntur ante posteriora, et faciliora ante [unclear: diffici], et communia ante propria, et minora ante majora, ut manifestum est; et [unclear: at] electis et utilibus fiat occupatio studentium, quia vita brevis est"—Compend. Studii, p. 379. (Ed. Brew.)

These words tempt one to inquire whether Bacon had any idea of arranging the sciences in an order corresponding to the order of their study; whether, in short, he had conceived a classification proceeding from simple to complex, from general to particular. There are passages which might almost lead us to suppose that he did; indeed, the order in which the divisions of philosophy are placed in the "Opus Majus" itself—commencing with mathematics, proceeding to optics, and ending with physiology—favours such a view. But an attentive examination of his writings must satisfy the reader that this arrangement is only accidental, or rather that it was prompted by what Bacon considered to be the practical wants of his time, and not by any theory of the relation of the sciences between themselves. His classification, however, whatever might have been its motive, shows a marked improvement on that which commonly prevailed. It was at all events original, and not inaccurate. The ordinary classification, when it was anything more than a repetition of the order of the [unclear: vium] and *quadrivium*, was a mere copy of the accidental manner in which Aristotle's works followed one another.

We have already observed on the leading place which grammar holds in Roger Bacon's system. It is the "prima porta sapientiae,"

"Opus Tertium," c. 28, p. 102. (Ed. Brew.)

the door through which all must pass before they can hope to reach the shrine. It is therefore more strictly an antecedent condition of science in general, than the first of the special sciences. This place belongs to mathematics, and the study of them is insisted upon with all the more earnestness because, notwithstanding their importance, they have been almost wholly neglected.

"Very few are found acquainted with mathematics: it is the devil who has managed this, in order that the roots of human wisdom may not be known. For this science is the alphabet of philosophy, and never can a man learn anything worth knowing unless he is acquainted with its powers."

"Opus Tertium," c. 20, p. 66.

The neglect into which this pursuit has fallen during the last thirty or forty years has destroyed the whole course of study in Europe.

"Opus Majus," Pars Quarta, ad init.

Bacon then traces the outline of the mathematical sciences to the number of eight. Four are speculative—namely geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music, each having its corresponding art or practical division.

It would be a long and not a very profitable task to follow Bacon through the various applications of mathematics set out in the Fourth Part of the "Opus Majus." It is the place which he assigns it in his scheme, and his view of its method and uses which chiefly arrest our attention. Abandoning any vague and poetic speculations on the properties of numbers and harmony he concentrates his attention on the qualities of the science as an instrument of proof; and thence proceeds to enlarge on its value in the various operations of life. He finds that under both heads mathematics deserves to be called the key of the science.

"Harum scientiarum porta et clavis est mathematica."—*Opus [unclear: Ma]* p. 43. (Venice Edit.)

In every other subject there is room for doubt: in physics nothing is necessarily true: morals have no principles peculiar to themselves: demonstration is found in this science alone. Even logic, the so-called mistress of proof, borrows from mathematics ever conclusive power it possesses: its *principle* is the theory of the categories, and quantity governs all the other predicaments its *mean* is the theory of demonstration, and the only perfect demonstration is in mathematics; its *end* is persuasion,

By logic Bacon means syllogistic logic, of which he had a very [unclear: low]. He did not recognise *proof* as belonging specially to it.

and rhetoric and poetry are dependent on the laws of harmony—that is to say, on a special department of mathematical science. Turning from the speculative to the practical side, he considers the science of number and quantity in reference to the well-being of man and to the industrial arts generally. Under this had Bacon describes at length the operations to which the relation of quantity may be usefully applied; such are the construction of houses and towns—of canals, aqueducts, and ships—[unclear: of] chines for flying and propelling vessels without oars. Given the reins to his imagination, he enumerates various instrument for raising without difficulty the heaviest weights and [unclear: dragga] anything along the surface of the ground at

pleasure. In this manner, he assures his readers, a single man can pull a thousand others after him.

To produce such effects, Bacon justly thought that several improvements on the instruments in use would be needed. These improvements fall within the range of practical geometry, which is accordingly divided into seven sections, corresponding to as many sciences. The first division embraces the aids and appliances requisite for astronomy and astrology; the second, musical instruments; the third, optical instruments, such as plane, spherical, and concave mirrors; the fourth, the instruments of what is specially called experimental science; the two remaining divisions deal with the instruments of medicine, surgery, and alchemy.

Bacon had a very definite idea of the means by which he proposed to regenerate the arts of life. In the first place, skilled mathematicians would be required. Unfortunately, in his time, [*unclear: here*] were only four: Peter of Maricourt, John of London, Campana of Navarre, and Master Nicolas. Accordingly, he "notes this part as deficient." Then an almanac and astronomical tables are wanted. He proposes to educate ten or twelve boys, and keep them at work in registering the places of the planets from hour to hour. When this is done, we shall be able to read each day what passes in the heavens, as we read in the calendar the feasts of the saints. Clement's assistance is urgently entreated to aid this part of the work.

The reform of the Calendar, as is well known, was a favourite subject with Bacon. He calls the attention of the Pope to the [*unclear: rrors*] which have grown up from the lack of precision in calculating the length of the year. Its real length, he points out, [*unclear: is*] by 1/130 part of a day than the period actually assigned. Hence, in every one hundred and thirty years a clay too much is added. The result is that the feasts of the Church are held on the wrong days: Easter is celebrated out of its time, and the faithful eat meat when they should be fasting. "Horrible and vile errors spring from this neglect; the devil himself has devised this evil against the Church, taking advantage of its ignorance and carelessness."

It is mite clear that Bacon understood the principle on which the Calendar ought to have been corrected, and that he was very near the truth in the actual calculations which he furnished to the Pope. Had they been acted upon, Clement IV. might have robbed his successor of the praise of having carried out the reform which has ever since been associated with the name of Gregory XIII. By what means he calculated so approximately the period of the vernal equinox, which he takes as a point of departure, it is not easy to say. Cuvier thinks that he must have used the telescope; but, as we shall hereafter show, it is improbable that he was acquainted with the instrument. He *may* have borrowed his views from an Arabian source.

The mechanism of the heavens engaged Bacon's particular attention, not less from the influence which he conceived the stars to exert on terrestrial phenomena than from the confusion he observed in the attempts to explain their motions. He describes and examines the hypothesis of Ptolemy, as well as the explanations of several Arabian astronomers. That which most struck him in the Ptolemaic system was the complication of excentrics and epicycles, against which he protests, adopting in preference the theory of a single movement advanced by Alpetragius. He does not arrive thus far without some hesitation, and it seems a serious matter to oppose an authority so eminent as Ptolemy; but after all, "it is better to preserve the order of nature and to contradict sense, which is often at fault, especially in very distant objects.

"Melius est salvare ordinem naturæ et contradicere sensui, qui [*unclear: multo*] deficit et præipue in magna distantia."

"He by no means shared the opinion of Plato, that there was anything special in the circumstances of heavenly bodies unfitting them to be a subject of human science. But the real facts were to be obtained rather by the aid of abstract reasoning than by reliance on such imperfect means of observation as could be supplied. It was in mathematics alone that he laid the foundations of his astronomy,

"His principiis et hujusmodi datis per vias geometriæ potest homo [*unclear: vericare*] omnem actionem naturæ, quia omnis Veritas circa operationem agentis is medium, vel in materiam generabilem, vel in cœlestia, sumit ortum mediate vel immediate ex jam dictis et quibusdam aliis."—*Opus Majus*, p. 57. ([*unclear: Velence*] edit.)

and this constitutes at once the strength and the weakness of his method. His reasons, to tell the truth, are on these subjects very inferior to his conclusions. For example, he maintains, in opposition to Aristotle, that the fixed stars do not shine with a reflected light; but then he asserts that the moon does not do so either. The passage offers a fair example of his way of reasoning on these subjects. "The whole crowd of students suppose that the light which comes to us from the moon and stars is the sun's light reflected from their surfaces; but this is impossible because of the equality of the angles of incidence and reflection. For, as has been shown, if this were so, the angle of incidence and the angle of reflection would necessarily be equal. Therefore, any given ray would only strike a determinate part of the earth's surface, and would not only everywhere, and so of the whole light which comes from [*unclear: the*] to the surface of the moon. For it may be all treated as one falling on the moon at unequal angles, and being reflected in a ascertained direction. Light so coming to the earth could only illuminate a particular part of the horizon. We see, however, that it illumines our whole hemisphere as the sun does. Therefore the light proceeding from the moon and stars is not reflected."

"Opus Majus," p. 58.

The phenomenon of scintillation excited his keenest curiosity. There is nothing which we see so often, whose reason we less understand:

"Nihil tam totiens videmus cujus causam minus sciamus."—*Opus Majus*, p. 249.

it is "a philosophical difficulty. Nor is his manner of dealing with it unphilosophical. He begins by Mating the facts. The planets are not observed to twinkle; the fixed stars, on the contrary, do. Is this owing merely to their distance? Bacon concludes that other conditions are requisite; for some of the smallest and most distant stars show no signs of scintillation. Various hypotheses are then examined at length: at last, by a rejection of instances not unworthy to be called Baconian, the conclusion is arrived at, that three causes contribute to produce the phenomenon: the effort which the eye makes to observe a very distant object; a sufficient brightness in the body looked at; and a trembling of the medium.

Ibid. p. 252.

Bacon was acquainted with the phenomenon of refraction, and with the fact of the deviation of light passing through the atmosphere: he correctly explains why the sun, moon, and stars, appear larger when near the horizon; and what he says about falling stars is not far from the truth—that they are small bodies, which in their course through the air seem luminous, owing to the rapidity with which they move.

Ibid. p. 321.

Bacon's "Physics" are in conception and treatment very inferior to his works on what may be called applied mathematics. They are not easy to understand, and we think ill repay the labour of attempting to understand them. Far more of mere metaphysical speculation enters into them than is found in any of his other treatises; and as readers at this day are naturally impatient of discussions on *essence, substance, nature, power*, and the like, we must confine ourselves to mentioning some of the more valuable theories and facts which are contained in this part of his works.

We have made use of M. Charles's excellently-written chapter (pp. 277-295) in describing this part of Bacon's system.

Although the treatise "On the Multiplication of Species," which forms the fifth part of the "Opus Majus," is perhaps more open to the charge of being entangled with what Bacon elsewhere calls "divisions according to Porphyry,"

"Divisiones Porphyrianæ."

than any other portion of his writings it almost redeems this defect by the soundness of some of its general maxims. There we find an emphatic protest against looking for the cause of a phenomenon in its form: the true way to judge of it is, says the author, by observing the effect, action being the end of every operative force;

"Nam finis et utilitas completa virtutum agentium est actio."—*Opus Tertium*, c. xxxvi. p. 115. (Edit. Brew)

there, too, we find frequent mentions of "rules" and "laws," to the ascertainment of which Bacon attaches a high value. This positive habit of mind perpetually exhibits itself even where it would least be expected. The philosophy of Roger Bacon seems always to be tending in the direction of art: on whatever kind of abstract speculation he is engaged, if he sees the slightest opening for doing anything, or still more for making anything, he comes down at once from the clouds, and immediately sets to work. Even some of his chapters in the "Multiplication of Species" are relieved by this happy propensity. There is one which begins in a somewhat formidable manner: "The consideration of the action of natural powers is of the highest importance." Very soon, however, we find ourselves reading the description of a speculum which had been made by an unnamed workman, known to Bacon, for the express purpose of showing some of his experiments. Twelve such glasses, Bacon assures the Pope, would enable the Crusaders, without bloodshed, to defeat the Saracens; "nor would it be in the least necessary for the King of France to go abroad with his army; but if he *should* go, and be so lucky as to get the workman in question to go with him, he might dispense with the greater part of his army, not to say the whole." We believe Bacon himself to have been the maker of the speculum which he mentions; and if so, the way in which he refers to the matter is not without art. For he goes on to say that the artificer was mulct in one hundred Parisian pounds by his labour, besides having to lay aside his studies and other necessary operations: yet so disinterested is he that one thousand marks he would not have neglected the work, both for the love of science and because his experience will enable him to make better and cheaper glasses in future. "For he is very wise, and nothing is difficult to him, *if only he had money*."

"Nam sapientissimus est, et nihil ei difficile est, nisi propter [*unclear: defectu*] expensarum."—*Opus Tertium*, c. xxxvi.

For the thirteenth century, this is not a bad example of the [*unclear: puff*] indirect.

The explanation given of the tides deserves notice as an [*unclear: examre*] of what can be effected in spite of wrong principles. The phenomenon is said to be caused by the lunar rays which fall sometimes obliquely, and at other times perpendicularly: when in the former direction, they have but little influence on the water; but as the moon gets higher in the heavens, and her light shines more directly, the action of the rays increases, and

draws up the water towards the moon. The rise of the tide can be predicted and measured.

It may be expected that a writer who mixes up metaphysics with physics would not be much more scientific when he comes to the more complicated questions of vegetable and animal physiology. It appears, nevertheless, that Bacon had just views of the sexes of plants—that he believed them to possess sensibility, to a certain limited extent; that he thought them capable of alternations of sleep and wakefulness; that he knew the part played by the sap, and by some of the liquids they secrete; that he distinguished the characteristic parts, such as the bark and roots—attempted to determine the part played by the leaf, flower, and fruit, in the economy of vegetable life, and examined whether they have not some essential organ, which is the seat of their life, and answers the purpose of a heart.

Charles p. 284.

A great part of the knowledge, such as it was, which Bacon possessed of botany, he had in common with his time. Albert of Cologne is the author of a treatise on the same subject, which is neither better nor worse than that of Bacon, although M. Pouchet will have it that the Dominican was the first to place botany on a true foundation.

Pouchet, "Histoire des Sciences Naturelles au Moyen Age," p. 308.

But M. Pouchet's views of the basis on which the sciences rest are so strange, that it is doubtful how much this praise is worth. We will allow our readers to judge for themselves:—

"La plus belle gloire d'Albert le Grand est, sans contredit, d'avoir complété et terminé le cercle des connaissances humaines, en [unclear: comblant] hiatus par le démonstration scientifique des rapports de l'homme [unclear: et] Dieu!"

"Ce grand principe une fois posé, cette vaste intelligence s'est en [unclear: que] sorte concentrée sur la terre. Pour la première fois, les corps naturels reçoivent une description précise; et pour la première fois aussi ils se trouvent rangés d'après leurs analogies, et d'après leur degré d'organisation."

"Posées cette manière, les sciences naturelles apparaissent avec leur caractère fondamental—l'utilité physique et l'utilité théologique!"

Pouchet, 319, 320.

The real truth of the matter being this—that neither Bacon nor Albert knew anything at first hand about botany. In those days it was the fashion to write encyclopædic works. Therefore Albert, who was a great logician and Aristotelian scholar, but who was assuredly no botanist, notwithstanding the basis of fundamental utility on which he placed the sciences,—borrows as much as he conveniently can from Aristotle and Pliny, and makes up his *De Vegetabilibus et Plantis* in so many pages folio. In like manner Bacon, who did happen to be a man of science, but whose science did not take the direction of vegetable physiology, equally thought it necessary to complete the circle of human knowledge by a treatise on a subject which had been treated by Aristotle. Had he omitted to do so, it would have been tantamount to a confession that he knew nothing about it

"Ille qui fecit se auctorem, de quo superius dixi, nihil novit de [unclear: hu] scientiæ: (perspectiva) potestate, sicut apparet in libris suis quia nec [unclear: fe] librum de hac scientia, et fecisset si scivisset."—*Opus Tertium*, c. 11. "Leges multiplicationis nondum sunt alibi traditæ adhuc ut apparet in libris [unclear: ist] [*i.e.*, Albertus Magnus], qui nec fecit libros de hac scientia, nec aliquid de [unclear: p] losophia potest sciri sine hac."—*Opus Tertium*. c. 12.

Writers on alchemy have not omitted to inscribe the name of Roger Bacon in the list of the professors of the occult science. If his works on Hermetics, or in particular the tract entitled "The Mirror of Alchemy," justify them in claiming him as a disciple, he was, at any rate, a cautious and rational one. The "Speculum Alchemiæ" contains a definition of the science in which no modern chemist would see anything to complain of—it is merely this: How to compose a preparation which will purify metals. The possibility of purification arises, so says the author, from the fact that Nature constantly tends to produce the most perfect metal, and is only prevented from doing so by accidental causes which disturb her operations. To extract the foreign elements with which the inferior metals are charged is the business of the practical alchemist. When this is done and Nature is left to her unimpeded operations, we shall have gold. The search after the philosopher's stone is a simple operation of metallurgy, in which heat and other purely physical agencies play the chief part. In the experiments of the laboratory, and in the processes which take place in the depths of the earth, there are the same kind of effects produced by the same kind of causes. Bacon observes incidentally on the constancy of temperature which prevails in mines.

"In mineralium vero locis invenitur caliditas semper constans." *speculum Alchemæ*, c. 5.

If this is alchemy, it is alchemy robbed of its most objectionable features. Bacon fell into many errors, and his belief in the philosopher's stone is not the least of them; but even there the scientific [unclear: biss] of his mind is felt: there is no recourse to supernatural agents—all is to be done by the imitation by man, on a small scale, of what is done by Nature in a wider field. The power of Bacon's scientific imagination is nowhere more visible than in his definition of alchemy, and in his enumeration of the subjects falling within its scope—it

becomes in his hands a true chemistry. We have said that he did not doubt the possibility of transmuting the inferior metals to gold—a belief which was also shared by Francis Bacon. He treats this, however, as a mere experiment, and says that it falls within the province of practical alchemy, an art which teaches men to make metals, colours, and many other things better and in a greater quantity than Nature can do. But, he proceeds, there is another science relating to the elementary composition of things, which, being unknown to the mass of students, they cannot but be ignorant of the natural phenomena which depend upon it. Animal and vegetable bodies are made up of elements and humours, and their composition resembles that of inanimate bodies. Hence, and through the ignorance of the many of this department of science, neither natural philosophy nor medicine, speculative or practical, are known. It seems, then, that Roger Bacon believed that by taking advantage of certain laws of composition—*leges, canones*, as he elsewhere calls them,

"Opus Tertium," p. 37.

—men could so far aid the *nisus* of Nature as to make gold at will—just as Francis Bacon did not doubt that the qualities of weight, pliability, and the rest which distinguish gold, could be induced on a given body by any one who knew the causes of those qualities—but he does not forget to remind us that the process by which this is effected has its analogies in the phenomena of the vegetable and animal kingdoms; the changes which lead to the formation of inorganic bodies are a part of, or to use Bacon's own words, "communicate with"

"Generatio enim hominum et brutorum et vegetabilium est ex elementis et humoribus et communicat cum generatione rerum inanimatarum."—*Opus Tertium*, c. 12.

the changes on which animal life depends;—both sets of phenomena fall within the same great science—alchemy, without an acquaintance with which the philosophy of nature cannot be thoroughly understood—"propter [*unclear: ignorantiam*] istius scientiæ non potest sciri naturalis philosophia." If these views are original, we may almost agree with Bacon when he says that his ideas on the principles and applications of chemistry are worth more than the so-called knowledge of all other physicists.

On its highest side, the science of the composition of bodies is thus seen to touch physiology and medicine; hence, our author is led to treat of the requirements of health, and of the means by which old age is to be averted. This was a favourite subject of Bacon's, and he reverts to it again and again. Men die much sooner than they need. Even Aristotle did not live as long as he might have done; but instances of extraordinary vitality are not wanting; as, for example, Astephius, who survived his thousandth year. In the remedies which are proposed, we see evidence of the superstition which then, and for some centuries afterwards, encumbered physiology; but notwithstanding his elixirs, his *sperma ceti*, and his miraculous ointments, Bacon had some glimpses of a more rational method of treatment. He recommends particular attention to dietetics, and complains that from the want of it children inherit a bad constitution from their parents.

Such, in brief, is the substance of Roger Bacon's philosophy in the imperfect form in which it has reached us. Regarding it in relation to his age and opportunities, we cannot help seeing in it the marks of a most powerful, original, and prescient mind. The shape in which the "Opus Majus" is cast, although sufficiently repulsive to a modern reader, is not the least of its merits. All the other great writers of that age were either paraphrasts or commentators. Adhering strictly to the subjects and the order prescribed for them by the authority whom they undertook to illustrate, they presented their readers, sometimes with a text enclosed in a vast margin of commentary, and sometimes with an exposition, in which the text and the gloss were indistinguished and indistinguishable. In either case they were bound by the arrangement of their author, and virtually prevented from treating at length any subject on which he had not written. It is for this reason that the titles of Aristotle so long furnished the divisions of physical and mental science. Bacon was the first to break the fetters of this custom: to adopt his own order; to introduce his own subjects; to do away with the never-ending chapters, texts, and paragraphs that perplex and weary the reader, and to produce something distantly approaching what is now meant by a book.

This peculiarity in the form of his writings proceeded chiefly, if not entirely, from the equally original manner in which he regarded science. "All branches of knowledge," he says, more than once, "hold together, and each influences the other—[*unclear: to*] learn any, we must first learn that which naturally precedes it."

"Opus Tertium," p. 37.

Nor does he leave us ignorant of the order to be adopted this hierarchy of the sciences. "Let the philosophers of the world know that they will never effect anything in natural science—in *rebus naturalibus*—unless they are acquainted with the power of mathematics." Elsewhere, he calls mathematics the alphabet of philosophy. While we give him credit for the sagacity which led him to perceive the real place of this science in the scheme of education, and to fix on its qualities of certainty and simplicity as the reason for so placing it, we should not forget to add that he was seriously deceived in the estimate he formed of its use and applications. Because all phenomena may be considered in the relations of number and quantity, he concluded that all formed the legitimate subject of mathematical analysis.

He even carried this principle a step further, so "as to make the theory of numbers indirectly, as well as

directly, useful. Perspective, or, as we should now call it, optics, was, in Bacon's view, a sub-section of mathematics, drawing its whole value from them. Therefore, said he, wherever optics comes in—in other words, on whatever subjects we rely on observation, the method of mathematical analysis may be applied. It is easy to detect in this principle the influence of the logic of the schools. We thus see in what sense Bacon speaks of the sciences being connected. It is not only that they have, as between themselves, certain relations of affinity and interdependence, but that they are bound together by the universal application of the same processes.

M. Pouchet gives to Albert of Cologne great credit for his investigation into the causes of things; a fertile method, in his opinion, and whose value the learned Dominican was the first to point out to future generations (p. 201). Roger Bacon was nearer the truth when he said, "we must not examine the causes of things;"

"Non oportet causas investigare."

and in this he carries away the palm not only from the Bishop of Ratisbon, but from a more illustrious rival. Francis Bacon's definition of science is, the knowledge of the cause on which the qualities of bodies depend: in the view of Roger Bacon it is, rather the knowledge of the relation between abstract qualities and their effects. We do not pretend that sufficient prominence is given to this maxim to vindicate for it a place among the truths foreseen by its author, but it is to be found in his works. And, in the treatise in which it occurs, mention is made of certain "laws" or "canons" governing the relations in question. It would be hazardous to infer that Bacon distinctly understood the nature of the relation expressed by the word "law," or that he looked on the acquaintance with a series of such relations as the final end of science; we believe that he meant both more and less than this; but that he meant something resembling the modern view may be safely conceded.

It has been Bacon's misfortune not only to have been forgotten, but to have been misunderstood. His scientific reputation has been placed on a wrong basis. So far as he is remembered at all, it is as a discoverer. The judgment of learned writers like Dumas, Jourdain, and Cuvier, has united with popular tradition in this belief.

Francis Bacon alludes to him as one of those who, "not caring so much about theory, seek to extend invention by a kind of mechanical subtilty."

In chemistry, he is said to have been the first who was acquainted with the properties of phosphorus, bismuth, and manganese: he is said to have found out the composition of gunpowder; not only, we are told, did he anticipate the use of steam as a motive power, but he invented diving-bells, suspension bridges, spectacles, the camera obscura, the magic lantern, the telescope, and the mariner's compass. This is an example of the random way in which statements are repeated without any attempt to verify them. If any one of the distinguished men who have helped to father on Bacon this wonderful list of inventions, had referred to his works, they would have easily satisfied themselves that the credit they have given him is about the last sort of credit to which he is really entitled. He was not a discoverer but a reformer of scientific method—a discoverer of the means by which discoveries are made. To borrow a favourite simile of Lord Macaulay's, which is equally applicable to both the Bacons, he was the Moses, and not the Joshua, of philosophy; he pointed out the promised land, but he never entered into it. It can easily be shown that of the things which Bacon is asserted to have invented, several were perfectly well known before his time, and the rest are nowhere described in his works.

First of all, as to the discovery of gunpowder. This is the passage usually relied on to support his claim:—

"We have a proof of the noise and flash which may be made experimentally in the child's game, common in some parts of the world, in which by an instrument not larger than a man's thumb, owing to the violence of the salt called saltpetre, such a terrible noise is made by the bursting of so slight a substance as a piece of parchment, that it exceeds the sound of thunder,

"Opus Majus."

and has a brilliancy greater than lightning."

Elsewhere is found a cabalistic recipe,

"Sed tamen salispetree lu, rac, vo, po, vir, can, utri et sulphoris et sic facies tonitrum et corruscationem, si scias artificium."

by transposing the letters of which the words sulphur, saltpetre, and powdered carbon are said to be obtained. It may, or may not be, that Bacon was acquainted with the art of making gunpowder, but it is pretty certain that this substance had been long known in the East, and that it was introduced into the West by the Arabians in the twelfth century. India is the country to which we should naturally look as its birthplace. It may be observed, too, that Bacon's allusion to the explosive powder which he describes, [*unclear*: does] imply either that he claimed to have discovered it, or that it was a novelty: on the contrary, it was so well known, that children were in the habit of playing with it.

The alleged invention of spectacles rests on no better grounds. All that appears is, that he was acquainted with common optical experiment of placing a portion of a glass sphere on letters or other objects, and so

causing them to appear larger. This property of lenses was known centuries before, and it has very little to do with the invention of spectacles.

The nearest approach to a description of the magic lantern is found in a passage of the treatise "De Admirabili Potestate Artis et Naturæ," in which the author says that such a form can be given to a transparent medium, that any one entering a room would see gold, silver, and precious stones, and that all would disappear when he advances nearer. It is difficult to say what Bacon meant by this, but it is not difficult to be very sure that he could not possibly have meant to describe a magic lantern.

There are no passages in Bacon's printed works which can be stretched into a description of the diving-bell, the camera obscura, for the mariner's compass; although the principle of the diving-bell is explained in Aristotle's problems, and the compass was known in Italy in the thirteenth century.

Scarcely more satisfactory is the evidence on which the invention of the telescope has been ascribed to him. He certainly makes remarks which show that he was acquainted with optics he says, for example, that the largest objects may be made to appear very small, and conversely, small objects made to appear large; distant things near, and near things distant: "we may so dispose," he adds, "transparent media in relation to our sight and the object, that the rays may be reflected in any direction we please." But when he comes to describe the results of this arrangement, it is evident that he is not speaking from any experimental knowledge of the matter. He tells us that "an infant will large appear a giant; a man a mountain; a small army will seem a large one; although far off it may be made to seem close at hand; we can make the sun, moon, and stars appear to descend on the heads of our enemies." This is not the language of a man who has ever looked through a telescope; still less is it the language of a man who has invented one.

Bacon mentions in another place the possibility of constructing instruments which will impel vessels without the aid of oars, and with a single man to guide them, faster than if they were full of rowers; carriages to roll along with inconceivable rapidity, without anything to draw them; an instrument only a few inches broad and of equal height, which will lift and lower the greatest weights; contrivances for swimming and remaining under water; bridges without buttresses, and other mechanical appliances equally extraordinary.

To infer from such language as this, as has been inferred, that Bacon foresaw the time of railways, suspension bridges, hydraulic machines, and steamboats, is to tax one's credulity rather too far. The fact is this: he had a very strong belief in what he called the powers of Nature, and he rightly thought that there was scarcely any limit to the effects which a combination of art and nature is capable of producing. Given this idea—by no means a commonplace one for the thirteenth century—and a slight exercise of imagination is sufficient for the kind of prediction which is found in the passages above quoted. We have only to think of a number of things very difficult or improbable, and then say that the time will come when they will all come about. Many more pretentious prophecies have been constructed on simple plan.

The obvious similarity between the reform projected by Roger Bacon, and that carried out by Francis Bacon, has given rise to the inquiry whether the author of the "Novum Organon" has not borrowed some of his philosophical views from his predecessor. Mr. Foster expresses himself very decidedly upon this point: "Friar Bacon was the undoubted though renowned original, whence his great namesake drew the materials of his famous experimental system. In the 'Opus Majus,' and in the 'Novum Organon,' we find again and again the fundamental laws of this system announced; uniformly the same in substance—often in the same words."

"Mahometanism Unveiled," ii. 312, 313.

Mr. Hallam just hints a doubt on the subject;

"Mid. Ages." iii. 539.

but the question has been reopened by the recent editors of Francis Bacon's works. Mr. Ellis,

"Francis Bacon's Works," i. 89, 90.

speaking of the four kinds of idols, says,—

"It has been supposed that this classification is borrowed from Roger Bacon, who in the beginning of the 'Opus Majus' speaks of four hindrances whereby men are kept back from the attainment true knowledge. But this supposition is for several reasons improbable. The 'Opus Majus' was not printed until the eighteenth century, and it is unlikely that Francis Bacon would have taken the trouble of reading it, or any part of it, in manuscript. In the first place, there is no evidence, in any part of his works, of this kind of research; and in the second, he had no high opinion of his namesake, of whom he has spoken with far less respect than he deserves. The only work of Roger Bacon's which there is any good reason for believing that he was acquainted with, is a tract on the art of prolonging life, which was published at Paris in 1542, and of which an English [unclear: translation] peared in 1617. The general resemblance between the spirit in which the two Bacons speak of science and its improvement is, notwithstanding what has sometimes been said, but slight. Both, no doubt complain that sufficient attention has not been paid to observation and experiment, but that is all; and these complaints may be found in this writings of many other men, especially in the time of Francis Bacon. Nothing is more clear than that the essential doctrines of his philosophy—among which that of idols is to be

reckoned—are, so far as he was aware altogether his own. There is, moreover, but little analogy between his idols and his namesakes' hindrances to knowledge. The principle of classification is altogether different, and the notion of a real connexion between the two was probably suggested simply by there being the same number of idols as of hindrances."

There are three points raised in this passage:—1. Is the principle of classification on which the *offendicula* of the elder Bacon, and the *idola* of the Chancellor, are founded, the same? 2. Had Francis Bacon ever read a description of the *offendicula* described in the "Opus Majus"? 3. Is there any such general resemblance between the spirit in which the two Bacons speak of science, as to lead to the presumption that the one was acquainted with the works of the other? Notwithstanding the high authority of Mr. Ellis, we think that on two, at least, of these points, there is still considerable room for doubt. It may be admitted at once that the principle of classification of the hindrances to knowledge mentioned by each of the two writers, so far as those of Roger Bacon are founded on any principle at all, is entirely different. No reader could arrive at one by the help of the other. Thus far we can quite go with Mr. Ellis. This, however, is a matter of very secondary importance. The real question is, whether Francis Bacon was acquainted with the works of his fellow-labourer: because if he was, it is not easy to resist the inference that he borrowed something from them, and the cursory and slighting way in which he alludes to "the monk in his cell," would induce us to believe that he desired to conceal his acknowledgments.

"Accedit et illud, quod Naturalis Philosophia, in iis ipsis viris qui ei [*unclear*: inbuerint], vacantem et integrum hominem vix nacta sit; nisi forte quis monachi alicujus in cellula exemplum adduxerit."—*Nov. Org.* Aph. 80. See also, "Temporis partus Masculus."

It is first of all necessary to ascertain whether there is sufficient resemblance between the philosophies of the two writers to [*unclear*: ise] a fair presumption of plagiarism. If, as Lord Bacon's editor says, the spirit in which science and its improvement is spoken of by the author of the "Advancement of Learning," bears only a slight resemblance to Roger Bacon's views on the same subject, a few similarities of thought, of language, or of apparent classification, may be safely disregarded. If, on the contrary, there is a general identity of purpose and of procedure, such points are entitled to weight as corroborative evidence.

Lord Bacon's system, in its outline at least, may be readily described. He conceived that men were busying themselves with wrong subjects—with the logic of the schools, with metaphysics, with Aristotle, with anything but that which alone was really useful,—the philosophy of Nature. Then he considers the causes which have led to this condition of things, and he finds them, partly in the frame and constitution of the human mind, and partly in the reverence for antiquity, in the following of authority, and in the disposition to be bound by accepted modes of theorizing. No improvement of these methods would, he was of opinion, be of any avail—"serum plane rebus perditis hoc adhibetur remedium"—his only hope lay in reconstructing the whole method of science in putting the mind in harness, and in establishing a true induction.

Roger Bacon takes, in like manner, a general survey of the studies which engaged his cotemporaries. He finds that they are altogether vanity. The sciences which alone are of any value, mathematics, perspective, and the "mistress art"—experiment—are neglected by the Latins. And no wonder that they are neglected. For in everything which is said or done, authority custom, and the practice of the many, are uniformly appealed to. These are the "pestilent causes" which hold back real knowledge and cause wrong subjects to be pursued on wrong methods. So long as utility is disregarded and facts are drawn from books instead of from observation and experiment, philosophy, and with it religion and manners, will inevitably decline.

Both the Bacons have thus the same views as to what constitutes real knowledge; both place it in the study of phenomena; but in the words of the one it is "the science of Experiment;" in the language of the other it is "Natural Philosophy." Both in like manner conceive that its improvement is to be effected by substantially the same process, only this process is resolved by Roger Bacon into obtaining facts by observation and experiment instead of culling them from books; in the hands of Francis Bacon it becomes the rejection of syllogism and the substitution of a true and considered for a false and hasty induction. Thus amount of agreement is quite sufficient to set us upon the inquiry in what respect their language and general opinions coincide.

The following table of comparison will enable the [*unclear*: reader] judge for himself:

It has been thought better to retain the original language of the authors in this table.

Each writer attached an extreme and even an exaggerated importance to the value of his method. Roger Bacon frequently maintains that by his own plan the labour of learning would be indefinitely diminished. He promises to teach Greek and Hebrew in three days; geometry in less than a week, and to communicate the result of his forty years' labour in science in three or six months by the aid of a compendium. "Had we competent teachers, I do not doubt that we should learn more within a year than by our present method in twenty years."

"Opus Tertium," p. 65.

Francis Bacon appears to have thought that the facts on which his philosophy was to be based might by

proper means be registered in a few years; the space of a generation, if not of a single [unclear: in] his opinion suffice. "My principle of discovery," he observes, "is one which does not leave much to acuteness or strength of intellect; on the contrary, it tends to bring all minds to the same level."

* "Distributio Operis."

A mechanical method of procedure, simple, rapid, and easily learned, is of the essence of the discovery which the two Bacons professed to have made.

Mr. Hallam has already pointed out that the quaint word "prerogative," of which Francis Bacon was so fond, is used in the "Opus Majus." We may add that the notion of the other sciences being the handmaidens of natural philosophy is also found in that work.

"Mathematica et logica quæ ancillarum loco erga physicam se gerere debent" (Bacon's Works, vii. 204.) "Scientia experimental imperat aliis scientiis sicut ancillis suis."—*Opus Majus*, p. 476. (Edit. Jebb.)

Further, although the four obstacles to learning, respectively mentioned in the "Novum Organon" and the "Opus Majus" are divided on a different plan, yet they occupy a similar position in each system, and the idea of them is very much the same. To Mr. Ellis's remark, that nothing turns on there being the same number of idols as of hindrances, for that in the earlier form of the doctrine of idols there were only three,—it may be replied that in the later works of Roger Bacon the hindrances are three likewise. Nor is it of any great importance whether Francis Bacon ever saw the "Opus Majus" or not. The "Opus Minus," the "Opus Tertium," or the "Compendium Studii" would equally well have presented the outlines of his predecessor's doctrine. In Cambridge, in Bacon's time, there must have been several manuscripts of some or all of these works, On the whole, we are of opinion that there is sufficient evidence to render it probable that Francis Bacon was acquainted with the scheme of Roger Bacon's doctrine.

In saying this we imply no detraction from the merit or the originality of the great man who first systematized the inductive method. The question is one of literary curiosity alone. There is not much weight in the often-repeated charge of borrowing leas. Unless a man is capable of thinking for himself, imported thoughts will do him no good. Had Francis Bacon been unable to evolve his system from his own resources, he might have read the "Opus Majus," as hundreds of men read it before him, to little purpose. That he gathered from that work, as we think it probable that he did, here a valuable maxim and there a happy expression, proves only the ripeness of his judgment in matters intellectual; and when all is said, enough remains incontestably his own to justify the admiration in which his name has been so long held.

Nor will any one acquainted with the systems of the men deny that, even in the points in which they coincide, the merit of superior treatment is with the more modern writer. Roger Bacon, by the necessities of his age and circumstances, had a less precise view of the bearings of the change he advocates than his successor. He was sometimes frightened at his own boldness—he often hesitates; not infrequently he weakens the effect of his theory by the indecision of his practice. There are, we hold, two kinds of reformers: the reformer negative and the reformer positive. The first so far rises above the level of commonplace acquiescence as to see that current theories do not account for facts; that current beliefs rest on an insufficient basis. He therefore sets to work to destroy; he pulls down the buildings in which he dwells, but he has nothing to raise in its stead. The latter proceeds on a different method. He has a definite plan, and his work consists in removing the structure of opinion, not by taking it to pieces, but by building up a better, which must necessarily displace it. Such was the reform of Copernicus, who destroyed the cycles and epicycles of Ptolemy by an explanation the phenomena more simple and sufficient than his; such was the reform of Francis Bacon, who substituted formal canons of scientific proof for the defective inductions of the schoolmen: such was not the reform of the elder Bacon with regard to the science of his day. He saw clearly enough that things were on a wrong footing; he also pointed out what was wanting to them right: but when he comes to act, he sometimes hesitates and looks back. His criticism leaves nothing to be desired; the constructive side of his system is by far the weakest part in it. He protests strongly and always against the error of assuming a thing to be true because the authority of a respectable name can be cited in its favour; yet he advocates the study of language for the purpose of enabling men to see what higher authoring have pronounced on the matter. He discredits Peter of Spain and Alexander Hales; but there are cases in which he would be bound by the opinion of Aristotle or of Averroes. He does not question Cicero's maxim, that a law of nature may be established by a given quantity of affirmative evidence,—he only [unclear: takes] that the induction shall include certain well-known instances Hence the practical effect of his protest against [unclear: authority] comes to no more than this—that authorities should be selected not that selected authorities should be laid aside; he merely transfers his allegiance to a worthier object. And so, while one hand he is destroying an idol of brass, he seems to be setting up with the other, as the object of our intellectual worship image of gold.

Bacon's leading idea was undoubtedly a reform of the phi- [unclear: phical] systems of the day, to be effected by a recourse to Nature and an observation of her processes. It is no [unclear: less] that he considered this as ancillary only to the removal off abuses in the Church and in the State. *Abeunt studio*, [unclear: in].

False modes of education, vicious systems of [*unclear*: theorizing], gender, he thought, depravity of manners and laxity of discipline. He frequently contrasts the life and example of Aristotle, Seneca, Socrates, Cicero,—of the facts of whose lives he probably knew little—with the depravity of the men he saw around him; and that he traced that depravity to ignorance there can be no doubt. Hence, on principle, he was constrained to hold his cotemporaries in slight estimation. This feeling is shared by all reformers in a greater or less degree. Dissatisfaction with the existing structure is naturally a motive with those to modify or reconstruct. But in the highest class of minds it will be found, we suspect, to take the form of a protest against systems rather than of an attack on men; and it is seldom that a thinker of Bacon's stamp arrests himself, as he does, in the course of his argument, in the very flow and current of his thought, to hold up to ridicule a false quantity, an absurd derivation, or mistranslation.

His style of criticism is not without a certain vigour. He says of the works of Albert:—"Hæc scripta habent peccata quatuor. Unum est [*unclear*: vanitas] infinita; secundum est falsitas ineffabilis; tertium est [*unclear*: superfluitas] eo quod tota potestas illarum scientiarum posset coarctari [*unclear*: utili] et veraci in vicesima parte illorum voluminum; quartum est quod partes philosophiæ magnifices utilitatis—auctor istorum operum omisit. Et ideo [*unclear*: nulla] utilitas in scriptis illis sed maximum sapientiæ detrimentum."—*Opus* [*unclear*: *Ter*]-. c. 9.

There are some men at the mere thought of whom he lashes himself into a kind of fury: they are the "conservative divines;"

"Theologi stationarii."

"the boyleaders of the two student-orders, as Albert and Thomas, and others;"

"Compend. Studii," c. v. p. 426.

"the heads of the crowd." These diabolical men, says Bacon, are not ashamed to condemn all learning which they themselves have not got, before prelates, princes, and people. "Hi igitur"—his anger must be left to express itself—"errore et [*unclear*: morantiæ] tenebris velut quodam carcere deterrimo damnati, [*unclear*: non] de jure unde damnent sapientiæ lucem, respectu cujus [*unclear*: sunt] cæcæ et vespertiones lippæ et immundi sues cœno turbido [*unclear*: orantiæ] obducti."

Ibid., c. iii. p. 417.

This is pretty well for a divine and a philosopher.

What passed for divinity, and more especially the sermons of the Dominicans, excited in him, not anger, but a gentle feeling of contempt.

"It is very easy for the members of this Order to talk to people about virtue and vice, heaven and hell, particularly as there are plenty of passages in the sacred texts from which any stupid may quote; but of this I am very certain, that there is a simple brother who never heard a hundred lectures on theology, and who would not have attended to them if he had, who preaches beyond comparison better than the greatest masters of theology."

"Compend. Studii," c. v. p. 427, 428.

Thus with the honesty and convictions, Bacon had some of the vulgar faults of a reformer. He was impetuous, intolerant, and frequently unjust. The way in which he praises his own performance cannot but detract from the credit of it. In the opening of one of his works

"Opus Tertium." c. ii.

he excuses his delay by saying that neither Albert nor Master William of Shyrwode—a sage, in his opinion, superior to Albert—could have composed in ten years what he had effected, under many disadvantages, in one "Certainly," he adds, "you will find a hundred passages to which these persons with their present knowledge would never to their dying day."

This language and temper every one must regret. It shows that personal feeling came in aid of genuine belief, to give force to the stroke with which Bacon laid about him. Nor [*unclear*: can] wonder that this should be so. During a great part of his literary life he was smarting under a sense that he had been cruelly and unjustly dealt with. He saw that the age was out of joint, and he also saw, or thought he saw, the remedy. He had that consciousness of power which irresistibly impels men to be up and doing. In an evil hour he joined a society, by whose rules, and still more by whose rulers, he was fettered and at every turn. He was interdicted from books; he was prohibited from writing; when detected in his favourite pursuits, he was put on bread and water. This was enough to irritate a more temperate man than Brother Roger; and the matter was not mended by the fact that those who so severely repressed learning were not themselves remarkable for possessing it. Bacon, with a vast fund of knowledge of which he was anxious to make the best use, may very well be excused in harbouring bitter feelings against men who sent him from his laboratory to a cloister, who diverted him from the study of Aristotle to the "Book of Sentences," and withal who could scarcely read their decently.

"Clerici et sacerdotes rurales recitant officium divinum de quo parum and nihil intelligunt sicut bruta."—*Compend. Studii*, p. 413.

Notwithstanding his frequent attacks on the clergy, orthodoxy in essential points cannot be impeached. It

would be quite incorrect to represent him as a freethinker of the school of Averroes. He never attacks the central positions of the Christian belief, violently as he criticizes some of the institutions of the Church herself. So with regard to philosophy. Bold as he was, and with an almost reckless audacity in speculation, there were subjects on which he did not venture to lay his hand. For example, he never entertained the notion—which, is in truth, one of the latest products of modern thought—of the absolute inutility of metaphysics. He would supplement the logic and metaphysic of the schools by sciences of which the schools did not dream, and he would amend the manner in which the sciences in vogue were to be studied.

These defects—and there are many such in Bacon's writings—should not blind us to the essential merits of his system and the value of the double object which he held constantly in view. This double object—the investigation of nature as a distinct pursuit, and the foundation of natural studies on observation and experiment—constitutes the real aim of his teaching. That a schoolman of the thirteenth century should have seriously set to work to carry out such an idea is not a little remarkable. For it must always be borne in mind that in that age, and indeed, for some century and a quarter afterwards, no science wholly independent of theology was held to exist. The clergy being the sole depositories of learning had subordinated all knowledge to their own special pursuits: they thought that language should be studied, not as a means of informing the mind and refining the taste, but to enable them to read the divines and fathers, and to settle disputed points in the construction of the sacred texts. Astronomy was a means by which they might calculate the times at which the feasts of the Church should be observed: they read the masterpieces of Greek thought—so far as they read them—with the sole object of harmonizing them with Christian theology, and of putting into their own armoury the weapons forged by Aristotle for the use of general science. That a philosophy of nature existed as an object of independent pursuit was not dreamed of; that there were any other means of arriving at any scientific truth than by comparing what had already been said by the ancients, and grinding their statements down in a logical mill, was an idea which would have been laughed at by an ordinarily educated man then, and which was not generally accepted till some three centuries later.

When Roger Bacon was laid in his grave, the real philosophy was buried with him. The fate of that philosophy is a lasting example of the wisdom of the remark, that Truth is the daughter of Time. Putting circumstances aside, and looking only to the men and to the doctrine, there is no reason why the thirteenth century should not have anticipated the literary and scientific revival of the sixteenth. Grostête was probably as great a scholar as Ascham; Roger Bacon is scarcely inferior to Francis Bacon as a reformer of scientific method. Time, however and opportunity were on the side of the one and against the other. The seed which Roger Bacon had sowed with so lavish a hand fell on ground as yet unprepared to receive it. A long and dreary winter of scholasticism lay between the promise of the thirteenth century and fulfilment of the Renaissance. For more than two hundred years the most powerful minds of Europe were doomed to contend in vain with the insoluble problem of absolute existence and the chimera of absolute knowledge. At last the change took place. Then it was seen that the truth which had been so long forgotten was not dead but sleeping. It awakened into life at the touch of another Bacon, with the publication of the [unclear: "Nov] Organon."

It has been our fortune to realize all, and more than all, the wild dreams pictured by the heated imagination of the Franciscan;—the "instruments which will enable men to navigate without the aid of oars;" the "machines by which we can remain underwater;" the "rivers crossed by bridges without supports."! The man who, six hundred years ago, pointed out the possibility of these results being attained, and who first entered on the course of philosophical speculation by which they have been realized, has some claims on the consideration of the nineteenth century. In saying this, we mean only that he should not be entirely forgotten. To expect any other memorial of him than an occasional place in the thoughts of educated people would be absurd: for he was only the most original thinker which England produced up to the time of Francis Bacon, and, in the deliberate judgement of Humboldt, the profoundest of the schoolmen. He merely anticipated by three centuries one of the most important revolutions which Europe has yet seen, and that to which our present material prosperity is directly due. It would be against all precedent if such a man were to receive those public honours which are reserved for kings, for princes, or for successful generals. But would it be too much to ask that, in the magnificent building which Oxford has lately raised for the cultivation of the sciences, the founder of the experimental method should place? "Magni animi fuit rerum latebras primitus [unclear: dimo] et plurimum ad inveniendum contulit qui speravit posse [unclear: repe] et quamvis propter humanam fragilitatem in multis defecit [unclear: ta] excusandus est."

decorative feature

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Theology.

The judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the "Essays and Reviews" cases completes in a most remarkable manner the judgment of Dr. Lushington in the court below:

"Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upon the Appeals of Williams v. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, and Wilson v. Fendall, from the Court of Arches, delivered 8th February, 1864." Official printed Copy.

the two documents dovetail into each other with singular precision, and taken together declare the existence of an amount of liberty in the Church of England which the public generally little dreamt of, and which, though an ancient right and one heretofore partially exercised, it has required no little courage and perseverance on the part of an unpopular minority to establish. Considering merely the numerous issues raised in the two cases of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson, it has been a great forensic triumph for them and their counsel in the Arches Court to have defeated their prosecutors on every single point. Not a shred was ultimately left of eleven charges in the one case and of eight in the other. The repulse was complete even as to details of legal practice. Thus the appellants had mutually agreed that Mr. Wilson's case should be first heard before the Privy Council; partly we believe in order to show that the cases were really two and not one "Essays and Reviews" case, and partly to give Mr. Wilson a better opportunity of arguing his case more fully than had been possible in the court below, where judge and counsel were already wearied by the length of time which Dr. Williams's cause had occupied. In order to Mr. Wilson's cause being set down first on the list for hearing, it was necessary that he should press it on with all speed through the formal stages before the Surrogate in the Court of Appeals, Dr. Williams keeping a few weeks behind. Whether the prosecution was really mystified by this proceeding or whether their object was simply to raise difficulties, a technical objection was raised to Mr. Wilson's proctor appearing for him on the formal admission of his Libel of Appeal. The irregularity, if any, was cured by Mr. Wilson appearing in person; but it is probable the Canon under which this most frivolous objection was taken would not apply to proceedings in the Court of Appeals, only to the Ecclesiastical Court itself. Another objection, as to which the prosecution suffered a most signal defeat, was more formidable in appearance, being founded on the pretence, that the appellants, by reason of not having availed themselves of their option of appeal after the interlocutory judgment of June 25, 1862, were precluded from now being heard before the Privy Council on the merits (See Mr. Wilson's Speech before the Judicial Committee, pp. xx. xxi.). We have before us what the counsel for the respondents called a supplemental case, by which notice was given to the appellants, two or three days only, as we believe, before the hearing, of this attempt to prevent the discussion of the cases on their merits before the Privy Council.

It would, however, be idle to ignore that other and greater difficulties weighed upon the defendants in these causes. The amount of prejudice against them may be judged of, not so much from the tirades of religious periodicals as from the fact that while doing his duty as interpreter of the law, the judge of the Court of Arches threw out frequent *obiter* observations as to the "fearful consequences" to which some of the doctrines of the essayists might be carried—that the publication of the volume "might be an ecclesiastical offence" in any of the essayists, independently of the authorship, with much of a like kind; and even the calmer heads of the Judicial Committee, while ratifying the opinions of the two essayists to an extent far beyond what was necessary to their mere acquittal, thought it expedient to guard themselves in terms against being supposed to express any opinion as to the general tendency of the volume, or of the whole essays of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson. We think that no compositions could have been subjected to a severer test than these two: it is a marvellous result, of which the authors may well be proud, that the ingenuity of lawyers, quickened by the suggestions of the ablest members of the two great ecclesiastical parties, furious with the *odium theologicum*, should not have succeeded in detecting any weak point in their polemical armour. That the Judicial Committee should have thought it advisable to say that they expressed no opinion as to the general tendency of the volume or the effect and aim of the two essays is the more observable because in the case of Dr. Williams a Charge had been laid concerning the "tendency, object, and design" of the whole essay, and the Court below had decided it to be inadmissible; as throwing on the judge an impossible task; as without precedent; as inconsistent with the requisite precision of pleading. But although these extra-judicial observations may detract very slightly from the dignity of the judgment pronounced by the Privy Council, they rather add to its legal weight. It is evident there was no leaning to the defendants in either Court. They have extorted the decisions in their favour by mere force of law and logic. We apprehend that the extent of this success in the Court below was little appreciated by the general public, so long as it was supposed that the defendants were caught on some of the Charges. For it should be remembered that the Articles of Charge brought into the Arches Court were not counts of indictment laying the same offence under different forms, in which case a conviction upon any one would have been equivalent to a verdict of guilty upon the whole charge. But each Article of Charge laid a separate heresy or offence, and none of these were ultimately brought home: sometimes the prosecutors were found to have forced a meaning into the Formularies which they would not bear; sometimes to have interpreted unfairly the words of the authors; sometimes both. There was however one movement of the prosecution, on the success of which a great part of

their case depended, and in which, if they had been successful, clergymen of the Church of England would have been tied down to the merest literalism in the interpretation of the Bible; but as the movement was defeated, the declared liberty of exposition is proportionately great. It was desired to convict Dr. Williams of an ecclesiastical offence by reason of his attempt to indicate beneath some of the Old Testament traditions—as of the sacrifice of Isaac and of the Exodus—some simple fact which would be consistent with human history; and an offence in like manner was to be brought home to Mr. Wilson for suggesting that the miracles of the New Testament might represent ideas rather than facts. Of course there is no commentary authorized by law in the Church of England, nor any exposition anywhere given of the meaning of particular texts and passages the Bible. But it was sought to cure this defect for the purpose of the prosecution, by charging that inasmuch as the scriptural passages; alluded to by the defendants were included in the Epistles, Gospels, and Lessons appointed to be read in the Prayer Book, it was an ecclesiastical offence against the Act of Uniformity which enforces the Prayer Book, to construe them otherwise than in a plain, literal sense. This would have been to constitute the ecclesiastical judge indirectly the interpreter of the whole of the Bible, with the exception of a few chapters, and to set him to reconcile no one knows what difficulties and discrepancies which may be found in it. And this [*unclear: reductio*] *absurdum* was complete when in opposition to some scores of passages from the Bible, produced for the prosecution, which the defendants were alleged to have contradicted, Dr. Deane put in on their part an equal list of texts in support of their views. Thus pelted on both sides, the judge of the Arches saw no safety but in ordering all reference to Scripture embodied in the Prayer Book to be struck out of the Articles of accusation. This at once reduced the case of the prosecution to fragments; but the importance of that part of the decision has been little noticed, either as to the magnitude of the danger which has been escaped, or the extent of liberty which has been affirmed.

Of particular decisions arrived at, the most important have been [*unclear: the*] opening of the interpretation of the prophetic writings, and the admitted lawfulness of eliminating from them all notion of historical prediction of facts. It appears to be open to a clergyman, for instance, to maintain, if he be so convinced, that the 53rd chapter of Isaiah does not contain a prediction of the actual events of the Lord's Passion. The authorship and date of books are also open questions. Daniel may not have been written by Daniel; nor the Second of Peter, by Peter; nor the Epistle to the Hebrews by St. Paul; and even this latter Epistle may be said to *have been post-apostolic*. Thus the way was made perfectly safe for the denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch to which Bishop Colenso has been led. The lawfulness of affixing a figurative sense to any part of the Bible has been already mentioned. This liberty both of interpretation and of criticism so amply conceded by the Court below was, however, clogged with an abstract doctrine concerning. Inspiration of the Scriptures—for it was no more than that, and one conceived with remarkable clumsiness. Dr. Williams was found to have offended by not having distinguished the operation of the Spirit which suggested the essential parts of the Bible as different *in kind*, and not only *in degree*, from that which moves ordinary men to great and good works. Mr. Wilson was likewise condemned for denying a "special interposition of Almighty power" in the production of the Bible. But in the Privy Council, the distinction between "kind" and "degree" was ignored; and the phrase of the Bible "being the expression of devout reason," was held not to be inconsistent with its being the Word of God." Moreover it was laid down, that the Bible may well be *denominated* "Holy," and said to be the "Word of God," "God's Word written," although such terms "cannot be predicated of every statement contained in every part of the Old and New Testament;" that it is not a contradiction of the law of the Church, to affirm that some parts of the Scriptures were "not written under the inspiration the Holy Spirit:" and even as to those parts which were inspired, "nothing has been laid down as to the nature, extent, or limits of that operation of the Holy Spirit." Indeed, it is added, "the framers of the Articles have not used the word inspiration as applied to the Holy Scriptures;" and considering "the caution of the framers of Articles of Religion," their language must not be taken "as implying, more than is expressed," nor conclusions be drawn from it "touching minute and subtle matters of controversy." With respect to other subjects, the Privy Council thought it would be "a severe thing" to make Dr. Williams, as a reviewer or advocate, responsible for everything in Bunsen, "although not in conformity with the doctrines of the church of England." This point seems to have given no trouble to their lordships, though a great clamour had been raised about Dr. Williams fighting under the shield of Bunsen, and it caused great difficulty to the Court below. Again, the Evangelical party has now been told distinctly that in the 11th Article there is no doctrine "as to the merits of Jesus Christ being transferred to us," ordinarily known as the doctrine of imputation of Christ's merits. Nor will either of the extreme parties be pleased to learn, that to say, with Mr. Wilson, the distinction between covenanted and uncovenanted mercies is a distinction without a difference, is in no contradiction with the doctrine of the Church. Lastly, we may add that the incubus of a fiery Hell, and of endless torment in the world to come, need no longer oppress religious hearts among us as a doctrine necessary to be believed on the authority of the Established Church of the country. We now learn from the highest tribunal that it never has been so since the year 1562, when the Article headed, *All men shall not be saved at the length*, was withdrawn from the standard of doctrine, under sanction of the Parliament and

Convocation. Whether the clergy will use their now-ascertained liberty, and whether the laity will encourage and sustain them in doing so, remains to be seen.

The excellent little work of Miss Cobbe's, entitled "Broken Light," has in the present stage of theological discussion a twofold interest and a double use.

"Broken Lights: an Inquiry into the Present Condition and Future Prospects of Religious Faith." By Frances Power Cobbe, author of an "Essay on [unclear: Intuitive] Morals," &c. London: Trübner and Co. 1864.

It discriminates in the happiest manner the several parties now engaged in the theological arena in this country, and undertakes to show that although the more conservative parties are doomed to inevitable defeat, the essential verities of religion will still survive as a ground of faith and a root of spiritual life for the humanity of the future. These essential verities are stated to be, Faith in the existence of a righteous God—faith in the eternal law of morality—I fifth in an immortal life. Dogmatists, whether of the Sacerdotalist or Evangelical parties, set on the same footing with these essential truths an immense mass of inference, of theory, of ancient history, or tradition. And so effectually have the essentials and non-essentials of religious faith been bound together in the concrete traditional Christianity, that many even of those who perceive some things believed without question by former generations to be doubtful or untenable, are fearful lest the fundamental truths of all religion should now be rendered doubtful faith them. After describing the hopeless position of the old parties relatively to advancing inquiries, Miss Cobbe passes in review the more modern schools. What is here called the first Broad Church School, of which Mr. Maurice and Prof. Kingsley may be taken as the representatives, is first criticized. Their signal failure in the attempt to harmonize Church and Bible with modern thought is well traced out. Each point of special difficulty is evaded by them; and though "the inquirer for bread receives, not an ordinary stone, but a diamond or a ruby," such treatment of the great difficulties of theology must prove unsatisfactory and fatal to the school which adopts it. We need those who will evade and cover up nothing, "who will put the new wine into new bottles." The very basis of the first Broad Church is incredible, for it supposes a special Revelation of Divine Truth and of the Divine Will to have been made *enigmatically*, in language which for many centuries those whom it was addressed were incapable of comprehending. The contained truth has in successive periods received light, instead of shedding it. The first Broad Church maintains that the Inspiration of the Bible differs in kind as well as degree from that of other books; the second Broad Church admits a difference in degree only, and acknowledges fallibility to attach to the human vehicles of Divine Truth. The con-feast between these two schools is exceedingly well drawn out by Miss Cobbe. As the two incriminated Essayists have made good the whole of their legal claims, some passages may require modification—especially a very important alteration will be necessary in any future edition is the note at pp. 68-69, concerning the endlessness of future punishment, which it is now decided is *not* a necessary doctrine in the Church of England. The effect of the movement of Bishop Colenso is then described, which will undoubtedly be carried forward into the New Testament. And the inferences which will follow from such investigations as his will be much more fatal to received beliefs than any theoretical or general statements of the second Broad Church School could possibly be. It was politic, no doubt, in the maintainers of the dogma as it is to fight the Bishop at the outworks, upon the numbers and quantities of the narrative of the Exodus. For they very well know that while the numbers of the Israelites at the Exodus would not be essential to be ascertained as a matter of fact in an ordinary historical inquiry, their accuracy and consistency are essential to the credibility of such a narrative purporting to be written by an eye-witness. [unclear: So], again, the clamour raised at the supposition of Samuel, instead of Moses, having been the real author of the history of the Exodus, indicates a profound apprehension that little reliance can be placed upon the history if transmitted only by tradition through a period of four hundred years. Would-be conciliators, who speak of its being unimportant whether 600,000 fighting men of Israel came out of Egypt or 600, and unimportant whether Moses or Samuel (who was equally inspired) composed the Pentateuch, do not touch the difficulty as it is secretly felt—that an immense gap will be made in the miraculous history of the Bible, if it shall appear that there is no contemporary evidence to the events of the Exodus as narrated.

The Bampton Lectures of Dr. Hannah present a noteworthy phase of the discussion concerning the Inspiration of the Bible.

"The Relation between the Divine and Human Elements in Holy Scripture Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1863, on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury." By J. Hannah, D.C.L., Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, and Pantonian Professor of Theology; late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. London: Joke Murray. 1863.

On one side he may be thought to make very considerable admissions and concessions to the critical spirit; on the other, to be a strict maintainer of orthodoxy. Indeed, his special object appears to be show that the human characteristics of the Biblical writings may be largely recognised with safety so long as the critic starts from a suppositions that they embody a Revelation, of which the central fact or doctrine is the Incarnation of God the Son. He quotes, for instance, from Dr. Moberly, the observation that, "it makes a wonderful difference in the

apparent magnitude and importance of a difficulty, whether it be regarded as the possible entrance to an entire unbelief or an acknowledged perplexity on the fringe or edge of a strong and impregnable faith." And he adds that "setting forth from the firm foundation of such faith, we shall find that disputes on details have a growing tendency to settle themselves and disappear."—p. 140. We ought not to under value the candour which leads Dr. Hannah openly to reject the "all or none" and "every jot and tittle" theories of Inspiration, because he carries his concessions only to the point beyond which they would endanger the certitude of doctrines which he assumes to be true. And unless he had secured himself at the very outset against any supposition of weakness as to the received dogma, there are many parts of these lectures which would have excited serious apprehensions in the minds of many of his bearers. His purpose generally is to show the completeness of the divine and human elements in Scripture, but neither so to exalt the divine as to reduce the human author to a mere machine, nor so to insist on the human characteristics as to reduce the divine to the same spiritual influence, which may be said to preside over any great work of human genius. And Dr. Hannah seems to agree with the distinction which Dr. Lushington laid down between the inspiration of the Scriptural authors and that of other great and good men as one of kind and not of degree. The question that arises in what does this generic difference consist? Dr. Hannah think he answers the question by drawing first a distinction between Revelation and Inspiration, and then between Revelation and other knowledge which comes to man through natural and ordinary channels. Whence?, as ordinary literature is to ordinary knowledge in its various degrees, so is inspired Scripture to revealed knowledge. As a framework indeed, to the Revelation, properly so called, we have a history of thoughts, words, and deeds of men which required no special interposition in order to their observation or record. But a different order of facts could be known only by a miraculous inspiration—such as the commands and warnings of God, and mysterious truths concerning his nature. "And us all this is miraculous, we make no further demand on faith when we add that it was coupled with many other manifestations of miracle—prophecies which none but God could pronounce, direct interpositions of his sovereign will to alter or suspend his ordinary laws."—p. 28. It is, indeed, conceded that it is difficult to draw a line around that which is human history and observation necessary as framework to the record of the Revelation, though record of Revelation itself, and as to which consequently the human characteristics may be found to predominate. But the impossibility of drawing this line has not, we think, been sufficiently noticed by the lecture, nor the important consequence from it, that his argument or exposition is entirely valueless as addressed to those who do not start from the same doctrinal assumptions as he does himself. It is conceded that in matters of science or mere matters of history there may be errors in the Bible, while there can be none in those parts which belong to the Revelation properly so called. And the vehicle of the Revelation is human, while the Revelation itself is divine. Thus in the first chapter of Genesis it is the form or clothing of the doctrine of the creation of the world, and of man as the noblest work of God, which alone is, properly speaking, human, and which may not, therefore, be compatible with scientifically ascertained truth. The lecturer's words are here worth transcribing:—

"If we are asked then, whether we resign the historic reality of the beginning of Genesis, we answer that we resign nothing but a deeply-seated misapprehension, which has confounded records of a different order, and obliterated the distinction between theology and history by transferring the traditions of the one to the other. The first step in what may be technically called the narrative of history is taken at the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Book of Genesis, in the words—'this is the book of the generations of Adam' . . . With some minor exceptions the first four chapters are rather theological than historical; they belong to the head of pure revelation rather than to that of ordinary narrative. They embody matter which no conjecture could have reached, which no tradition could have furnished. They unfold in such order as God judged to be the fittest, the fundamental truths about God's purpose and God's work in creation, and about the innocence, the sin, and all fall of man. This, then, after all, is the sole residuum of so much 'confident rhetoric,' to which the Mosaic record has been exposed; the assailant has only succeeded in carrying a position which a deeper interpretation makes it needless to defend."—pp. 164—165.

Dr. Hannah must here find himself, we think, on slippery ground. How much is fundamental, how much is vehicle and accessory? Dr. Hannah does not take the descriptive part of the first chapter of Genesis as fundamental; nor does he consider the word "day" should be literally pressed, any more than such anthropomorphic expression as "finger" or "hand" of God. Have we then in the second and chapters of Genesis a real Eden, real trees of good and evil and of life; a real apple, a speaking serpent, a historical Adam and Eve? If how elicit Dr. Hannah's doctrine of a moral Fall?—how elicit it under any supposition? The doctrine of creation by One God is manifestly conveyed in the first chapter of Genesis, for it is set forth in terms as its very text; yet it does not follow that a miraculous revelation was employed in making it known. But unless one is predetermined to find in Gen. ii. iii. the "evangelical" doctrine of the "Fall," it appears on the face of it to be nothing more than a supposed account of the origin of certain physical conditions of humanity. The moral difficulties of the Old Testament are dealt with in a still less satisfactory manner. Dr. Hannah seems to solve them, as in the case of Deborah on the hypothesis that to the divine element of Revelation belongs such

histories the declaration of the contrast between good and evil—true religion and false; to the human element, the relentless hatred of the Jews towards the foes who were arrayed against the chosen people, And we should remember, says Dr. Hannah, "the real wickedness the Canaanitish people." But really is there evidence that they were more "wicked" than their invaders? Nor does Dr. Hannah observe that the difficulty is twofold—partly belonging to what he would call the Revelation—partly to that which he terms Inspiration: partly, that is, that immoral things should be done by God's chosen special instruments—partly that the writers who record the facts, supposing them to have happened, pass no rectifying judgment upon them. Nor again, does he grapple with the inquiry whether such phrases as "God said," &c., as in the temptation of Abraham—in the command to slaughter the sons of Saul—in the approbation of the treachery of Jehu, are to be understood as implying an immediate divine communication, or a natural though erroneous imagination on the part of the agents, or a formula of the narrator. Do such phrases belong to the divine or to the human element, to the mere 'record of a sin,' or to 'its express approbation?' (p. 239). Are such phrases, when met with in the Hebrew records, to be interpreted as they would be, if they were met with in "any other book?" A general statement, that in many respects the Bible differs from any other book, and that so far as it differs the same rules of interpretation are not to be applied to it as to other books, will not solve such a difficulty as this when it arises in detail. On the whole, we cannot think that Dr. Hannah's distinction, as he puts it, between the Revelation and Inspiration of the Bible, its message and vehicle, its matter and form, would prove of any practical utility to an inquirer, though it may be convenient as a temporary shelter against troublesome criticisms to those who take trust a traditional scheme of doctrine.

Mr. Row's work on Inspiration is likewise directed to preserve the supernatural character of the Christian Revelation, by distinguishing between the divine and human elements in the Biblical writings.

"The Nature and Extent of Divine Inspiration, as stated by the writer and deduced from the facts of the New Testament." By the Rev. C. A. Row, M. A., Pembroke College, Oxford, and late Head Master of the Royal Grammar School, Mansfield. London: Longman and Co. 1864.

With both authors we have already left behind the platitudes of the Words-worths and the Burgons; but Mr. Row far surpasses Dr. Hannah in intellectual grasp and logical force. The question as to the nature of the inspiration of the New Testament, says Mr. Row, may be considered the great theological question of the day—it must be treated inductively from observation of the facts presented in the New Testament itself, lest we should attribute to the writers an inspiration which they may possibly disclaim, and which may then mislead us in the interpretation of the records. Mr. Row does not recur at all to the Old Testament. The inquiry proceeds indeed on the assumption that the Scriptures of the New Testament contain a Revelation sufficiently attested by miracle. Apart from the question whether the evidence for this attestation is complete or not, there are some good observations on the subject of miracle. The established laws of nature, as they are called, are in fact the mode in which God acts in conformity to His own Will. His energy is ever present and operative in the universe; so that a miracle or suspension of the laws of nature is only God ceasing to act in one way and acting in another (p. 108). Therefore—

"It will be admitted that a miracle is not more a divine act, nor more an exertion of divine power, than the ordinary laws of Providence are divine acts and exertions of divine power. No mistake is more common than to represent that a miracle is an extraordinary (i.e., extra great) exertion of a divine power. This error leads to an entire misapprehension of the true end and purpose of a miracle. The performance of a miracle is not intended to display power, but to afford proof of a special intervention of God."

The miracle is an attestation to the reality of the commission of a messenger from God. Mr. Row is of course perfectly justified, for the purpose of a special inquiry, in disentangling himself from an examination into the evidence whether this miraculous attestation has really been given. And his conclusions as to the phenomena actually presented by the New Testament writings, on the supposition of this miraculous attestation, are in many respects the more valuable. Not only because a miraculous attestation is taken for granted, but because the highest possible form of inspiration of which humanity is capable is involved the 'Incarnation,' which every orthodox person would acknowledge, it follows that the words and actions of Jesus are the results of the highest possible inspiration. The only object of any inspiration of those who wrote down those words and actions would be to insure an adequate correctness in the report. And whether the writers of the gospels were themselves eye and ear-witnesses, or derived their information from pre-existing written material, or from oral tradition, the records could only present the results of that highest form of inspiration which had manifested itself in the person of Jesus Christ. Any defects attaching to those who were the channels of transmission would be supplemented, it is said, by the prophetic gift bringing all things necessary to the remembrance of the ultimate compilers according to the Lord's promise. The very remarkable phenomena which the gospels present are exceedingly well described by Mr. Row. On any hypothesis of the origin of the gospels, or of the order in which the Synoptics were written, or however the differences and agreements they present may be attempted to be accounted for, the theory of verbal inspiration is equally excluded. And so it is

in a remarkable manner by the fact of the still more striking dissimilarity between the Synoptics generally and the fourth gospel. The author of this last must have conceived it his office to supply an element of divine truth in which the preceding narratives had been deficient. But could he have dared to undertake this, if those other authors had been through by him to have written under the pure dictation of the Spirit? On this subject one of the facts to which Mr. Row draws especial attention is the greater concurrence of the Synoptics when they narrate the Lord's words than when they report his actions. This is the reverse, he says, of what usually takes place. Witnesses generally agree rather in the report of what they see than of what they hear. And he attributes this peculiar unison to the fulfilment of the divine promise that the Spirit should bring all things to the remembrance of the Apostles, whatsoever their Master had said unto them. We would venture to suggest that the knot may be untied in a natural manner; that the actions were in many cases imagined in order to give occasion for the words. Mr. Row would seem to go, in a certain sense, as far as this, that there is more truth in the words than in the actions. Now this would be accounted for if we suppose that when the real occasions on which the words were used had been forgotten, others were imagined for them, or that the real occasions were embellished with miraculous additions in order to exalt the character of the Master according to the conceptions of the second or third succession of His followers. The book is very full of matter, and there are several other points on which we should have liked to say something—but limits forbid. It is, however, evident from such a work as this, the two points on which theological discussion will now proximately turn, which are indeed intimately connected, are, the question of miracle and that of the composition of the gospels.

With respect to the order of composition of the gospels, Mr. Kenrick, is in accordance with a great consent of modern criticism in giving the priority to Mark over Matthew or Luke.

"Biblical Essays." By the Rev. John Kenrick, M.A., F.S.A. 1. The Gospel of Mark the Protevangelium. 2. The true nature of the Gift of Tongues. 3. St. Paul's designation of the Athenians. London: Longman and Co. 1864.

It would be too much perhaps, to affirm this of Mark as we have it; but that the basis of Mark is anterior to the other two Gospels, or more strictly, stand on an even line with the Greek text, whatever they were, which formed as original of Matthew, does not admit of much dispute. And without doubt there are elements in the Gospels which it is impossible to monize both as to the words and actions of the Lord, and also as to the aspect in which his character is presented. All three Essays comprised in this volume show the ripe scholar and careful critic.

The Bishop of St. David's, as appears from his recent Charge, is shrewd enough to perceive that the question of Miracle is that which ties at the root of the debate raised by the Essayists.

"A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's." By Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Bishop of St. David's, at his eighth Visitation, October, 1863. Published at the request of the Clergy. Second Edition. London: Rivingtons. 1854.

He sees evidence of it not only in the late Professor Powell's Essay, but in Dr. Williams's, and especially in Mr. Wilson's. But he seems to confound a denial of Miracle, or more strictly speaking, a denial of the sufficient proof Miracle, with a denial of the supernatural, or in fact, with Atheism. For he thinks Professor Powell's language would as aptly express the fundamental doctrine of Spinoza as that of any theist, and that "the argument employed to prove the impossibility of miraculous interposition moves wholly within the circle of a purely materialistic philosophy."—p. 26. Dr. Thirlwall, it is believed, was one of the very first with whom the Originator of the scheme of the Episcopal Manifesto conferred on that subject; and it is not too much to suppose, from the respect which his brethren entertain for his opinion, that if he had declined to co-operate in that design, it would have fallen through in the present Charge his lordship takes some pains to justify proceeding; but chiefly in reply to the objection that, before the Essayists were condemned by the bishops, they ought to have been refuted. He urges that they could not have been expected to know that they *were* refuted; but as the first question really was, under the circumstances of the persons, whether the doctrine of the Essayists was "in harmony with the teaching of the Church," he thinks the bishops might properly declare that in their opinion the contents of the book were repugnant to the doctrine of the Church. *Incidit in Seyllam.* &c. For the bishops personally are not competent to declare finally what is, and what is not, consentaneous to the doctrine of the Church. Their opinion was only that of highly-placed and influential individuals, the expression of which might be seriously damaging to the authors they censured in the event of legal proceedings, and in the like event seriously entangling to some of themselves, who might in the end have to act in a strictly judicial character in a matter whereon they had already committed themselves by an extra-judicial opinion. And as the event has shown, they must either damage the weight of their judicial opinion if it be in accordance with sentiments expressed out of Court, or damage their own character for consistency, or for understanding the doctrines of their Church, if they acquit in detail what they have condemned in the lump. It may be true, as Bishop Thirlwall says, that the secret history of the volume of "Essays and Reviews" may for some time be known only to a few; still more, we apprehend, may that be said of the secret history of the Manifesto. And

Dr. Thirlwall's justification of the Manifesto is unsatisfactory precisely for want of a certain portion of this secret history. Whatever the intentions of some, it may have been the understanding of others, that the issuing the Manifesto would both stop all agitation for new enactments, and preclude the necessity for legal prosecutions. Apart, however, from these considerations, the Manifesto was substantially justified, the Bishop argues, as directed against doctrines of the Essayists—"not on nice and doubtful [*unclear*: questions]," "on such as lie at the root of all revealed religion." It was not indicated in that document itself whereabouts in the volume the of objectionable doctrines were to be found. From the Charge of the Bishop, we now learn that they are principally to be met with in Mr. Powell's, Dr. Williams's, and Mr. Wilson's Essays, and that they principally concern the miraculous character of the Christian Revelation; a denial of which, in Dr. Thirlwall's sense, he appears to as equivalent to a denial of any supernatural agency at all.—pp. 48-50. There was an observation of Dr. Thirlwall's, in a previous Charge (which we refer to by memory), to the effect that the recognising the human element in Scripture, or the saying that "the Bible is the Voice of the congregation," need not be understood as questioning the divine origin of the Revelation, *but only the mode of its transmission*. Now if this may be said rightly with respect to Inspiration, it is difficult to see why the same may not be said of supernatural agency generally.

We never could understand why, if the authors of the other Essays were to be answerable for Professor Powell's Essay, he should not have the benefit of theirs: why they should be held responsible for his supposed materialism, rather than he have the credit of their obvious theism. But so it has been; and Mr. Kennard

"The late Professor Powell and Dr. Thirlwall on the Supernatural." A Letter to the Eight Reverend the Lord Bishop of St. David's. By the Rev. R. B. Kennard, M.A. Oxon., Rector of Marnhull, Dorset. London: Hardwicke. 1864

shows the true courage of a Christian gentleman in vindicating the Professor's memory from the imputations thrown upon it in the Charge above mentioned. At the same time he claims for the clergy of the Church of England generally, the right to treat the whole question of supernatural agency as an open one. It is a question as to mode of operation in reference to an acknowledged Divine Origin or Source; it is a question as to more or less knowledge on the part of man.

"The solution which has obtained most general acceptance with philosophic divines, is perhaps some modification of that proposed by Bishop Butler namely—that the distinction popularly drawn between the natural and supernatural, exists only relatively to our partial and most imperfect insight into the nature and extent of that 'wonderful order' established from everlasting by Him who, in the magnificent language of the prophet, 'inhabiteth eternity.' Our notions of what is natural, will be enlarged in proportion to our greater Knowledge of the works of God, and the dispensations of His providence."—p 10.

Mr. Wratishaw is a very straightforward critic, who does not consider the duty of the illustrator of the New Testament writings to be adequately performed by repeating a mass of opinions and leaving, difficulties just as they were before.

"Notes and Dissertations, principally on Difficulties in the Scriptures New Covenant." By A. H. Wratishaw, M.A., Head Master of King Edward the Sixth's Grammar School, Bury St. Edmunds, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge. London: Bell and Daldy. 1864.

Although himself apparently thoroughly orthodox, he is not very complimentary to some orthodox contemporaries. Dr. Wordsworth, he thinks, has "employed himself rather in concealing than in coping with difficulties; "he cannot call to mind "any instance in which Bishop Ellicott has solved a difficulty which had not previously been solved by others;" and though Dean Alford has accomplished most in the critical field, he finds in him "many errors and inaccuracies." In one of the best dissertations, for instance, in the volume on Rom. viii. 18, *sqq.*, he is not undeservedly severe on Dr. Alford for his statement, that Greek text "*never* is used of mankind alone," in the face of Mark xvi. 15. There is a very good dissertation included in this volume upon the *Te Deum*, which, when some interpolations are rejected, would correspond substantially with the [*unclear*: *amœbæan*] recited, according to Pliny, by the primitive Christians in honour of Christ (*carmen dicere secum invicem Christo quasi Deo*).

Religious but thinking persons in England who have become unsettled in many of the dogmas in which they were brought up, yet who are anxious for some definite and positive Christianity in which they may rest, will do well to study M. Réville's "Manual of Religious Instruction."

"A Manual of Religious Instruction." By Albert Réville, D. D., Pastor at Rotterdam, and author of "Critical Studies on the Gospel according to St. Matthew," a work crowned by the Hague Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion.' London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1864.

A greater service than the translation of this book could not be rendered to such persons at the present moment. The work is divided into three parts. The first embraces a conspectus of the religious history of man from the earliest ages down to modern times; the second gives in a few pages the actual teachings of Jesus; the third, under the title of "Religious Doctrine," has for its object to seek after religious truth. The inquiry here

starts from the historical fact that there are and have been in the world many religious systems of unequal value, though proportionate to the spiritual development of those among whom they have arisen. The religious experience of the human race is a necessary element in this investigation, and especially the teachings of the Bible, and especially again, among these, the teachings of Jesus Christ. Religious doctrine concerns God and man, and the moral relation between them. Christianity is the pure religion communicated to man by Jesus Christ. Hence an inquiry into his person and character, the nature of the Church or Society which he has founded, and the influence which he has exercised and continues to exercise upon the human race. We make an extract from the closing chapter concerning "life eternal:"—

"It is an error to consider eternal punishment as an integral part of the evangelical doctrine. The question, in the sense in which we of these days regard it, does not appear to have been present to the mind of the authors of the New Testament. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by the [unclear: mere]ness of sounds. The adjective which our versions render eternal had not in their tongue the definite meaning which it has in our own. It corresponds rather to our words future, of the other world, of the world to come. The Jews divided history into two parts; separated the one from the other by the coming of the Messiah And everything which was to take place in the future or Messianic age was designated by that adjective (aionios), which doubtless may signify eternal, since the Messianic age or world is never to come to an end [but compare 1 Cor. xv. 24, sq.], but which may also be applied to temporary things, provided they appertain to that future period, e.g., judgment, Heb. vi. 2. [It is not the idea of time, whether endless or otherwise, that the word aionios conveys, so much as the idea of quality, so that aionios and Messianic are nearly synonymous; the chief difference is, that Messianic refers to Christ's person, and aionios to his spirit, influence, and sway.] Mark ix. 44 indicates the certainty and not the eternity of the suffering. Matth. xii 33 teaches the certainty of an inevitable punishment, but says nothing of its duration."

The passages in brackets belong throughout to the Translator. We cordially recommend this Manual for its truly religious spirit, clearness good sense, and practical utility.

The late Dr. Bernard was well known for many years as the authorized teacher of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, and as the author, in conjunction with his former pupil, the Rev. P. H. Mason of the only practical grammar enabling the student to learn Hebrew as he would learn any other language.

"Hebrew text The Book of Job, as expounded to his Cambridge Pupils." By the late Hermann Hedwig Bernard, Ph. D., M.A., Author of "Creed and Ethics of the Jews," &c. &c. Edited, with a Translation and additional Notes, by [unclear: Frack] Chance, B.A., M.B., late Tyrwhitt's Hebrew Scholar, Fell. Boy. Coll. Phys &c. Vol. I. (containing the whole of the original work). London: [unclear: Ham] Adams, and Co. 1864.

He was of Jewish descent born at Uman, a small town in Southern Russia (then Poland in 1785. His father was a banker in wealthy circumstances. In 1825 Hermann came to England, apparently for the purpose of learning the language, but in consequence of his family having met with pecuniary reverses, he never returned to the continent. In 1830 he established himself at Cambridge, where he was soon appointed Hebrew teacher in the University. He retained this office till the time of his death, which took place suddenly, from heart disease, 15th November 1857. He had become totally blind from cataract since 1850, but thorough familiarity with the language enabled him to retain his pupils, with some assistance from his friend, Mr. Mason, in correcting their written exercises. The bulk of the present volume, which runs to more than 500 pages, is occupied with a thorough grammatical analysis of the Book of Job, which is followed by a new translation In the preliminary matter is given, both in Hebrew and English, the Preface of Ben Zev, presenting a good example of the better style of Rabbinical criticism. The learned Rabbi, for instance, discusses the question—"Whether the name of Job was [that of] a really existing man or not?" Various opinions, it is said, have prevailed among the learned men of old, whether Job was a real man, whether the events related actually took place, or whether the book was the creation of a writer who expressed in an allegory or parable the lesson he intended convey. The objections to the historical character of the book [unclear: are] 1. It is unlikely that in real life everything should tally [unclear: with] sacred numbers—seven sons, seven thousand sheep, three daughters, three thousand camels, &c. 2. It is very unlikely that in all in the catastrophes which befell Job's family, there should always be left one man no more to bring the tidings. 3. How could the writer learn what, passed in heaven respecting the sons of men and what Satan answered Jehovah, "except a ladder was set up on earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and the writer was ascending and descending on it?" 4. How can it be supposed the controversy should be carried on between Job and his friends in lofty poetic language? 5. It would be strange that they should be all bards, all elegant speakers, and all adopt one style. 6. How can the narrator either have been present throughout to set down with pen and ink exactly what was said, or how could his memory have enabled him afterwards to record it? On the other hand—1. The particulars mentioned by the writer must be real because as they are not essential to the supposed allegory, there would otherwise have been no reason for the mention of them. 2. If job never lived, how comes Ezekiel to introduce him with Noah and Daniel? (ch. xiv). The learned Rabbi concluded that it was right to take a middle course between the extremes, and to

suppose that there had lived a man named Job, celebrated for his dignity and possessions, and remarkable for his righteousness, who was tried with severe misfortune: "this man the writer selected for his subject; and, taking up some of the real facts, he fashioned him with the graving-tool of poetry and made of him an image according to the likeness and form of the man whom he wished to give life to in his allegory" (p. lv.). The Rabbi mentions also the various opinions concerning the date of the book, some placing it as late as the reign of Ahasuerus; he himself thinks it as ancient as the time of Moses—that it is, in fact, a translation from the Arabic as to the greater part, but that Moses himself wrote the the beginning and end of the book; for he observes in those portions the name of the Divine Essence is employed (Jehovah), with which Moses was acquainted, but in the central poem the names [*unclear: of*] *Eloah, Shaddai*—except, indeed, as Mr. Chance notices, in xii. 9—perhaps Ben Zev had before him a copy with another reading. Mr. Chance, whose opinions are conservative, and who remarks, sometimes not without effect, upon the hastiness of other critics, guards himself against being supposed to participate even in the moderate [*unclear: itudinarianism*] of the learned Ben Zev.

The Essay of Dr. Ginsburg on the Essenes gives in a short compass a complete account of that remarkable sect or modification of [*unclear: daisim*]: with the more important ancient authorities, as Philo and Josephus especially, *in extenso*: to which is added a sketch of the modern literature of the subject continued to the latest date.

"The Essenes: their History and Doctrines. An Essay, reprinted from the Transaction of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool." By Christian D. Ginsburg, LL.D. London: Longman and Co. 1864.

Dr. Ginsburg is sensible and cautious, and while pointing out the Essene element in primitive Christianity, he does not press too far the [*unclear: infegences*] from a comparison of the maxims of the Essenes with the precepts of Jesus Christ.

The title of Mr. Gurney's pamphlet sufficiently indicates its nature.

"The Faith against Free Thinkers; or, Modern Rationalism, as exhibited in the writings of Mr. Buckle, Bishop Colenso, M. Renan, and the Essayists." to the Rev. Archer Gurney, author of "Restoration," &c. &c. [*unclear: London*] Company. 1864.

It consists principally of papers which originally appeared in the [*unclear: Jo*]*Bull* newspaper, and if any of our readers met with them there, they will not be desirous of perusing them again.

Mr. Girdlestone has long been a consistent advocate of liturgical revision as to those matters in which the Prayer Book is distasteful to Evangelical Churchmen.

"An Appeal to Evangelical Churchmen in behalf of Liturgical [*unclear: Revision*]." Charles Girdlestone, Rector of Kingswinford, Staffordshire, and [*unclear: sometime*] of Balliol College, Oxford. London: W. Hunt. 1864.

He observes in his present pamphlet that at the successive revisions which the Formularies have hitherto undergone, the alterations made have uniformly been reactionary and in the direction of *quasi* Roman opinions and practices. Strong as the case is which Mr. Girdlestone makes out, we very much doubt whether he and his friends would be able to carry through Convocation as well as Parliament the most moderate reform. But we think it possible that there might be passed through Parliament a permissive or relieving Act confined to a few particulars, and those of omission only instance, that no clergyman shall be subject to any penalties; 1. For omitting to read the Creed of Athanasius; 2. For substituting a lesson from the Bible for one from the Apocrypha. Mr. Girdlestone would perhaps not agree with us in adding, or of one Biblical lesson for another but to our minds there are chapters from the Bible appointed to be read in churches quite as unfit for that purpose as *Bel and the Dragos*, or *Susannah and the Elders*; 3. For the omission of the word "regenerate" in the Baptismal Service. We agree with Mr. Girdlestone that it would not answer to leave the omission of words in the [*unclear: Burrid*] Service to the discretion of the minister: that would therefore be a matter for revision properly so called, and could not be embraced in such a short relieving Act as we recommend for a practical beginning. The relaxation also of the declaration of "assent and consent to all and everything," &c. of the Act of Uniformity must wait for a recommendation from the Royal Commission.

The present volume of the late Rev. F. W. Robertson's [*unclear: Serm*] completes the series:

"Sermons preached at Trinity Chapel, Brighton." By the late F. W. Robertson, M.A., the Incumbent. Fourth Series. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.

the discourses contained in it are somewhat more fragmentary than those which have preceded, but will be read with the same interest. It is proposed shortly to publish a volume consisting of skeletons or notes, which will prove no doubt a [*unclear: like*] to some of the present generation of preachers to that which was supplied to the evangelical clergy many years ago by Simeon's skeletons.

The editor of the collected works of the celebrated Edward Irving proposes to select from his mass of material those discourses and [*unclear: treaties*] which are likely to prove of permanent interest.

"The Collected Writings of Edward Irving." In Five Volumes. Edited by his nephew, the Rev. G. Carlyle,

M.A. Vol. I. London: Alexander and Co. 1864.

About one-half the collection has never hitherto been published. Glancing through a thick volume of more than six hundred pages, we find the discourses now printed to exhibit the great oratorical power pointed with [*unclear*: quaintness] for which the preacher was famous; there are included also a view of the history of the Church of Scotland previous to the Reformation, Ether with Irving's Notes on the Standards of the Church of Scotland, showing much independence of thought.

On the Colenso controversy, the feeblest of all the books we have to mention is that of Mr. Kingsley.

"The Gospel of the Pentateuch: A Set of Parish Sermons." By the Rev. Charles Kingsley, F.L.S., F.G.S., Rector of Eversley. With a Preface. Second Edition. London: Macmillan. 1864.

It may be true, that in a series of sermons to a parochial congregation the author might not be expected to enter very deeply into the questions at issue. But he should not have so insulted any number of English people assembled to hear him give them proofs of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as to "advise them to believe" that Moses wrote it. Mr. Kingsley seeks in vain to shelter himself under the example of Dr. Stanley. It is true th Dean of Westminster, by the consummate grace of his style and vigour of his descriptions, invites his readers to pay little attention to questions which he thinks would only puzzle them unprofitably; he draws them off from critical inquiries of which he sees no solution; he leads them to trace a providential order in human events, to observe historical analogies (at times, it may be, somewhat far-fetched and [*unclear*: fanciful]) to learn lessons from narratives wherein the matter-of-fact history cannot be distinguished from its embellishments. He might even say, whether Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, or to what extent, is not a matter of much moment; but, *I advise you to believe* Moses wrote the Pentateuch, we think he never would. Mr. Kingsley has to a great extent mistaken his new master.

Mr. Arnold writes from the point of view of the German reaction and he thinks Colenso is doomed t, defeat, because Strauss, [*unclear*: pulsed] in his attack upon the Gospels by the Court-preacher, Hoffmann, married an actress." His present volume, of less than two hundred pages, consists of three chapters.

"English Biblical Criticism and the Pentateuch, from a German point of By John Mühleisen Arnold, B.D., Hon. Sec. to the Moslem Mission Society Vol. I. London: Longmans. 1864.

The first treats of the [*unclear*: present] and its gravity, acknowledging that the fathers of Protestantism, and it might be said its sons too, "have jeopardized a good cause by a had theory, which cannot be supported," in their anxiety to oppose [Roman] infallibility with [Scriptural] infallibility." The second chapter is chiefly occupied with an examination of the Jehovistic and Elohist theory, which is rejected, yet with the admission, that even Kurtz and Delitzsch recognise a certain double current of authorship, and ultimately "repelling as presumptuous" the inquiry, whether the author of the Pentateuch as we have it, made use of pre-existent material? The third chapter undertakes to show that "the Pentateuch professes to have been written by Moses," and endeavours to explain away the signs of a later authorship; and it is contended, in spite of the remarkable silence of the subsequent literature, that *the Thorah in its* completeness is recognised throughout the subsequent history

The "Replies" of Mr. F. Parker

"Replies to the First and Second Parts of the Right Reverend [*unclear*: the] Natal's 'Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined.'" [*unclear*: By] Parker, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, and Rector of [*unclear*: Lutfingcots] London: Bell and Daldy. 1863.

turn chiefly upon the form which Bishop Colenso has given to his objections to the historical character of the Pentateuch; that is, in that he has confined himself to the internal inconsistencies of the narrative, without impugning the [*unclear*: miracul] of portion of it as such. Hence Mr. Parker's solution, that the miracles account for things which might otherwise have been impossibilities or have shown inconsistency. And that miracles were wrought is proved by the institutions of the passover and the Sabbath, which the [*unclear*: penteuch] itself relates, and which were always observed subsequently their institution.

Mr. Rogers's "Investigation," is the pleasantest written of these answers, but it is very far from being a "full" one.

"A Full Investigation of the Difficulties suggested by Dr. [*unclear*: Colenso]," Benjamin Bickley Rogers, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, [*unclear*: and] time Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Oxford and London: J [*unclear*: H]. Parker. 1863.

The solution of the chief difficulties is however attained by Mr. Rogers only by [*unclear*: appe] to miracle, even when the narrative itself says nothing about it. And it is remarkable, that while it was the favourite resource some times since to suppose a corruption in the numbers of the Israelites, [*unclear*: they] found, as Bishop Colenso states, so to run through and through the history that they cannot be torn out. Now, it is obviously no sufficient answer to an objection to the credibility of a narrative to say—it is true that it would be impossible to meet the material necessities of such numbers as are described unless by a continued successions of miracles, and therefore such miracles must have taken place. In other words, where the books mention

miracles we appeal to the [unclear: book] evidence of the miracles; where they do not mention them we assume them, because the history will not stand without them. [unclear: Everything] tending to re-open the inquiry into the *evidence* for the scriptural miracles.

Belonging to the Renan controversy we have to notice the translation of the "Life of Jesus," published by Messrs. Trübner,

"The Life of Jesus." By Ernest Renan, Member of the Institute [unclear: of] London: Trübner and Co.

which will give the English reader some notion of the extreme beauty of the original, and enable him to understand the various critiques which have appeared upon that important work.

M. de Pressensé criticizes the book from the standing-point [unclear: of] orthodoxy which many consider very far from orthodox, of a Fall of Man and the Divinity of Jesus in some peculiar sense of his [unclear: own].

"The Critical School and Jesus Christ: a Reply to M. [unclear: Renin's] Jesus." By Edmond de Pressensé, Pastor of the French Evangelical Church and D.D. of the University of Breslau. Author of the "History of [unclear: the] First Centuries of the Christian Church." Translated by L. [unclear: Corkran] Elliot Stock. 1864.

recklessness in risking entire Christianity on an alternative may be judged of by the following passage:—

"If he [Jesus] be not the Man-God, his teaching, with the exception of a few ingenious parables and some maxims which were already known, but into which he infused a purer spirit, is nothing but a tissue of tiresome repetitions. If he be not the Way, the Truth, and the Life, the true Vine from which the branches draw the sap, if he be but an ordinary teacher, then there exists no book more absurd and empty than the Gospel."—p. 78.

The pamphlet of M. Réville

"La Vie de Jésus de M. Kenan devant les Orthodoxes et devant la Critique." Par M. Albert Réville. London: D. Nutt.

is reprinted from the "Revue Germanique et Française," and may be taken as expressing the judgment of the liberal Protestant party, of which M. Réville himself, M. Colani of the "Nouvelle Revue de Théologie," and M. Athanase Coquerel fils, lately deprived of his coadjutorship by the intolerance of the Presbyteral Council of Paris, are principal ornaments. While exposing the narrowness of Father Larroque, and the inconsistency of M. de Pressensé, and giving M. Renan full credit for the sincerity of his aim, for the religiousness of his purpose, and the beauty of his construction, he finds much to remark on as unsound in philosophy and criticism, and shocking to the religious instinct. This pamphlet is especially worth reading by those who feel that they cannot accept M. Kenan's estimate of the character of Jesus Christ as implied in such words as these: "Jésus dut donc choisir entre ces deux partis, on renoncer à sa mission, ou devenir thaumaturge."

The sixth volume of Miss Cobbe's edition of "Theodore Parker's Works"

"The Collected Works of Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society at Boston, U.S., containing his Theological, Polemical, Critical Writings, Sermons, Speeches, and Addresses, and Literary [unclear: Miscel-] Edited by Frances Power Cobbe. Vol. VI. Discourses on Slavery. Vol VII. Discourses of Social Science. London: Trübner and Co. 1864.

contains his discourses on Slavery and on the dangers to the American people from the development of the money-getting spirit already, he said, one-eightieth of the people was ruling the rest. The seventh volume comprises discourses on Social Science. Parker did not see any impiety in science, least of all in the science of human nature. Unless the human nature is understood it is impossible to act upon it for its benefit, and that was Parker's great work as a religious [unclear: acher]. Parker was not a popular man, but he did not expect it, El he has a better reward.

Politics, Sociology, Voyages and Travels.

Mr. Rowland has presented the public with an enquiry into the foundation of morals,

"Laws of Nature the Foundation of Morals." By D. Rowland, author of "A Manual of the English Constitution." London: J. Murray. 1863.

which he supposes himself to have discovered by an induction from the facts of nature, and to have established by their laws; but his conception both of induction and of laws of nature are of the loosest possible description. The latter stand in his mind for much more than formulas of our existing knowledge of nature, and anything which he can deduce from given postulates, he supposes himself to have arrived at by way of induction, as may be seen from the following extract:—

"It seems a reasonable induction from a comparison of man with brutes, that when man was introduced into the world, there was a break in [unclear: the] by which life on earth had been previously regulated. The original inhabitants were continued in the state in which from their origin they existed; ruled by instinct but with some intelligence sufficient for their condition, and for the limited intercourse they had with their kind; and free as they ever had been from responsibility to moral law. The new animal was of the same anatomical structure, and physiological organization, but a new system of life was for him, by which, through the force of

the appetites, under the control of the moral law, and, with the aid of reason, he was destined to rise to a state of social, intellectual, and moral existence, unknown on the earth before. We may feel a rational confidence that the new animal was endowed with these faculties and qualities by the act of his Creator; for brutes could not transmit faculties and qualities which they do not possess, and which do not belong to race. We may also feel confident that reason and the new system of man's existence on the earth were cotemporary and part of the same design; for when reason was given employment must have been found for it; and the new system of existence could not have been carried on by a creature not possessed of reason."

The whole of the argument suggested by this passage rests upon implied assumptions of the nature of man and the designs of which beg the entire question; indeed, this must ever be the case with every theorist who endeavours to hold an intermediate position between the advocates of an innate and immutable morality, and those who content themselves with maintaining that the moral sentiments of mankind are but the result of their experience, and, like everything else human, susceptible of indefinite improvement.

It will be sufficient to enumerate the laws of nature, on which the author supposes the whole fabric of morality to rest. These are—

"The moral law of nature for the protection of labour and the institution of property. The moral law of nature for the institution of marriage, and for the raising and protection of families. And the moral laws of nature [unclear: for] protection of human life, and for the production of truth."

The supposition that any general regulative laws are implanted by nature in the mind of man is so manifestly contradicted both [unclear: by] past history and present condition, that we are reduced to a condition of surprise and wonder, when we find the present aspirations of mankind treated as laws implanted from the beginning in the mind of every member of the race. At this rate, a new and fresh theory would be required by every generation; and fresh laws of nature would be required to account for every advance in general morals, and to explain every conquest of mutual forbearance. The enumeration itself of these laws of nature which the author supposes to underlie all moral obligation, is of itself enough to show how inadequate they are to the purpose to which he applies them, if in any proper sense they can be called laws at all. The whole argument of his book is beside the only question which is worth discussion, which is not what is the nature and origin of our moral sentiments, but by what standard shall they be tried? If the nature and purposes of the Deity are introduced into the discussion, the controverted points are only removed one step farther, and gain no new light by the increased distance. Practical morality was summarized more than 1800 years ago in a very short formula, and the only question which has ever been debated is an exclusively speculative one, which has very little direct bearing on man's conduct, but which cannot be overestimated in its importance, when the influence exercised by the answer given to it on the formation of the detailed rules which shall regulate that conduct is taken into consideration.

The interest aroused in the present day by these speculations may be in some degree measured by the appearance of such books as Mr. Rowland's, which may be looked upon as one of the results of the ferment produced by the unquestionable progress of the Utilitarian theory. Another evidence of a like kind will be found in a book just published by Messrs. Longman,

"Utilitarianism Explained and Exemplified in Moral and Political Government." London: Longman and Co. 1864.

in which Mr. Mill's recent treatise on Utilitarianism is subjected to a lengthy criticism, and, in the author's opinion, triumphantly refuted. The method he adopts is to give a new definition of utility, in which he restricts its meaning to material things. "What," says he, "is utility?" and answers, "Every created thing is *a* utility." This occurs so early as page 9, and is a warning to every intelligent reader that he need not trouble himself with the pages that follow it. The Utilitarian theory of morals is not concerned with utilities, but with utility as a standard of conduct, Utilities may, indeed, in this sense, be asserted to result only in convenience and pleasure, and to have no relation to happiness; but, in this sense, the word has never been used except in the technical meaning sometimes given to it in the writings of political economists. As might be supposed, this confusion between utility and utilities leads the author into the most contradictory assertions; at page 11, he says "Man never gave anything useful to man. Man can give nothing useful in the true sense of utility;" and at page 29, "in the absence of human efforts there is no utility." It is somewhat surprising that any one who has studied Mr. Mill's treatise can suppose be answers it by such a misrepresentation of its terms. The only utility moralists are concerned with is that which is recognisable in certain lines of conduct; they have nothing whatever to do with the material conditions of that conduct, however necessary they maybe, except in so far as it is possible to modify them to the advantage of the utility so recognised. Defining utility as he does, it may easily be imagined what a strange confusion the author introduces into his subject when he has to discuss the differences in the degree and quality of happiness resulting from certain actions. It is, of course, impossible when utility is confined to external things to determine whether porter or port wine be the more desirable drink, except we agree as Mr. Mill does, to be guided by those who are acquainted with both. No amount of ingenious

speculation on the quality of the gratification enjoyed by a thirsty cabman will persuade the world at large that the beverage he is accustomed to ought to be preferred to wine. The general judgment of the world must be accepted as proof of the superiority of one taste over another, as, in like manner, it is the sole ground on which one action is pronounced better than another, and the only guide to that judgment, apart from revelation, which has nothing whatever to do with morals, as a science, is the amount of happiness resulting from those actions; and this is the Utilitarian standard. The absurd outcry that this is a godless doctrine cannot be too severely reprobated. Everything on earth is subject to God's government or nothing is; and a godly morality is nothing more than a morality deduced from the prevailing notions of the nature of God, which themselves are but the summary of all human knowledge, and a summary most candid when it confesses its limitations. This outcry is nothing less than an appeal to the populace to put down an investigation obnoxious to those who raise it, and it is of itself a confession of incapacity rightly to appreciate the nature of the question under discussion. Speaking of conscience the author says:—

"Thus we have revealed to us by express laws (in the Scriptures), and by those innate feelings, sentiments or emotions, the necessary and sufficient guides and helps for directing our action as to secure the attainment of cost ultimate end and object in the greatest possible happiness, quite independent of any question of general utility. We are not committed to the guidance of our slow and fallible reason, but are endowed with feelings which warn us at every step," &c., &c.

This may be very good theology but cannot be allowed any place in a discussion on the scientific grounds of morality for it amount to this, don't talk to me of morals disconnected from religion or strive to found in knowledge what you ought to accept on the firmer basis of faith. A scientific enquiry is not to be set aside by allusions to Moss and the Prophets. Such writers should restrict themselves to improving texts and edifying their hearers by new arguments in support of received moral doctrines; for it is evident that they will never go beyond them, and that the only road open to general progress is irrevocably shut to them. Into the various political speculations and passing questions of the day which the author tacks on to the main purpose of his book, we do not care to follow him, except to remark that the improvement of our criminal law is one of the greatest triumphs of the system he repudiates, and that the standard by which they have been reformed has either been one derived from "human argument," or that higher one to which he appeals was found sadly unequal to the task for many long and weary years.

Very few churchmen will thank Lord Robert Montagu for the plea which he sets up in favour of national churches in his "Four experiments of Church and State."

"The Four Experiments in Church and State and the Conflict of Churches." By Lord Robert Montagu, M. P. London: Longman and Co. 1864.

A national Church, as such, should have in his opinion, no theological or dogmatic basis, but rest solely upon its character as an association for putting down evil *generally*. At this rate there is no difficulty in adhering to a Church which [*unclear: quately*] responds to such a calling, but, unfortunately, the question is not to be turned in this facile fashion. There neither is, nor ever has been any national Church contented with such a restricted sphere; much more than a moral purpose has been set forth by every Christian Church that ever existed; and however true his lordship's rambling account may be of the collateral results of those higher purposes which they have always had in view, the conflicts of centuries have not led churchmen in any way to drop pretensions which they fortify by appeals to a higher sanction than any the world can give. So long as those higher sanctions are believed in the conflict must continue, and the Church of England is as far from resigning the appeal to them as any of her rivals. The last defender of dogmatic belief must die with *finis theologiae* on his lips before such restricted views of the functions of a national Church can become general; and however this may be the logical result of his lordship's lucubrations, we fancy he would be far from welcoming it. Every form of Church government which he repudiates as degenerating into some form of spiritual despotism, aspires by some shorter cut to the end which he sets up as its only legitimate aspiration. As long as there are differences in the world on dogmatic questions, the conflict of Churches must continue as their only vital expression.

Dr. Edward Reich, of Cassel, has brought together from travellers and historians a very full account of the marriage tie

"Geschichte, Natur und Gesundheitslehre des Ehelichen Lebeus." Von E. Reich Cassel: Theodor Kay. 1864. London: D. Nutt.

in all times and countries. There is no human institution which, in itself, throws so great a light upon the degree of progress made by any nation or tribe; all the social ideas prevalent among them are reflected in their views of marriage. It is abundantly clear from this review of the different forms which it has put on, that the nature of the tie is absolutely dependent upon the character and direction of those ideas which govern and direct any particular community. Satisfying the most imperious of human passions on the one hand, and lying as it does at the very basis of human society, marriage cannot be expected to display those ideal forms which are

dreamt of by the imagination until a greater harmony between the self-regarding and the social feelings is brought about a general advance of knowledge that cannot reasonably be expected for many generations. The desires of one generation are the conquest of following ones, and the means of conquest are a full insight into the past. In this respect, Dr. Reich's book is more valuable than in his criticism on the existing practices by which the State endeavours in his own country to regulate, in the interest of the existing community, the circumstances under which it will allow of an increase in the number of its citizens. There is a certain violence of tone in his denunciation of the police regulations, to which marriage is subjected in many of the German States, which is out of harmony with a scientific treatment of the subject; solid conviction is the only basis of progress in this matter. The sacramental character with which marriage was invested in the middle ages, like so many other institutions of that time, was substantially a natural reaction against the lawlessness and violence which could be rendered amenable [unclear: to] restraint that was not supported by their superstitions. Under the shelter of theological sanctions, men found the opportunity of entering on full possession of their minds and bodies; less terrible ones would have been inefficient, and we are far from believing that their efficiency is exhausted, however great the shock their foundation has received. An indirect proof of this truth may be found in the absence of any practical suggestions on the part of the most ardent satirists of our existing laws on the subject. Into its physiological and pathological details we do not care to follow the author, but this division of his book is as full and well studied as the first and larger historical division. The abundant and careful references to the sources from which the author has gathered his information will be found very valuable to any who wish to pursue the subject from any of the numerous points of view from which it may be taken up.

In two volumes which he calls Caxtoniana

"Caxtoniana: a Series of Essays on Life, Literature, and Manners." by Sir E. B. Lytton, Bart. London: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1863. 2 vols.

Sir E. B. Lytton has collected a mass of those reflections on life, literature, and manners which, when they occur in his novels, are submitted to as an infliction that must be borne for the sake of the animated action, epigrammatic dialogue, and interesting construction to which they [unclear: serve] padding. Were it not for the popularity of Tupper we should be utterly at a loss to conceive what public the clever author could have in view in composing this mass of pompous common-place, of poor thoughts in sumptuous raiment, of trite reflections set forth with an air of the profoundest wisdom. It is, perhaps, impossible anywhere to show a more complete misunderstanding than the author display of his own powers throughout these volumes; an artist in the most thorough sense of the term, in conception, and in talent, he will assume the attitude of a philosopher; quick perception and great facility of expression are set to do the work of patient study and obtained thought. The laborious neatness of verbal construction overwhelms the reader, and he longs with the Danish Queen for more matter and less art. The art, too, in these volumes, is but little more than an intellectual millinery. On every topic the author runs on without any restraint, but that which is implied in an artificially balanced period. The frequent moral paradoxes of his novels are far more wholesome than the ethical attitudinizing of these essays for which their writer bespeaks a place beside his other works. Whatever place may be granted to them should be large enough to admit of the immediate neighbourhood of the Proverbial Philosophy.

Mr. Maguire's history of the temperance movement in Ireland, which is associated with the name of Father Mathew,

"Father Mathew: a Biography." By J. F. Maguire, M.P., author of "Rome: its Rulers, and its Institutions." London: Longman and Co. 1863.

is in many respects the counterpart of the movement itself. The whole subject is handled entirely *ab extra*, and is treated in a tone of indiscriminating wonder and astonishment that partakes largely of the unreasoning enthusiasm by which its short-lived vitality was supported. No sure foundation can be laid for sobriety in a method which attempts to combat intemperance by an excitement greater than itself affords. The passionate allegiance which is given to a venerated name, even when aided by a superstitious reverence for such sacramental symbols as a card or medal, has no roots in itself. As soon as the influence of personal reverence is weakened by time or distance, when the temporary enthusiasm has subsided and old habits knock at the door of the swept and garnished chamber, the symbol exerts no more power than an African fetish. The movement, the apostle, and their historian, are all thoroughly Irish, and a fire of straw is a fit emblem for all three. Mr. Maguire makes no attempt to account for Father Mathew's success; it is simply heaven-sent, and to be explained only by his vocation; it is not thus that any one can be satisfied who wishes to arrive at reasonable conclusions on what must be admitted to have been a remarkable phenomenon. Its causes must be sought more in the excitable character of the population among which it displayed itself than in the trifling circumstances which attended it. A collection, however large, of more or less amusing anecdotes connected with the subject does but little else than display the singular want of cool reflection with which the movement was animated and maintained. The indiscriminate manner in which the pledge was administered to hasty postulants, and often forced upon unwilling ones, the strange thoughtlessness which often imposed an oath against drinking upon men while yet

intoxicated, could not be expected to have any lasting consequences. Sobriety that is not born of self-command is but another kind of slavery; it may be to a master less degrading in a physical sense, but has no firm moral root from which a stable progress or even sure release can be expected. This movement has of late met with its exact parallel in the religious revivals in Ireland, from which no sane man looks for more permanent results. These efforts to draw from excited feeling that which only knowledge and conviction can continuously supply must inevitably share the fate of the seed which fell by the wayside, and be trampled underfoot by the next passing feeling which shall prove as strong as the memory of that which is relied upon. The purity of character and unquestionable self-devotion of the Rev. Theobald Mathew undoubtedly deserved a permanent record, and it may be allowed that a very full insight into his virtues and weakness is to be arrived at by the perusal of Mr. Maguire's pages; but the reader has to extract it from a chorus of indiscriminate laudations, and to wade through a mass of sentimental stories given with an exhausting detail that will sorely try the patience of most. A much shorter and simpler account would have far better answered the purpose of reviving the recollection of an amiable and enthusiastic, but not very intelligent nor strong-minded man.

Dr. F. Spiegel has brought together, from various learned periodicals to which he had contributed them, a series of papers on the Iranian peoples between the Indus and Tigris.

"Eran, das land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris." Von Dr. F. Spiegel Berlin: F. Dümmler. London: D. Nutt. 1863.

They form an important addition to our knowledge of this branch of the human race, both in an antiquarian and ethnographical point of view. He enters on a comparison between their sacred writings and those of the ancient Indians, as well as those of the Semitic races. The Zendavesta is placed by him between the Vedas and Genesis; and the modifications which its doctrines have undergone are displayed in a full criticism of the philosophical system of the Parsees, who, in their new homes in Southern India, still struggle to maintain the religion and beliefs of their Persian forefathers. This volume must be welcomed by all who are engaged in those Etymological studies on which its arguments are chiefly based.

Under the title of the Empire in India,

"The Empire in India: Letters from Madras and other Places." By Major Evans Bell. London: Trübner and Co. 1864.

Major Bell has published series of letters from Madras and other places, in which he subject Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation to the severest criticism. Though this policy has in many of its features been given up, the same cannot be said of the territorial acquisitions in which it resulted. In reviewing the Carnatic, Sattara, Nagpore, and Jhansi cases, Major Bell, taking his stand upon the letter of treaties concluded with the reigning families, and interpreting their terms in the sense they would convey to Indian conceptions, finds no difficulty in establishing a charge of unjust spoliation against the Supreme Government. It is however, by no means absolutely certain that the terms of the treaties in question can only be so construed. Where the choice has to be made between two adverse interpretations, the only guide is to be found in principles of general utility; and although Major Bell would himself not shrink from bringing his conclusions to this test, and in the latter part of his volume endeavours to establish them on this very ground, it is to be regretted that, in the separate treatment of the cases just alluded to, he restricts the question to the mere verbal interpretation of treaties; and by his mode of treatment on this narrow ground appears to beg the question. Every one of these cases turns upon the terms of contracts made with a native prince, his heirs, and [unclear: cessors]. The whole controversy hinges upon the word heir. In the Hindoo sense a man can never want heirs. Even should he die without children, natural or adopted, his wife has the power, and a religious, Hindoo would also feel it her duty, to adopt an heir for him, that those ceremonies might be performed at his interment which are called for by his religion at the hands of a son. We, however, cannot but think that it is an open question whether our treaties with native princes in which the word heir occurs, contemplated one thus made, as it were, to order.

There is no doubt, however, that in another sense the question is also open, and a sense in which it deserves the most serious consideration. After the special argument devoted to each case, Major Bell enters on Consideration of those general motives of policy which are effectively the true standard to which they should be referred. There can be but little doubt in the minds of any at all acquainted with Indian affairs hold our dominion in the East by the same means by which it was acquired. An occupancy and growing power of an hundred years has left few traces on the minds of the natives at all commensurate with the extent of our supremacy. Confidence and sympathy are not to be won by the sword, and without either, no sure foundation can be laid either for the continuance of our power or for the best welfare of those subjected to it. Major Bell is a staunch, able, and well-informed advocate for a thorough revision of our mode of governing our possessions in India. A conciliated Hindoo and Mahometan nobility is, in his opinion, the only instrument by which we can hope either to diminish the expense of our government or to secure it from a constant liability to attack. By offering in the fullest manner the highest rewards in our power to able and educated natives, we may, he thinks, make partisans of the which we must otherwise continue to estrange, and from which most of our dangers are,

in future, to be dreaded. Every independent principality which we have gradually enclosed in the area of our dominion, should, in his opinion, have been rather fostered than absorbed and even where possible new ones should be established.

"I believe," he says, "that the maximum of immediate dominion and direct European agency involves the minimum of European influence: whatever tends facilitate and "promote intercourse and harmony between the higher classes of India and the higher classes of Great Britain, will tend to assimilate their habits and modes of thought, and to diffuse new ideas and new wants among the mass of the population. We must gain the leaders, and the flock will follow."

The native misrule with which we have been disgusted, must be improved by friendly influence, and not abrogated in the interest of the subject thousands, who cannot comprehend our motives, and give us no credit for anything but what appears to them high-handed injustice to families they have been accustomed to fear and reverence. We relieve them of the fear, but cannot destroy the old-established reverence. If these opinions had been expressed by any home student of our Indian policy, they would be at once disposed of as unpractical, and as betraying a complete ignorance of the impassable gulf which lies between Indian and European ways of thought, but it; as impossible to adopt this tone with anyone so manifestly well acquainted as the author with Indian life and character. We have in many points acquired the respect of our Indian subjects; is it not also possible to arrive at their affection? The strong make few allowances for the vices of the weak; and we have been, perhaps, too apt, both for our own happiness and that of the natives, to turn with disgust from features of Indian character which we have rather aggravated than improved. An effort to govern India, for the most part, by the Indians themselves, is one not to be set about in a hurry, and Major Bell is the last man to advocate anything like a precipitate action on the principles he advocates; but he makes out a strong case, and is so thoroughly well-informed, that his arguments can only be met by assertions of their being founded on an ignorance of native character. An assertion of this kind would be very hardy in the face of what he brings forward. In conclusion, we strongly recommend these letters to the attentive consideration of all who are interested in the future of our Indian dependency assuring them that whether they become converts or not to the views of the author, they cannot but reap valuable information from his pages or fail to be pleased by the clear and able manner in which he advocates a change of policy in the East which, at least, promises results of the utmost importance. That such a policy would call for the rarest judgment and self-control is unquestionable, but great results are to be had by corresponding exertions. If this be thought to add to its difficulties, it can hardly be said to contribute to its condemnation but is rather a fresh recommendation to its attentive consideration.

If it were not for its affectation, Mr. Reade's book on the "Coast of Africa"

"Savage Africa." By W. W. Reade, Fellow of the Geographical and Anthropological Societies of London, and Corresponding Member of the Geographical Society of Paris. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1863.

would be one of the most enjoyable descriptions country very little known, and to which, of late, much attention has been devoted. But his unquestionable good sense is dressed out to such an extent that it is almost lost sight of in the smartness of its attire. If he has a good story to tell, he so polishes and completes it that faith breaks down under the accumulated claims he makes upon it. Often humorous and witty, he never counts the cost of the effect he seeks; and if he has a pathetic tale to tell, mostly ends it with a pathos upon an absurd principle of moral relief. These, however, are but faults of exuberance, and may be regarded as passing peculiarities of the author. The worst of the affectations to which he is subject is that of the fine gentleman, because one that is in itself essentially vulgar. Though he has devoted much time and study to the questions connected with the country he describes, and [unclear: though] questions are neither few nor easily mastered, he everywhere assumes the air of writing for his amusement, and offers what is [unclear: really] result of much labour, as the relaxation of a young man [unclear: about] in search of something fresher than Pall-mall; like a [unclear: gaboon] who once very opportunely invited him to dinner while [unclear: ascending] Ncomo, he indirectly apologizes for the best meal he can set before and endeavours to impress upon us that under other circumstances as would have given us champagne. In spite of these peculiarities his book is not only most interesting throughout, but when he has a special subject which calls for careful investigation and serious statement, he lays aside his smartness, and proves that he can be instructive, too, when he cares to be so. His investigations into the natural history of the gorilla are full and complete. He authoritatively sets aside all the fearful features with which M. du Chaillu had endowed this beast, and shows him to be as timid and harmless as the other large apes.

"That which I can attest from my own personal experience (he says) is as I have seen the nests of gorillas. I cannot positively say whether they are used as beds, or only as lying-in couches. I have repeatedly seen their tracts, and could tell by them that the gorilla goes habitually on all fours. I have never seen the tracks of two gorillas in company. I have seen a young gorilla and a chimpanzee in a domestic state. They were equally docile. I have seen the dung of a gorilla, which resembles that of a man; and I can say positively that the gorilla sometimes runs away from man, for I have been near enough to hear one run away from me. Both the

gorilla and the chimpanzee attack by biting. A white man has never yet bagged a gorilla or chimpanzee. The wariness of these animals, the uncertainty of their haunts, and the jealousy of the native hunters will always render ape-shooting a difficult task, and one which offers more interest to the naturalist than to the sportsman. At present we possess only the evidence of native hunters, collected by Messrs. Wilson, Savage, Ford, and myself."

The account he gives of the Fans, among whom he lived for some time, though confirming the accounts of their cannibalism, disproves Especial ferocity to attend upon that custom; indeed, he treats this subject with so much charitable philosophy that we should not be surprised if he has the best reasons for assuring us that man tastes very much like monkey, only is a little fatter and more succulent. His resolute superiority to all prejudices stands him in good stead while reviewing the history of the slave trade, and the efforts we have so long made for its suppression. His last conclusion is that to which almost all acquainted with the subject have now come, viz.:—

"That the export of slaves from Africa can only be prevented by the coasts being walled with civilization; that the trade is now confined almost entirely to Congo; and that English settlements in that country would drive it entirely from the west coast."

The whole stretch, however, of this coast is so unhealthy that even the blacks degenerate after a few generations, and sink below the type of their forefathers who descended from the high grounds of the interior. On this subject, and on the continuous migration from the interior to the coast, Mr. Reade has collected many valuable and interesting details. On the general question of the future of Africa, a comparison of our modes of treating the Negro with those of the French in Senegambia, and of the Mohammedans in central Africa is full of indications that are more valuable than likely to be at once accepted as guides in our intercourse with the native tribes. Mr. Reade, after visiting all the Southern stations, passed some time in the French settlements, and loses no opportunity of pointing out those measures which there already promise a success we have long struggled for in vain.

"Some Glimpses into Life in the Far East"

"Some Glimpses into Life in the Far East." London: Richardson and Co. 1864.

is a gossiping account of the external features of society thirty years since, in Penang, Singapore, and the Straits. They are the remembrance of a boy's impressions, and were suggested by the perusal of Captain S. Osborne's "Quedah." Apparently a planter, and consequently in the eyes of Penang officials an interloper, the author fully shares those feelings of exasperation and wounded vanity which the covenanted servants of the East India Company were at that time not slow to provoke. He takes his revenge by highly-coloured portraits of corrupt and incompetent "civil servants," and sets beside them as foils sketches of local celebrities with, it must be confessed, but a qualified success. Although he betrays a strong feeling of opposition to the powers that were, he conveys at the same time a general sense of the truth of his His pages abound in stories of Malay pirates, alligators, and wild beasts, some of which are to the full as striking as reliable in all their details. On the general practice of Europeans in these settlements, and in China, of forming connexions with native women he is very condemnatory, and shows how often it brings about the most unhappy results both to the European himself and to those who are subject to his power and influence which are by these connexions office directed rather by the oriental feelings and customs of the [unclear: Nonia] by those which her master brought with him from Europe. Though slight in construction, and very careless in style, the book has certain freshness and air of direct experience, which are not without their attractions, and leaves the impression when you lay it down that the couple of hours given to its perusal have not been altogether thrown away.

Very different from the idyllic pictures drawn by the first navigation of those seas are the accounts of recent voyages in the Pacific. Partly this arises from a fuller knowledge, that will not admit of the colouring from Rousseau's philosophy which so greatly influenced the early historians of geographical discovery in these regions. But, most of all is this different picture to be traced to the effects of the tree of European knowledge of good and evil which has borne such strange theological, social, and commercial fruit among the islanders. Our diseases have carried such havoc into their villages, that in several of these islands, after offering libations to their gods at their evening they address any ship seen in the offing with this prayer: "These is ava for you, O sailing gods! do not come ashore in this place, but be pleased to depart along the ocean to some other land." A very fair report of their present condition will be found in [unclear: Mr.] account of the cruise of the *Fawn* in 1862,

"Notes of a Cruise in H.M.[unclear: S] *awn* in the Western Pacific, in the year 1862." By T. H. Hood. Edinburg: Edmonston and Douglas. 1863.

for the purposes of inspection and police, and to collect fines imposed upon the islanders for misconduct in the matter of stranded ships, or boats which visit them for fresh provisions. It is to be feared that the overwhelming power of an English man-of-war is sometimes brought to bear where [unclear: the] has not been judged with that favourable consideration which ought to attend it. The *Fawn* touched at Uvea, or Wallis

Island, for the purpose of enforcing payment of a fine of twenty tons of cocoa-nut oil, value about 600*l.*, inflicted by the commander of H.M.S. *Elk* upon the natives for plundering a vessel which got ashore on the reef and for maltreating her crew. This Cornish custom of theirs must certainly be put down, but in this case it would seem from the evidence collected by Mr. Hood, that the vessel was lost through the captain's refusal to take a pilot after he had threatened to flog one of the native chiefs who had offered his services. The queen of the island admitted that some things had been taken when washed ashore, but declared they had been returned as soon as she became aware of it, and that it was quite false that the crew had been maltreated. The claimant's representative had agreed to take half the quantity of oil; but Captain Cator, of course, had no discretion in the matter, and was obliged to enforce payment of the whole amount, though the statements of the queen were confirmed by all the Europeans in the island; and it was found that the complainant had opened a store with the very goods returned by the natives and those left in the vessel, which were brought off for him, and sold them to these people whom he represented as savage robbers. Few, we think, can fail to agree with the justice of Mr. Hood's concluding remarks on this transaction:—

"It is one of the most flagrant cases, certainly, which has come under our notice, of the unfair treatment the Polynesian islanders too often experience at the hands of the Papalangis; and in this particular instance it is the more intolerable when it is considered that H.M.S. Elk took away from Uvea thirteen shipwrecked British subjects, saved by the natives. A vessel having foundered at sea off Savaii, the crew constructed a raft, upon which they were driven before the strong south-east wind towards the island, which they in vain endeavoured to reach. They were observed helplessly drifting past its shores by the natives, who swam out, and towed the raft through the breakers into the reef: no slight undertaking even for Polynesian swimmers. Many of the men were so exhausted that they could not walk, and were carried by them kindly into their houses, where all the thirteen were hospitably taken care of, supplied with all the luxuries within reach, until they were afforded the means of leaving. For this they were munificently rewarded with the sum of one dollar and a half for each man, the estimated value of an English sailor by his countrymen who inflicted the severe penalty of nearly a year's whole produce of the island upon the people of Uvea because one or two of them had appropriated a few dollars' worth of goods floating about the reef."

It is difficult to imagine what must have been the effect on the simple congregation of a sermon which Mr. Hood heard in one of the Samoan Islands, which consisted of a tirade against the "Poor Pope," as the preacher called him, and the catholic missionaries of the island, for withholding the Bible from the natives, geologists also receiving their share of the anathemas, being in some mysterious way chargeable with the same offence. The Protestants seem, however, no way behind the Catholics in the use of weapons, which have been frequently supposed peculiarly Romish. In another island of this group—

"A girl was being carried to the grave by her friends, having been, to all appearance, dead for some time, when suddenly she awoke from the trance in which she had been. When recovered a little, being asked what she had seen, she told her wondering friends that she had been at the gate of heaven, and was met there by an angel, whom she described with the most imaginative minuteness, convincing all the superstitious people that she had [unclear: actually] all she related. She was told by this celestial being that there was [unclear: but] religion only, and that the people who alone could gain admittance at the were Protestants. Many of the Roman Catholics here it is said have taken the alarm, and left their priest."

The Christian religion seems to sit but lightly upon any of them for they will throw off their profession for a time when tempted to indulge in any of their national customs, too flagrantly in contradiction with its precepts, and quietly return to their profession when they have carried out their purpose. The cruise of the *Fawn* extended from Sydney to the Samoan Islands and back by the Feejees and New Caledonia. The account of the domestic politics of these small archipelagoes, of their productions, and inhabitants, given by Mr. Hood, is very full and impartial; and we regret that our space will not admit of a fuller notice of his book, to which he has appended—what ought always to be published with every account of a sea voyage—a track chart of the route followed by the ship. It is not, however, lettered in such exact conformity with the text as could be desired, and falls very short of the admirable completeness of German maps of a similar character as all will acknowledge who remember the admirable one which accompanied the account of the voyage of the Austrian frigate the *Novars* in these seas.

Miss Cobbe has collected into a little volume those papers on Baalbec, Cairo, Rome, the Dead Sea, Athens, and Jerusalem, which she first published in "Eraser's Magazine.

"The Cities of the Past." By F. P. Cobbe. London: Trübner and Co. 1864.

Many of our readers are no doubt already familiar with them. No one, however, can regret they are thus brought together in a more handy form. The subjects might be supposed worn and threadbare, but how little this is the case will soon be found by those who take up this charming collection of *Impressions de Voyage*. As she very justly remarks, everyone brings home different impressions; and those who cannot, for want of means, leisure, or opportunity, gather them for themselves, could hardly have a better introduction to the scenes visited

than that here afforded by Miss Cobbe. The freshness and originality of her remarks, the [unclear: gen] sympathy for every human feeling, and the sharp observation which allows no characteristic feature to escape, however different the forms of civilization under which they display themselves, make this a very delightful book. There is, perhaps, a certain tone of [unclear: affectionate] nine enthusiasm about the author which one at first [unclear: sight] knows whether to love or laugh at; but the sound sense [unclear: and] charity that pervade all her reflections make it impossible to [unclear: do] latter, and the great extent and accuracy of her information [unclear: often] them a fulness and depth that is not usually found in a lady's [unclear: chro] of foreign travel.

An "old bushman's" account of a spring and summer in the most northern province of Sweden

"A Spring and Summer in Lapland: with Notes on the Fauna of Luleå lapmark." By an old Bushman, author of "Bush Wanderings in Australia." London Groombridge and Sons. 1864.

will be of most interest to the practical naturalist and especially to the ornithologist, as the main purpose of his journey was to collect fine specimens of the birds which frequent these high latitudes in the early summer; but his description of a very interesting country that is but little known to southern Europeans gives his book a general interest which will render it attractive to a larger circle of readers. It has one of the first requisites of all descriptions, an air of unexaggerated truthfulness, especially in the account he gives of adventurous expeditions among the forests and on the hills or high lands which form the chief features of the Country. The rule he laid down, never to recount any traveller's tales, however probable in themselves, but to restrict himself to his own personal experience, if it has deprived his pages of many of an animated story of hunting exploits with bears and gluttons, has at least had this good effect—the reader feels that he can put the fullest confidence in what he has before him. We have never met with a more excellent account of the suffering endured in a sub-arctic snowstorm than that given in this volume. For purposes of sport it is sufficient to start from England late in the spring; but as the author wished to be on the spot as soon as the birds began to build,—for it was part of his purpose to make a collection of their eggs—he was obliged to make a winter journey, by sledging up the whole length of the country to [unclear: Luleå], at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia, and from thence inland to Quickiock, close under the mountain ridge which divides Sweden from Norway. The first and much longer part of this journey is rendered so easy by the excellent postal arrangements of the Government, that no one need be deterred from undertaking it who wishes to find employment for either gun or fishing-rod in a country which gives full opportunity of good sport for either. The fullest directions are given in this volume for the necessary equipment, and a cheaper or more enjoyable trip can hardly be imagined. In the middle and southern districts the elk is to be found, in private forests it is true, but the hospitable landowners are always ready to invite a stranger to their annual hunts. The lakes and streams in this most watery country abound in salmon, trout, grayling, and char, the last especially of great weight; if these things in the wildest landscape, and among the simplest people, are attractive to any, they cannot do better than avail themselves of the instructions of an "old bushman."

We do not know of any book more calculated to interest the young in the geography of the British Empire than the excellent compilation lately published by Mrs. Bray.

"The British Empire." By Caroline-Bray, author of "Physiology for Schools." London: Longman and Co. 1863.

It is an enormous advance upon the usual bare list of isolated facts with which children are too often tormented under the name of geography. Not only is this the most complete work of its kind within the necessary-limits of a schoolbook, but its arrangement is so good that the memory is relieved of half the burthen usually imposed upon it by manuals on the subject. The progress of the nation is first rapidly sketched, and then every Colony and dependency of the Empire is treated of in appropriate groups. Though primarily a geographical book, the natural and political features of each of the numerous countries subject to the British Crown are added with so much judgment, that a strong and interesting impression can hardly fail to be the result on the minds of the young people for whose use it is intended. Though the result of very wide reading and great labour, the style is so clear and fresh that we should be much surprised if it did not soon assume a place among the most popular educational works of the day.

The first volume of a history of the United States, by Herr Karl Neumann,

"Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika." Von Karl F. Neumann. Berlin: C. Heymann. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

which brings the narrative down to the Presidentship of Jefferson, may be recommended as a very clear and careful account of one of the most instructive periods of the world's political history. In spirit it is more a constitutional history than a pageant of events. With great judgment the author goes back to the colonial system, out of which the power of the Union was ultimately to be evolved; and traces with a sure hand, how early the seeds of the present struggle were sown in the Constitution itself. The second volume, which is nearly finished will bring down the narrative to the Presidentship of Andrew Jackson, and the third will contain the

events of the present day. By confining himself, as he does, to the essential social facts of American history, he is enabled, in the small compass of these volumes, to give a most useful guide through a complicated series of party manoeuvres that is even now too little understood in Europe; but the magnitude of the issue involved in and interests connected with them must, before long, force a more intelligent appreciation upon spectators who were, at first, but too willing to be misled by an apparently simple issue drawn from a supposed right of revolt. This argument, at first adopted to cloak an ignorance—at the time too general—has ever since been a weight round the necks of those who sought relief in it. If revolt is a political right, it must be always ready to show its grounds; but those who have likened the present rebellion in the United States to the revolt from the Mother-country in which they originated as a nation have been very careful to avoid a comparison of the causes which brought about each. With better knowledge, a truer and more charitable judgment will form itself in England and on the Continent of the events now taking place in America; and every candid lover of the truth must be glad to welcome any effort to bring about so desirable state of things. On this account, as well as on the ground of [*unclear*: its] very great merits, we strongly recommend the present history.

There are few books more worthy of attention from the light they throw on the state of public opinion in America, than a collection of Speeches by Wendell Phillips, recently published at Boston.

"Speeches, Lectures, and Letters." By Wendell Phillips. Boston. U. S. J. Redpath. 1863.

They cover, in some sort, the progress of the best democratic thought of the last quarter of a century, and seldom has greater progress been made in any country in so short a time. Nothing can be more easy than to find fault with their style, which is very different from the political oratory of our own country. All that is needed is to put out of sight the first consideration of every orator—namely, the public he addresses, and to substitute another of which he is not thinking, and it may then be conclusively shown that the canons of taste appealed to utterly condemn the performance thus criticized. Violence, bitterness, and personal invective have been thought graces in the oratorical triumphs of the Ancients; but in the mouth of an American they are too often the only thing attended to, while the purpose and animating spirit is cautiously kept out of view, that nothing may interfere with the judgment pronounced by polite indifference on a man struggling with all his might in a cause to which he has given every feeling of his heart. The almighty dollar has become a catch-word with many writers among us, as if Americans were the first who ever hesitated between God and Mammon. But this is the way in which an American abolitionist speaks to his fellow-countrymen on the election of the present President:—

*"The saddest thing in the Union meetings of last year was the constant presence in all of them of the chink of coin—the whirr of spindles—the dust of trade. I must confess those pictures of the industrial value of the Union made me profoundly sad. I look, as beneath the skilful pencil trait after trait leaps to glowing life, and ask at last—Is this all? Where are the nobler element's of national purpose and life? Is this the whole fruit of ages of toil, sacrifice, and thought?—those cunning fingers, the overflowing lap, labour vocal on every hillside, and commerce whitening every sea—all the dower of one [*unclear*: aughty] and overbearing race. The zeal of the Puritan, the faith of the Quaker, a century of colonial health, and then this large civilization; does it result only in a workshop? Oh, no! not such the picture which my glad heart sees [*unclear*: when] look forward."*

And in another place, when, last year, describing the task which must be heartily undertaken, he meets the great problem of the future of America in the only way in which it can possibly be solved, and shrinking from no tittle of its magnitude, exclaims—

"We cannot expect in hours to cover the place of centuries. It is a great problem before us: we must take up the South and organize it anew. It is not the men we have to fight—it is the state of society that produces them. He would be a fool who, having a fever, scraped his tongue and took no medicine. Killing Davis is only scraping the tongue; killing Slavery is taking a wet sheet-pack, destroying the very disease. But when we have done it, there remains behind it the still greater and more momentous problem, whether we have the strength, the balance, the virtue, the civilization, to absorb six millions of ignorant embittered, bedevilled Southerners, and transmute them into honest, descent, well-behaved, Christian mechanics, worthy to be the brothers of New Ehud Yankees—that is the real problem."

There can be no doubt of it, and insight is the first step towards success. Nothing is more remarkable than the growing confidence with which these speeches are animated; what in 1837 and up to [*unclear*: the] of the last election was pleaded for by every constitutional device, and defended by every resource of legal fence, now steps boldly forward on the ground of its own inherent principles of justice, which it is manifest are felt to be sufficient and no longer to need any collateral support. If it were necessary to show that the violence of language which so often appears in these addresses is but the necessary tone to be adopted to a democratic assembly when a party question has to be discussed before them, it would be sufficient to refer to the only one in this volume which touches on a subject beyond the circle of party organizations, to that on the Rights of Women, in which a subject so often disfigured by enthusiastic declamation is treated with a clearness of philosophical insight and temperate command, both of thought and language, that leave nothing to be desired.

The "Diplomatic History of the years 1813,14,15," just published by F. A. Brockhaus, of Leipsic, "Diplomatische Geschichte der Jahre 1813, 14, 15." Leipzig: F. A. [unclear: Brockhaus]. London: D. Nutt. 1863.

is a very well written account, from the German point of view, of the events of the War of Liberation. There is considerable advantage in making treaties and conventions the turning-points of any historical summary, comprising, as they usually do, the definite results attained at their respective dates. These volumes are a curious mixture of patriotic boasting and querulous complaint, that Germany was ultimately deprived of what she looked upon as not only a just retribution on her enemy, but as the only adequate condition of her future safety. A very different view is, of course, taken by M. Capéfigue in his introduction to a collection of all the treaties and conventions connected with the settlement of Europe at Vienna, which forms two bulky volumes of the "Bibliothèque des Archives Diplomatiques," published by the Count d'Angeberg.

"Le Congrès de Vienne et les Traités de 1815. Bibliothèque des Archives Diplomatiques." Paris: Amyot. London: D. Nutt. 1863.

An interesting map is added to the first of these volumes, from the papers of Talleyrand, in which the demands of the German Powers for an improved frontier are very clearly laid down, together with those points ultimately yielded by France.

The manner in which the Liberal party in the French Legislative Chamber has taken advantage of the relinquishment by the Emperor of the power of increasing the floating debt of the country by the issue of supplementary credits, and the general financial tone of their opposition to the Government, give a special interest to two recent books on French finance. The first of these, by M. Casimir Perier,

"Les Finances et la Politique." Par M. Casimir Perier. Paris: [unclear: Levy] London: D. Nutt. 1863.

a programme of the Liberal party, and may be usefully studied covering nearly the whole of that field to which they have, in the present state of French opinion, very judiciously restricted their [unclear: comm] action. It is to be hoped that on such simple issues as are here [unclear: raised] the many shades of free opinion in France may acquire [unclear: a] mutual support which will with every succeeding session [unclear: give] and force to their influence on the Government. M. [unclear: Perier's] originally appeared, for the most part, in the "Revue des Deux [unclear: monha] and are directed to a general consideration of the character of the control exercised by the French Chambers from the times of Louis Philippe. They also contain a review of the financial reforms of 1861, and of the subsequent budgets, with an estimate of the present debt and sinking fund; the whole closing with a very cautious aspiration to the *beau idéal*, yet so distant, of collective Ministerial responsibility, and a budget open to detailed amendments.

The second, and much longer work, by the Baron de Nervo,

"Les Finances Françaises." Par M. Le Baron de Nervo. Paris: M. Levy fores. London: D. Nutt. 1863.

with its epigraph, "Facta loquuntur," is an extended history of French finance from the times of Jacques Cœur to those of Mollien. Its purpose is to inculcate, by the examples of Sully, Colbert, and the First Consul, the necessity of a firm and able hand to sweep away the ruins of former disorder, and reconstruct the financial edifice on a new basis. As might have been expected, it is much more concerned with the administrative than with the Constitutional side of the question, and is a commentary on the epigram of Baron Louis: "Give me a good government, and I will answer for a good financial system." It is not surprising that the adversaries of the Imperial system look upon this view as putting the cart before the horse; nor is it to be expected that they will be led by patriotic admiration of successful administration to an implicit confidence in the working of a system which they cannot even bring themselves to look upon as good in itself, or be misled by examples which they refuse to consider applicable to the wants of the present moment. But whatever may be thought of its political intention, the Baron de Nervo's book will be welcome to those who appreciate the difficulties of research he has overcome; while the clear manner in which he handles a subject not usually very attractive to any but those political students who know how necessary such labours are for the correct appreciation of the cotemporary events they underlie and so powerfully influence, deserves the highest praise.

A manual of the current gold and silver coins of all countries, compiled by Messrs. Leopold C. Martin and Charles Trübner,

"The Current Gold and Silver Coins of all Countries." By Leopold C. Martin and Charles Trübner. London: Trübner and Co. 1863.

is, since the publication of that by Messrs. Eckfeldt and Dubois of the United States Mint, the most useful volume of its kind; and in the number and beauty of its facsimiles of the coins described, excels that well-known work. This volume cannot but be of great use to all connected with the trade in bullion, and, though from the impossibility of correctly valuing the silver coins of other countries in the terms of own currency, owing to the operation of the seignorage on the silver coinage, the values given cannot be made the basis of any extended calculation, they are yet sufficiently accurate as approximations to the value of single pieces, while the accompanying quotation of the amount of fine silver they contain obviates any difficulty with those who

engaged in exchange operations.

Science.

The book which, from its comprehensive nature, we must place first amongst the few scientific works which have reached us, appears under the somewhat ambitious title of "Kosmos."

"Kosmos—Bibel der Natur." Von Dr. August Nathanael Böhner, Erster Band. 8vo. Hannover: Cari Rümpler. 1864. Pp. 570.

The object of its author, Dr. A. N. Böhner, is to point out the evidences of the power and beneficence of the Deity to be found in cosmical and terrestrial phenomena, and to a certain extent to demonstrate the harmony existing between the testimony obtained from these phenomena and the written Word. In his attempt at the latter, however, he does not seem to have been very sure of his grounds, and accordingly his argument prove but little. In his chapter specially devoted to the consideration of the "Harmony of the Book of Nature and the Bible," he confines himself to adducing examples from the latter in which the prophets and Christ himself appeal to surrounding objects for picturesque illustrations of their meaning, or for demonstrations of the power and glory of the Deity; and although his numerous quotations from the Bible, many of which are adopted as mottoes for his chapters, are often most happily chosen, his views, particularly on one important point, are so completely at variance with the literal interpretation of the Scripture, that the orthodox reader will find but little comfort in his pages. To our earth he gives an antiquity of many millions of years, and he also adopts for the human race a period of existence of at least 100,000 years, accepting as fully established the data afforded by Horner's researches in the valley of the Nile, Dowler's calculations upon the length of the human period in that of the Mississippi, and the facts and deductions obtained by the investigation of valley deposits, bone caves, and lake-dwellings in Europe—and all this with his pages swarming with quotations from the Bible and from devotional poems and hymns, and with pietistic ejaculatory passages on his own account, worked up with an unction worthy of the most evangelical of preachers. Apart from this theological element, which some would be inclined to regard as introduced for the purpose of blinding the faithful and deluding them into heretical paths, Dr. Böhner has furnished his readers with a most interesting *résumé* of the present state of our knowledge of the leading phenomena of the Cosmos. The primitive condition of the universe is described in accordance with the nebular theory, and the emission of light and heat by the cosmical bodies during their condensation is regarded as the fulfilment of the first volition of the Creator as recorded in Genesis—"Let there be light." The gradual evolution of the system of the heavens and the mutual relations of the celestial bodies, form the subject of his first book. The second book is devoted to the consideration of light and the correlated forces; and the third to the geological development of our earth and its inhabitants. In the latter, we suppose by way of an attempt at a reconciliation with the so-called Mosaic narrative, the geological history is divided into seven periods,—namely, 1. Primitive (Gneiss, &c.); 2 Transition (Palæozoic); 3. Triassic; 4. Jurassic; 5. Cretaceous; 6 Molasse (Tertiary); 7. Diluvial (Human period). In the last of these the author assumes that the changes in the surface of the earth have gone on with far less violence than in former periods, and he finds in this supposed fact an illustration of the Jewish traditional origin of the Sabbatical observances.

The second part of Professor Roscoe's translation of Kirchhoff's "Researches on the Solar Spectrum"

"Researches on the Solar Spectrum and the Spectra of the Chemical Elements." By G. Kirchhoff.

Translated by H. E. Roscoe, B.A., Ph.D., F.R.S. Second Part 4to. Cambridge: Macmillan. 1863.

has just appeared. In the first part the author described that portion of the solar spectrum which includes Fraunhofer's lines D and F; the investigation is now continued on the same plan and with the same instruments on the two extremities of the spectrum from D to A and from F to G. By the comparison of the spectra of the chemical elements with the solar spectrum, the coincidence of the iron, calcium, and nickel bright lines with Fraunhofer's lines is further demonstrated, and new coincidences of the same kind were observed in the spectra of barium, copper, and zinc. These results strengthen the evidence as to the presence of the metals in question in the solar atmosphere, but the existence of cobalt therein still remains uncertain, as "many cobalt lines between C and D, and between F and G, are coincident with Fraunhofer's lines, whilst others, equally bright, have no coincident solar line." A few coincidences were observed in the spectra of cadmium and strontium, but not sufficient to warrant the conclusion that these metals are present. On the other hand, the closer investigation of the potassium spectrum has thrown great doubt upon the existence of that metal in the sun's atmosphere—the supposed red potassium line regarded by Bunsen and Kirchhoff as coincident with Fraunhofer's line A, is now proved to consist of two lines, both of which are less refrangible than A, and the second double potassium line, although near, is not coincident with B. Independent of the interest attaching immediately to these researches, Professor Kirchhoff and his pupil, Dr. Hofmann, merit the thanks of future observers in the field of spectrum analysis for the careful and admirable manner in which, in the plates appended to this memoir, they have as it were mapped out the solar spectrum with its almost innumerable Fraunhofer's lines, rendering the identification

of the position of lines produced in chemical spectra a matter of perfect certainty.

We need do little more than notice the appearance of a fifth edition of Professor Phillips's "Guide to Geology,"

"A Guide to Geology." By John Phillips, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., &c. Fifth Edition. 12mo, London: Longmans. 1864.

which has just been published, as its reputation, like that of its author, is already well established. We notice that Professor Phillips still adheres to his former views as to the equivalence of the beds between the Cornbrash and the Dogger in Yorkshire with the Great Oolite series of the south-west of England, in opposition to the opinion now generally entertained that the whole of the Yorkshire Oolites below the Cornbrash belong to the Inferior Oolite. In general the results of recent geological research have been carefully incorporated by the author in the present edition of his work, and the whole subject is treated in a philosophical spirit and with a close reference to personal observations, that render this book a most valuable manual of the principles of geology. To those who are beginning the practical study of this science it will prove an excellent guide.

Another little book on the same great subject with the one just noticed is Mr. Page's "Philosophy of Geology."

"The Philosophy of Geology: a Brief Review of the Aim, Scope, and Character of Geological Inquiry." By David Page, F.R.S.E, F.G.S. 12mo. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1863.

The author's object in its preparation was to direct the attention of geologists "to some of the higher aims of their science, to the principles that ought to guide them in their generalizations, and to what may be ultimately anticipated of Geology in her true and onward progress." The views here expressed are doubtless familiar to most geologists, but it is as well to have even familiar things occasionally brought prominently before us, as, when set in a new light, they not unfrequently impress our minds with greater force. The sections relating to the general hypotheses of geology and indicating the dangers of a too hasty generalization will be read with especial profit by the young geologist, and the observations on the uncertainty of calculations of geological time from any data at present at our command are also deserving of attention. With regard to the value of Palæontological evidence in determining the cotemporaneity of distant deposits, the author endorses the views of Professor Huxley, considering that we may by its means "establish a similarity of order between the strata of different regions but similarity of order is not to be confounded with synchrony of deposit." With regard to the manifestations of life during geological periods, Mr. Page maintains the doctrine of progression, but at the same time indicates the difficulties in the way of the demonstration of the supposed gradual ascent, from Palæontological evidence. In discussing the mode by which this progression has been effected, the author, whilst admitting the probability of a developmental relation between organized bodies, indicates that none of the hypotheses hitherto proposed seem to satisfy all the conditions of the question; he requires some higher law than any of those recognised in the Darwinian theory. The whole of this portion of the work, and of that treating of the origin and antiquity of man, is written in a liberal and philosophical spirit, which indeed is manifested by the author whenever he has occasion to touch upon those pseudo-theological questions which appear as serious stumbling-blocks to many minds.

M. Louis Figuier's "Earth and Sea,"

"La Terre et les Mers, ou Description Physique du Globe." Par Louis Figuier 8vo. Paris: Hachette. 1864.

is the second of that series of scientific manuals with which he hopes to displace fairy this from the hands of the rising generation. It contains, as indicated in its title-page, a popular account of the physical geography of the globe with especial reference to the more picturesque details which may be so easily engrafted on the dry bones of the science. In this respect it must be regarded as a more successful effort than its predecessor (which was devoted to geology) towards the author's desired end, as the descriptions of Alpine adventures, disastrous earthquakes, and cave explorations, possess a general charm for the young mind with which it is perhaps more difficult to invest many of the facts of geological investigation.

In those anthropological researches which are now occupying so much attention both in this country and abroad, the investigation of the languages of different peoples forms by no means an unimportant element, but one which, owing to the various and arbitrary modes of spelling adopted by different authors in reducing the sounds of exotic languages to European terms, is surrounded by the most vexatious difficulties. With the view of getting rid of some of the obstacles in the way of reducing different languages to a common mode of spelling—the necessity of which is felt by missionaries as much, or perhaps more, than by scientific investigators—Professor Lepsius was induced, several of the London Missionary Societies, to undertake the preparation of a "Standard Alphabet," in which each known sound employed in any language whatsoever, should be represented by its own character. The result of Professor Lepsius's labours is the work of which a second edition is now before us,

"Standard Alphabet for reducing Unwritten Languages and Foreign Graphic Systems to a Uniform

Orthography in European Letters." By C. R. Lepsius. Second edition. 8vo. Loudon: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

and for the production of which we are indebted to the English Church Missionary Society. It includes a historical account of previous attempts to express exotic languages in European characters, and a full discussion both of the objects to be attained by the adoption of a uniform standard alphabet, and of the means by which such an alphabet may be formed, the latter portion including a minute examination of the nature of the various sounds in use among different nations, and leading naturally to the development of the system proposed for adoption by the author. The alphabet, from the number of shades of sound which it has to express, is necessarily somewhat complicated; but it is founded on so thorough an investigation of the subject, that it can hardly fail to prove practically useful: indeed, the examples of numerous languages given by the author in his second part, and the wide adoption of this alphabet by the Missionaries—especially in reducing the African languages to a written form—prove its applicability. The remarks upon the languages of which illustrations are given, often contain interesting information.

Mrs. Ward's "Microscope Teachings"

"Microscope Teachings." By the Hon. Mrs. Ward. Square 8vo. London: Groombridge. 1864.

will furnish a simple and useful guide to those who wish to amuse themselves a little with the microscope, giving them a good deal of information as to the use of the instrument, the objects the examination of which will be most interesting to the beginner, and the modes of preparing and preserving them for inspection. Mrs. Ward makes no pretence to be an authorial in science, as is the wont of too many of those who write books similar in their nature to her own; but she has an advantage over most of these authors in that she appears to have personally examined the greater part of the objects which she here describes. The little volume is illustrated with numerous coloured plates, from the author's own pencil, the figures in which are generally good.

Since the meeting of the Peace Congress at Brussels and the celebrated visit of Mr. Pease to the Emperor Nicholas of Russia, the world has been fuller of wars and rumours of wars than at any time during the memory of the present generation, and at no period perhaps has the general aspect of continental politics been more threatening than it is at present. How long this country may keep out of any greater embroilment than those which she has now upon her hands a question that may receive a practical solution at any moment, and it is therefore a matter of no small importance to know how we should stand in the event of our being drawn into a struggle with any strong power. Among the points to be considered in order to arrive at a conclusion upon this subject, the condition of our artillery service and of the relation of our guns to armour-plated ships must occupy the first place. Those who wish for information as to the result of the efforts which have been made of late years in this country for the improvement of projectile weapons will find a most admirable summary of the whole series of experiments in Sir James Emerson Tennent's "Story of the Guns,"

"The Story of the Guns." By Sir James Emerson Tennent, K.C.B. [*unclear*: 8] London: Longmans. 1864.

—a little book which, whilst dealing apparently with the driest details, is at the same time, from its style and the mode in which its subject is arranged, as attractive reading as any novel. The author first of all indicates the comparatively stationary conditions of all firearms up to a very recent period, the absence of improvement being so complete in the case of the ordinary soldier's musket, that the weapons borne by our men at Waterloo cannot be regarded as more effective than those used in the wars of Marlborough. The first step in advance was the introduction of the Minié rifle in 1851, and this gave way in 1853 to the Enfield musket. The further experiment of Mr. Whitworth led him to the invention of the rifle which bears name, and the leading principles of which consist in its possessing polygonal instead of a grooved bore, and a rather rapid twist, and in its being fired with a bullet made to fit the bore of the gun instead of one forced into an irregular figure in order to fill up the rifling demonstrated result of this arrangement is a decided [*unclear*: superiority] the Enfield and indeed any other rifle; it possesses great accuracy a very long range, and a remarkably low trajectory, the latter a condition of the very greatest importance in firing at a distant mark. It appears from the evidence that this weapon might be produced at about the same cost as the Enfield rifle; the only obstacle to its introduction into the British army seems to be the expense of altering the machinery at the Enfield Government works to enable it to produce the new arm. The whole course of the experiments leading to the invention of these rifles, and to the general adoption for military poses of a conical or elongated form of projectile, is described fully by Sir James Tennent,—the effect produced in the art of war by the introduction of weapons which would kill, and even admitted of good shooting, at a range of 1000 yards, may be easily understood when we remember that the old fighting rule for the soldier when armed with "Brown Bess" was to reserve his fire until he could distinguish the whites of his enemies' eyes, and that Napoleon and his marshals regarded 450 yards as a perfectly safe distance from any small arms in use in their day. It is also easy to see that with this improvement in the weapons carried by the infantry of the line, the position of [*unclear*: utillerymen] became far less secure than formerly, as they were [*unclear*: now] to be picked off when engaged in handling their guns at a distance

which had previously been regarded as perfectly safe. Accordingly the efforts which had previously been made to improve the larger guns were redoubled, and a series of experiments was made both by the Government and by private individuals, with the view of obtaining an arm which should maintain the old superiority of the ordnance over the muskets of the line. The attempts made in this direction, both in this country and on the continent, are discussed by Sir James Tennent, and the peculiarities and defects of the different guns proposed are thoroughly explained. The principle to which all the inventors had [unclear: course] in order to give increased range and accuracy to their [unclear: protles], consist in rifling the bore of the gun: the difficulty of adapting the ball to the new mode of construction, and in the case of heavy [unclear: duance], the apparent impossibility of obtaining a material strong [unclear: ough] to resist the force of the explosion, formed the chief obstacles to the realization of the various projects. Among the crowd of [unclear: inventors] two names stand conspicuous—those of Mr. Whitworth and of Sir W. Armstrong. The latter adopted a cylindrical bore, rifled with grooves, to be used with lead-coated projectiles: a necessary condition this construction is that the gun should be a breech-loader, in order that the ball may be forced to occupy the grooves, and this [unclear: necessity] led to the introduction in the Armstrong guns of a complicated arrangement of screws about the breech, and especially of a [unclear: loose]-piece, which cannot but weaken the weapon at the very point where it requires to be strongest. It appears that unless the [unclear: greatest] be taken the vent-piece of the Armstrong gun may be blown out by the force of its discharge, and several naval officers have declared that both they and their men regard the new guns with considerable distrust. Mr. Whitworth, in his ordnance, simply reproduced on a larger scale the model which had guided him in the construction of [unclear: his]—a polygonal twisted bore, with an iron projectile moulded so as to fit accurately to the interior of the barrel. His gun, therefore, loads in the ordinary way, at the mouth, in itself no small advantage, and when he has adopted a breech-loading arrangement in the smaller cannon, the whole breech screws firmly on the hinder extremity of the barrel, so as to avoid all loose vent-pieces and other complication. In fact, in simplicity Mr. Whitworth's invention is so far preferable to the Armstrong gun, that one is surprised that the Committee of 1858 should have adopted the latter without further inquiry, and even without visiting Mr. Whitworth's works, an omission of which no satisfactory explanation has been given. The advantages of the Whitworth gun over all its competitors as far as they have yet been tried, consist in its greater range and accuracy and its low trajectory, and in proof of its penetrating power it has sent both shot and shell through armour-plates, which, as Sir W. Armstrong himself [unclear: admit], gun in the service could touch. Under these circumstances every one must agree with Sir James Tennent in thinking that further trials of these and other guns are absolutely necessary, and that the Committee appointed for the purpose should not be exclusively composed of naval and military men.

Lieutenant Forsyth, in his work on "The Sporting Rifle,"

"The Sporting Rifle and its Projectiles." By Lieut. James [unclear: Forsyth], 8vo. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.

takes a different view of the subject of projectiles, maintaining that while great range is undoubtedly an advantage in military rifles, the sportsman rather requires a weapon which will carry true nearly point blank to a distance of 150 or 200 yards. For sporting purposes he disapproves of the conical bullet, and recommends a return to the spherical form, which, he says, is more certain than any other to disable an animal when hit. The rifle for shooting with spherical balls should [unclear: have] little twist in its grooves, according to the author. In his concluding chapter, Lieutenant Forsyth describes some percussion shells which he has invented for sporting purposes, and gives full directions for making them.

In medical literature we have but little that is new to notice; few books before us being chiefly new editions of well-known works, Amongst them we have a third edition of Gray's Descriptive and [unclear: Surgical] Anatomy, edited by Mr. Holmes.

"Anatomy, Descriptive and Surgical." By H. Gray, F.R.S. Third Edition By T. Holmes, M.A., Cantab. London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Co. 8vo. 1864.

The easy familiarity of its style, and the admirable illustrations with which it abounds, [unclear: cannot] to render this work popular with students of anatomy. A third edition of Dr. Althaus' work on the treatment of certain forms of [unclear: Paraly] and Neuralgia by the Galvanic Current,

"On Paralysis, Neuralgia, and other Affections of the Nervous System and their Successful Treatment by Galvanization and Faradization." By [unclear: J] M.D. Third Edition. London: Trübner & Co. 1864. 12mo.

gives us a fair *résumé* of the present state of our knowledge of the therapeutic value of the various modifications of this agent. It is needless to say that on this subject Dr. Althaus is our best authority.

Few medical works written for the general reader are worthy of notice: we have, however, a notable exception to this rule, in [unclear: the] useful work by Mr. Chavasse, which has already reached a [unclear: seventh]

"Advice to a Mother on the Management of her Offspring, and on the Treatment of some of their more Urgent Diseases." By P. H. Chavasse, F.R.C.S. Seventh Edition. London: Churchill & Sons. 1864.

. Were it possible to impress mothers with the value and importance of the advice contained in it and to ensure their acting upon it, we should not long have to deplore the high rate of infant mortality which the reports of the Registrar-General record, more than half of which, we believe, is due to preventible causes, and especially to the ignorance and neglect of the few simple principles which ought to guide mothers in the management of their infants which are so clearly set forth in this unpretending little volume.

Topics of the Day is the title of a volume of essays on various subjects, medical and social.

"Topics of the Day, Medical, Social, and Scientific." By J. A. Hingeston, M.R.C.S. London: Churchill & Sons. 1863. 12mo.

The work contains nothing that is new either fact or theory, nevertheless in a pleasant, gossiping manner it runs over a variety of interesting themes, as for example, Atmospheric Phenomena in relation to Cholera, History and Practice of Vaccination, Ethnological Psychology, The Indian Rebellion, &c. Many of the essays are elegantly written, and indicate a wide field of observation.

A volume on the sanitary condition of the army in India is a reprint in a separate form of Miss Nightingale's observations, communicated by request to the Royal Commission.

"Observations on the Evidence contained in the Stational Reports submitted to her by the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army in India." By Florence Nightingale. Reprinted from the Report of the Royal Commission, London: E.°Stamford, 1863. 8vo.

The author has in a concise form given a summary of the evidence contained in the "stational reports." These reports show that at almost every station there is an utter neglect of the simplest sanitary precautions; bad water, often filthy, no drainage, the soil soaked with refuse and filth—baths either wanting or imperfect—inducements to intemperance, and a want of any means for healthy recreation and amusement are the normal conditions with which the soldier in India is surrounded. Need we wonder that disease and death are their constant companions? The we know of India and its diseases, the more are we convinced that if close attention were paid to the sanitary condition of our military stations—if efforts were made to secure for the men the advantages of a plentiful supply of pure water, good drainage, and efficient ventilation of hospitals and barracks, together with the means for healthy recreation and amusement, and, if possible, the diminution of those temptations to intemperance which everywhere exist we should have less of the fearful mortality which prevails amongst our troops than we do now. The British soldier is an expensive article, and if humanity and a sense of duty are not sufficient incentives to preserve his health by better attention to the sanitary conditions with which he is surrounded, notions of economy might have some weight.

A second medical report of the hospital for consumption contains much valuable information, chiefly in a statistical form, having reference to all the more prominent features of interest in this disease.

"The Second Medical Report of the Hospital for Consumption and Diseases of the Chest." Presented to the Committee of Management by the [*unclear*: Physician] the Institution. London: J. Churchill & Son. 1863. 8vo.

Amongst other facts, these tables show that by far the greater proportion of cases of consumption occur between the ages of twenty and thirty. On the question of hereditary predisposition they reveal an interesting fact—namely, that this predisposition follows to a considerable extent sexual relations, the daughters of phthisical mothers being more prone to disease than the sons, that is, in cases where the father is healthy; whilst the sons of consumptive fathers are more prone to the disease than daughters in cases where the mother is healthy: the existence of this hereditary predisposition is shown to exist in more than three-fourths of the cases admitted. In addition to statistics on these points of general interest, there are many of special value in a medical point of view. The general result shown by this report is cheering, and clearly indicates how much may be done by judicious treatment, not only towards relieving but curing the scourge of our country. The report is a valuable contribution to the literature of this disease.

Two small pamphlets by Dr. Beale,

"On Deficiency of Vital Power in Disease, and on Support; with Observations upon the Action of Alcohol in Serious Cases of Acute Disease." By L. S. Beale, M.B., F.R.S. 12mo. London: T. Richards. 1863.

"first Principles—Observations upon the Essential Changes [*unclear*: occurring] Inflammation." A Lecture by L. S. Beale, M.B., F.R.S. Dublin: Thomas Day 1863. 12mo.

set forth, in a concise form, his views on the formation of the tissues, the value of nutriment, and the use of alcohol in certain acute diseases. The value of alcohol in the treatment of acute diseases—as, for example, pneumonia—he thinks arises from the fact that it diminishes or assists the active reproduction of morbid cell growth, and then puts an end to the process which constitutes the essential element in the diseased arteries. The truth or fallacy of this theory depends, to a great extent, if not entirely, on the truth or otherwise of the author's theory of growth and nutrition.

History and Biography.

Regarding the career of Charles the Bold as capable of supplying material for an historical construction, rather than as forming "merely a romantic episode" in European history, Mr. Kirk has availed himself of the recent researches of the students of the period has examined the chronicles and memoirs which illustrate it, and from various novel sources opened up in Belgium, Switzerland, and Austria, has derived valuable evidence relating to the chief actors and notable events of the time, and for final result has combined the information and knowledge he has obtained into one "symmetrical [*unclear*: narrative]."

"History of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy." By John Foster Kirk. With Portraits. Vols. I. and II. London: John Murray. 1863.

The two published volumes of this work, designed to be completed by a third now in course of preparation, indicate a scholarly diligence, real understanding of the subject, and an undoubted historical ability. It is true that with all its merits the book before us is not a great book. We find in it no philosophical thought of a [*unclear*: high] nor does its author seem to us to possess the historical imagination in any very eminent degree. If we look to the style which he has adopted, we should say that though writing with vigour and animation, he is deficient in grace, simplicity, and illuminating force.

His composition is sometimes laboured and verbose; in the subjoined sentence his language seems wild:—

"Feudalism, though endued with a centrifugal force ever fruitful of alarming phenomena, and though engaged—at what seemed the period of its rampant strength, but what was in truth the period of its feebleness and decline—in a desperate contest with monarchical power, was nevertheless the chief source from which that power derived its nutriment and growth, weaving the countless threads that when grasped by a skilful hand drew together all the revolving particles and atoms, and distilling all the copious fountains of loyalty that were length to overflow and mingle in a common reservoir."

In spite, however, of defects or deficiencies, Mr. Kirk has produced a really valuable book—a book which is entitled to a place in our library beside the volumes of the friend who aided him in procuring the requisite materials for his literary enterprise, the late William H. Prescott; a distinction which is in itself no mean praise.

Commencing with a description of France at the close of the fourteenth and in the first half of the fifteenth century, Mr. Kirk rapidly delineates the struggles of feudalism with royalty, the long prevailing [*unclear*: anarchy] and ultimate regeneration of France, when the English had abandoned, not only their recent acquisitions, but their earliest possession, and when Calais alone saw "the standard of St. George still floating over French soil." The account of the dominions, court and policy of Philip the Good, which follows, abounds in interesting and picturesque details. In the third chapter we are introduced to Charles the Bold, the inheritor of that renowned sovereignty, which had no [*unclear*: fewer] than five successive phases, and which Charles proposed to restore to its ancient splendour, as the kingdom of the Rhine,—"the counterpart of that earlier Burgundian kingdom which, leaning on the Vosges, the Jura, and the Alps, had guarded the waters of the Rhine to their junction with the sea." Charles, the hero of Mr. Kirk's history, and the rival of Louis XI., has hitherto been pronounced deficient in sagacity and deliberative foresight, and as the Terrible, the Rash, the Bold, and by anticipation, the Idiot, has been held to have played rather a conspicuous than distinguished part, in the drama of European history. To this conception of Charles's character Mr. Kirk objects, not without grounds. He does not, indeed, claim for him transcendent genius, or versatile talent, or ready adaptiveness, but contends that he had eminent, though not pre-eminent intelligence; that "his vision, within a limited range, was singularly clear," and that while, without the profound and foreseeing intellect and the inventive faculty of his antagonist, he had powers of reasoning that were rare and admirable, and principles of action that were consistent and sound. That Charles was not wanting either in the faculty that discerns or that which appropriates opportunity is manifest, from the promptitude with which he took advantage of the existing weakness, discord, and embarrassments of neighbouring states, and which is attested by the downfall of Liège, the purchase of Alsace, the annexation of Gueldres, and the establishment of a military protectorate over Lorraine.

Of this sincere, straightforward and impetuous prince Louis XI was the natural enemy. As Mr. Kirk undertakes to correct the popular impression of Charles's character, so he revises the traditional portrait of the French king. Far from denying, however, the reality of the historical element that enters into the received representation he insists that "most of the particulars are indubitable facts. The cages and the steel-traps, the cunning, the cruelty, the suspicions, the bigotry are authentically established." Yet a monarch of whom it can be truly said that he strove to win the sympathy and co-operation of his people, that he appealed to and created public opinion, [*unclear*: that] granted charters liberally to Communes, must have had some remarkable qualities—qualities that justified the admiration of so able and comparatively impartial a judge as Philippe de Commines. A vigorous mind, Mr. Kirk explains, united with a bad heart, is not necessarily an instrument of evil. Louis found the French nobility insubordinate Deprived by royal enactment of the privileges of the chase, they were dreadfully *bored*, and partly out of pure *ennui*, it would seem, formed a combination—the so-called League of the Public Weal—which might have resulted in the dismemberment of France. The unity of the country was imperilled, and the existence of the Monarchy menaced by the rebellious vassals of the Crown.

With a firm [*unclear*: grasp] Louis held the power which legitimately belonged to him, crushed feudal anarchy, and saved France. And this great and necessary work "was effected, not with the aid of fortune or by a preponderance of strength, but through the efforts of an intellect ever watchful and never dispirited, contending against enormous difficulties and overwhelming odds—an intellect so keen and so vivacious as to compel over sympathy, and render dormant that aversion which its choice of means would otherwise inspire." Such are the two principal actors in events which have in them a deep and permanent interest. We have shown how Mr. Kirk regards the rival princes and the work one of [*unclear*: them] and one of them tried to do. We cannot follow him in his narrative of the double career of Charles the Bold, which, beginning with an attempt to undermine the French monarchy, ended with an effort "to establish a power which should rise beside and overtop that monarchy." Among the passages of this history which have struck us most are those which describe the scenery, the institutions, the resources, the usages of Liege, Bruges, Ghent, the analysis of the character of Charles and Louis, the story of the counter-revolution in England, in which some light is thrown on the conduct of the king-making Earl of Warwick, and the episode of Hagenbach's rise and fall. We shall welcome the conclusion of Mr. Kirk's most praiseworthy labours. He is evidently a thoughtful and diligent writer, and gives such evidences of reading and research that we are quite at a loss to conjecture how he, in common with another recent historian, can confound Gregory I. with Gregory VII., as he assuredly does in the note to p. 288, vol. i.

To form a close alliance with the Duke of Burgundy was the obvious policy of the head of the House of York, which gained additional popularity in England from its maintenance of the claims advanced by Edward III. to the crown of France. Edward IV., though he reconquered none of the lost territory, compelled Louis XI. to pay him tribute, and stipulated that the Dauphin should marry his eldest daughter. The treaty of Arras, however, directly set aside this stipulation. On the death of Edward no resentment was manifested in England, and Richard III., who had enough to do at home, had neither motive nor inclination for a quarrel with France.

Such is the view at least of Mr. James Gairdner, who, in the preface to a second and final volume of letters and papers illustrative of the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.,

"Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII." Edited by James Gairdner. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. Vol. II. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1863.

has taken an interesting survey of the period, or rather of some of its leading events, discussing such questions as Richard's criminality, Perkin Warbeck's identity, and James the Fourth's character. We notice that in the present volume Mr. Gairdner recalls the opinion which he expressed in the former volume, on the authorship of the Latin History of Richard III., which he was at one time disposed to attribute, not to Sir Thomas More, but, following the tradition mentioned by Harrington in Queen Elizabeth's reign, to Cardinal Morton. The difficulty of supposing More to be the author of the "History," which arises from the consideration that if he were only three years old at Richard's accession he could not possibly have written the passage in which he says that he remembers an anecdote then told to his father, Mr. Gairdner endeavours to surmount by antedating More's birth by four years. But would a boy of seven have been much more likely than a child of three years of age to have retained in his memory the circumstances recorded in page xxi. of the preface: or is it certain that he would have even understood the report?

There are three other volumes of the Record Office, publications which we can but briefly notice here. "The *Annales Monastici*,"

"*Annales Monastici*." Vol. I. &c. Edited by Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant-Tutor of Trinity College, &c. Published by the authority, &c. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1864.

edited by Mr. Luard, contains the Margan Annals, beginning with the death of Edward the Confessor, and in part, perhaps, derived from William of Malmesbury's History; the Annals of the Monastery of Tewkesbury, which also begin with Edward's death; and the [*unclear*: Amals] of Burton, the most valuable portion of which, says the editor, "relates to the Provisions of Oxford and the revolution, which in fact almost dethroned the King" (Henry III.).

"The Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis,"

"Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis," &c. Edited [*unclear*: by] Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnbury, Yorkshire. Published by the authority, &c. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1864.

admirably edited by Rev. James F. Dimock, from manuscripts in the [*unclear*: Bod] Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris, is a circumstantial biography of an illustrious saint, written by one Adam, a Benedictine monk, and a retainer of Hugh's household. "The Life," which has always been held in high estimation, appears to be of considerable value. It should have a particular attraction for Somersetshire antiquarians, as it contains various details relating to Witham Friary, near Frome, where Henry II. founded a Carthusian monastery, of which Hugh was appointed prior, being the third in order of succession Witham, or the "House of Understanding," as Adam interprets it, out of compliment to Hugh, has gone the way of many

another picturesque village, and hears the profane railway scream where once it heard the monks' pious chant.

The remaining volume is a very curious one, but its lengthy title,

"Leechdoms, Wort-cunning, and Star-craft of Early England." Being a collection of documents, for the most part never before printed, illustrating the history of science in this country before the Norman Conquest. Collected and edited by the Rev. Oswald Cockayne, M.A. Cantab. Vol. I. Published by the authority, &c. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1864.

which we give below, will sufficiently explain its nature. In the preface, Mr. Oswald Cockayne has collected many quaint and instructive details respecting charms, witches, and magic in general.

Among the more remarkable persons accused of practising the black Art was Gerbert, or Silvester II., one of the most learned of popes. In a valuable and attractive study called "The Pope-Fables of the Middle Age," Döllinger, the celebrated Roman Catholic writer, explains the origin of this and several other singular papal myths, including the most singular of all, that of Pope Joan.

"Die Papst-Fabeln des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte." Von Jon. Jos. Ign. V. Döllinger. London: D. Nutt. 1863.

In the 13th century a saga which had perhaps been *in the air* for some little time assumed a definite shape, and took its place as a *fact* in history. The story went that a woman of surpassing knowledge had succeeded in procuring her own elevation to the papal chair; that she performed the various functions of her sublime position; brought scandal on the Church by giving birth to a child in the streets, and, according to one account, was stoned immediately after. The street in which the little accident happened has been avoided since, it is added, and processions take a circuitous route, in order to shun that spot of shame. Now, the strange circumstance about this fable is, that it is not a weak invention of the Protestant enemy. It was current in the 13th century, arose in Rome, and was propagated, not by the Valdenses, but by their most determined opponents, the Dominicans and Minorites, in the time of Boniface VIII., who was not over-favourably disposed to these orders, and whose disesteem inspired them with a personal dislike, which was extended to the papal office itself, so far, at least, that they found a gratification in indicating the holes in his predecessors' coat. After tracing with great learning and research the literary history of this marvellous myth, the accomplished author offers what appears to us a perfectly satisfactory explanation of it. The constituent elements of the story are, the customary use of a perforated chair, believed to afford particular facilities for the ascertainment of the sex of the newly-elected pope, who never again occupies it; a stone with an inscription, which was mistaken for a monument; a supposed female statue, and the practice of avoiding a particular street already mentioned. For the manner in which these real materials were combined into a fabulous whole we must refer the reader to the essay itself; merely observing that the stone seat was chosen for its beautiful colouring, and not for its perforations; that the statue was probably that of a priest of Mithras, in flowing robes and with an attendant youth, and that the P.P.P. inscription, which was understood to mean

"Papa Pater patrum peperit papissa papillum,"

or something like it, may, and perhaps does, signify Papirius pater patrum propriâ pecuniâ posuit—pater patrum being a recognised appellation of a priest of Mithras; while, in conclusion, the avoidance of the street is to be ascribed simply to its inconveniently narrow dimensions. There are, it would seem, eight other similarly "true tales" similarly dealt with in this curiously learned investigation. We extremely admire the dexterity with which the author converts what has been taken for history into its mythical elements, and heartily recommend his researches to Catholics and Protestants alike.

About the end of the eighth century appeared that collection of Ecclesiastical Canons now usually known as the "False Decretals." They were given to the world under the name of Isidore, an unknown person who borrowed in part from a previous and genuine collection of canons. The supremacy of Rome over the various national churches rested for centuries on these spurious decretals. Two compact volumes, from the Leipsic press, contain these memorable documents.

"Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianæ et capitula Angilramni. Ad fidem librorum manuscription recensuit fontes indicavit commentationem de collectione Pseudo-Isidori præmisit Paulus Hinschius." Pars Posterior. Ex officina Bernardi Tauchnitz. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

In the treatise which introduces them an account seems to be given of the different MSS. of the Decretals, of their character and composition, and an inquiry is instituted into their authorship, date, and derivation. Though we have spoken above of two compact volumes, we judge of the nature of the first from that of the second, having seen the latter only.

In this place a few words may be appropriately given to Hasse's "Manual of Church History," a work which shows some research, and displays a real acquaintance with the subject of which it treats, but which is not distinguished by bold or original criticism.

"Kirchengeschichte von Friedr. Rud. Hasse," weil. Consistorialrath Dr. [unclear: ord]. Prof, der evangel. Theologie in Bonn. Herausgegeben von Lic. [unclear: Dr] Kohler, a. o. Prof, der Theologie in Erlangen. Erster

Band. [*unclear*: London]: Nutt. 1864.

The plan of the work precludes anything like detailed exposition, and thus, perhaps, we ought hardly to expect the distinction between the later and earlier Ophitæ, a Gnostic sect, to be preserved. In the account of the Paschal controversy the conformity of Apollinaris to the usage of Asia Minor, asserted by our author, is a misconception. Apollinaris agreed with the Western view, which was that of the fourth Gospel, but which *not* that of the Asiatic Church traditionally founded on the authority of the Apostles John and James, and supported by the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels. The first part only of Dr. Hasse's work is before us: it brings us down to the time of St. Augustine, passing in rapid review the doctrine, government, and discipline of the Church; its struggle with Paganism, Judaism, &c.; its relations to the state, and its ceremonial, ritual, and philosophy.

The historical researches, in ancient, mediæval, and modern times, of Dr. Friedrich Kortüm, consist of detached papers: an anti-Cleonic essay on the demagogue Cleon, one on Agis IV., one on Pindar's political and philosophical view of life, one on Thucydides, and one on the history of ancient art.

"Geschichtliche Forschungen im gebiete des Alterthums, des [*unclear*: Mittelalters] der Neuzeit von Dr. Friedrich Kortüm," &c. Nach dessen Tode [*unclear*: herausge] von Dr. Karl Alexander Freiherin von Reichlin-Meldegg öffentl ordent! Professor der Philosophie ebendasselbst. London: David Nutt. 1863.

A seventh treats of peculiarities in the Hispano-Roman poetry of the second half of the first century after Christ, and traces the characteristics of Silius Italicus, Lucan, and Martial. The two mediæval essays are on Ezzelino da Romano, and the royal power, serfdom, and land-allotments of the old Germans; while the subjects of the essays relating to modern times are: I. the Duke of Alba as commander of the projected expedition against Geneva and the Evangelical Swiss Confederacy; and II., the Lady Jane Grey, whom Herr Kortüm appears to regard as a kind of Protestant saint martyr.

M. Alfred Maury, noting the existence of an historical element in the sciences, and wishing to impress on the public mind a conviction of the superiority of scientific truth to literary ornamentation, has attempted, in "Les Académies d'Autrefois," to sketch the history of two remarkable societies, L'ancienne Académie des Sciences, and [*unclear*: L'ancien] Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, choosing the former for the scientific illustration which it supplies, and discerning in both alike a certain historical interest.

"Les Académies d'Autrefois. L'ancienne Académie des Sciences." Par. L. F Alfred Maury, Membre de l'Institut, Professor d'Histoire et Morale au Collège France. London: David Nutt. 1864.

The present volume deals only with the Académie des Sciences. This institution was the creation of Colbert. Under the patronage of the Grand Monarque it began its sitting on the 22nd December, 1666, in one of the rooms of the royal library. A peculiarity of this society, and one which supplied our author with an additional motive for the preparation of this work, lay in its cosmopolitan character. It availed itself from the first of the suggestions and co-operation of foreigners. Huyghens, Cassini, Newton, were early associated with it. At the commencement, it enrolled as its correspondents Flamsteed, Briggs, Eisenschmid, Viviani (the pupil of Galileo), Marchetti (the successor of Borelli), Bayle, Basnage, and Papin. It will be readily understood that the most illustrious names in science, the great mathematicians, the great astronomers, the famous chemists, the most renowned physicists and physiologists, are all registered in M Maury's historical table. The work they did is briefly indicated, and thus we are furnished with an outline of scientific progress. It is quite impossible to give the details here. After a brilliant career of more than a century and a quarter, the Academy was suppressed by the Republican Government on the 8th August, 1793. It may be said, however, to have been represented in the National Institute, founded by the same government about two years after, and to have been re-established in 1816, as a branch of that magnificent corporation. M. Maury has produced in his sketch of its origin and development a volume that is both pleasant and instructive.

M. Maury's countryman, Amédée Gabourd, has published the first volume of a history of our own times, "Histoire Contemporaine, comprenant les principaux Evénements qui se sont accomplis depuis la Révolution de 1830, jusqu'à nos Jours," &c. Par Amédée Gabourd. Tome premier. London: David Nutt. 1863.

in which, while giving the lion's share to France, as the directress of the social movement, the initiative power, the apostle of thought and intelligence, he records the leading events that have taken place in other countries since the Revolution of 1830. Notwithstanding his admiration for France, which, with an almost Jewish enthusiasm he regards as divinely chosen to serve as the instrument with which the Supreme works out his majestic purposes, he seems to us to write with considerable freedom and impartiality. His religious predilections necessarily lead to conclusions which we cannot accept; nor have we any sympathy with that extension of the Catholic domain, or that military guardianship of Rome, which he so proudly eulogizes. In spite, however, of this patriotic and theological partizanship, M. Gabourd tells the story of European contemporary history with certainly a proximate accuracy, and as he "retains the old habit of loving liberty and welcoming its conquests," we find ourselves generally in sufficient accord with his views, and quite willing to concede that, if he does look through a pair of French spectacles, he sees other countries in the world besides his own. The portion of this contemporaneous "History" before us falls into three principal divisions. Having in

an introduction characterized the Restoration and the Bourbon government, from 1814 to the catastrophe which drove Charles X. from his throne, he describes the situation of France and of Europe, down to the period of dissatisfaction and disorder which followed the establishment of the bourgeois monarchy of July. The subject of the second book is the reaction, not only in France, but in Europe, against the revolutionary movement. As the separation of Belgium from Holland was related in the first book, so the Polish insurrection is a leading topic of the second. The third book relates the events connected with the progress of the revolutionary movement, and the new expedients employed for keeping it down. The Bristol riot, the insurrection at Lyons the affairs of Greece, are discussed in the final section of the volume, which closes with the death of Casimir Perier. M. Gabourd undertakes to delineate the social, artistic, and literary movement, as well as the political events of the period which he has chosen to illustrate. To some extent the social characteristics of the times are almost unavoidably noticed; but we presume that he reserves for a future occasion the formal statement of his views on this, as well as on the other complementary subjects of his historical essay.

The insurrection of Greece, which receives some notice in M. Gabourd's pages, is treated at great length by its appropriate historian, Spiridion Tricoupi; a second and corrected edition of whose comprehensive work, written in a sort of *classical* modern Greek, invites the attention of the studious and sanguine Philohellenist, more especially at a new crisis in the fate of the land in which he is interested,

Greek text 1862.

Believing in the regeneration of Greece, and in the justice and grandeur of her cause, the historian pronounces her struggle for liberty to be an event that confers honour on humanity, and bids us hear in the blast of her battle-trumpet an angel's hymn to the Most High. Turning to the passage in which he discusses the character of the Greek Governor, Capo d'Istria, we see that while he recognises his worth he is by no means blind to his faults. In vindicating his patriotism, he maintains that the President did not seek the government of Greece for the sake of Russia, but courted Russia for the sake of Greece. The chief aim of his administration was the promotion of the material improvement of Greece, as the basis and necessary preliminary of all other and all higher improvement. Tricoupi gives him credit for many serviceable qualities and admirable gifts; for courteous and conciliating diplomacy, vigilance and economy in government, a persuasive tongue and a charming pen. On the other hand, he attributes to him an exaggerated self-esteem. He did not hesitate to speak of himself as the saviour of Greece, while he reviled his predecessors in office, and went so far as to call the Phanariots and others all sorts of vituperative names. Possessing little faith in the capacity of the Greeks for constitutional government, he would have preferred the establishment of an absolute rule as better adapted, [*unclear: in*] own judgment, to a people in a state of transition from slavery freedom.

This view of the character of Capo d'Istria is confirmed by Dr. Karl Mendelsohn-Bartholdy, the eldest son, we believe, of the celebrated musical composer, who has written a complete memoir of the famous Corfiote count.

"Graf Johann Kapodistrias. Mit benutzung handschriftlichen Materials." Von Dr. Karl Mendelsohn-Bartholdy. London: David Nutt. 1864.

Equally with Tricoupi he testifies to his respectable church-going conduct, his finished diplomacy, and ready pen, but complains that he belongs to the school of "enlightened despotism," that wanted to do everything *for* the people, nothing *by* it, and fancied, as it were, that *much* governing was the same as *good* governing. Dr. Karl Mendelsohn-Bartholdy, however, appears to us to consider Capo d'Istria to have been less patriotic than Tricoupi does. Though allowing that in general he supported Russian views only where the common advantage of both countries justified his support, he accuses him of subserviency to the Czar, and, on one occasion at least, of a decided postponement of the interests of Greece. There was one thing, however, which our author thinks Capo d'Istria preferred to the welfare of either Greece or Russia—his own personal aggrandizement; and when Northern pretensions conflicted with his own claims, he grew discontented with his ally, though Russia was now his sole resource for putting down the constitutional party in Greece. His egoism, our author contends, was not a strong masculine egoism like that of Richelieu, which might have saved his country, but a weak feminine egoism which, after unchaining the passions of the people, left it long a prey to a fearful confusion. Accordingly he holds that the dagger of Mauromichalis struck the self-seeking President at the right moment, enabling him to fall with the glory of a martyr and procuring him the honourable posthumous distinction of the new Timoleon. Horn 11th February, 1776, he died 9th October, 1831.

We have given the son precedence of the father, as an author, not the subject of a biography.

"Letters of Felix Mendelsohn Bartholdy. From 1833 to 1847." Edited by Paul Mendelsohn-Bartholdy, of Berlin, and Dr. Karl Mendelsohn-Bartholdy, of Heidelberg. With a catalogue of all his musical compositions, compiled by Dr. Julius Rietz. Translated by Lady Wallace. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1863.

The letters of Felix Mendelsohn, (1833—1847), of which Karl is one of the editors, have been translated by Lady Wallace, in what seems to be very readable English. Commencing directly after the termination of the former volume which contained the letters from Switzerland and Italy, the present volume brings us down to

the last scene of all, the great composer's death. In addition to a good deal of musical criticism that will attract only those who cultivate the glorious art, there are notices of Mendelsohn's life and vocation, as the account of his appointment at Berlin, that will interest the general reader. We particularly admire the fine answer Mendelsohn when he felt unable to comply with the royal request to compose music for the Eumenides: "I will always obey the commands of a sovereign so beloved by me, even at the sacrifice of my personal wishes and advantage. If I find I cannot do so with a good artistic conscience, I must endeavour candidly to state my scruples or my incapacity, and if that does not suffice, then I must go," &c:

The first volume of a Life of Karl Ritter, by Dr. Kramer, describes the boyhood and early education of that well-known geographer, his travels, his residence in Florence, Rome, and Naples; his mature studies and occupations, and his marriage and settlement in Berlin.

"Carl Ritter. Ein Lebensbild nach seinem handschriftlichem [*unclear*: Nach] dargestellt von. G. Kramer. Erster Theil. Nebst einem Bildniss [*unclear*: Ritte] London: Williams and Norgate. 1864.

It seems agreeably and intelligibly written; but could not the biographer tell the story of his hero's life in half the number of pages?

In a somewhat heterogeneous selection of German books, the next that "occurs," as the geologists say, is Dehnel's Reminiscence of German officers engaged in the British service, from the year of grace, or, as our author says, of war, 1805, to 1816.

"Erinnerungen deutscher Officiere in Britischen Diensten aus den [*unclear*: Kri] jahren 1805 his 1816, nach aufzeichnungen und mündlichen Erzählungen," &c. Von H. Dehnel, Königlich-hannoverischer Oberst. London: David Nutt. 1864.

The papers comprised in this volume are very miscellaneous. The first section begins with the Copenhagen affair in 1807, includes an account of the battle of Busaco and the lines of Torres Vedras, and ends with a drive in a waggon drawn by bullocks, from Burgos to Viseu. In a second division we find a notice of the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo and the battle of Waterloo. The storming of Badajos is a leading topic of the third division, and various exploits and different military transactions, chiefly relating to the Peninsular War, are described in the remaining sections.

The last German publication that we have to acknowledge, is Gustav de Veer's sketch of the life and times of the renowned Portuguese navigator, Prince Henry, introduced by an historical essay on the Portuguese trade and maritime affairs from the earliest period, the opening of the twelfth century, to the commencement of the fifteenth.

"Prinz Heinrich der Seefahrer und seine Zeit." Von Gustav de [*unclear*: Veer]. Mit einem portrait, &c. London: David Nutt. 1864.

The discoverer of the Island of Madeira, the Azores, and various places on the west coast of Africa, has every title to have his history told and retold, in all the dialects of articulate-speaking men.

The life of the theologian Calixtus, Danish by allegiance and Hanoverian by position, has been drawn up, not without ability, though also not without a certain quaint affectation and perhaps unavoidable impotency of conclusion, by his ardent admirer, the Rev. W. C. Dowding,

"German Theology during the Thirty Years' War." The Life and Correspondence of George Calixtus, Lutheran Abbot of Königsutter, and Professor Primarius in the University of Helmstadt. By the Rev. W. C. Dowding, M.A. &c. Oxford and London: John Henry and James Parker. 1863.

a gentleman who is sanguine enough to nourish the hope that the conciliating theology of Calixtus may possibly have the same influence on the mind of England now, it had on that of Germany formerly. George Calixtus was born at Flensburg, in Schleswig, in the autumn of 1586. At twelve years of age he was received into the Latin school of Flensburg. In his seventeenth year he entered the university of Helmstadt, of the student life of which in those good old times Mr. Dowling gives us an edifying description. An excellent classic, and an accomplished Hebrew scholar, Calixtus was promoted to the office of ordinary professor of Theology in Jan. 1615, and a few years after, he married Catherine Gairtner, the daughter of a rich burgher of Helmstadt. A life of professional usefulness and learned leisure, spiced or peppered with frequent theological discussion, closed in a peaceful death in 1657. A man who like Calixtus lived amid the stirring scenes of the Thirty Years' War, who was associated in power and intellect with Casaubon, Vossius, and Grotius, and is mentioned with respect by Bossuet, must have been no common man. Opposed to the predominant stringent and exclusive Lutheranism, and favouring "the Melancthonian humanities," Calixtus seems to have represented the Broad Church of his own times. His efforts for comprehension, however, had precisely the success that might have been anticipated in days when men gravely disputed whether the blood of Christ, being inconceivably precious, the world's salvation had been purchased by *one* drop or by the *whole* of it—days when it was held by the vulgar that "God and Nature no longer did anything, but the watches did it all," and princes insisted that the magistrates should proceed against the imaginary crime of sorcery—the very same princes, perhaps, who "assumed to themselves the decision of theological truth, and embodied their dicta in some *corpus* or summary

which was presented to their people upon the point of the sword." Mr. Dowding holds up Calixtus as a model; but what did Calixtus accomplish? Such was the force of bigotry, that at the Congress of Thorn, the Reformed party could not even record a statement of their faith, nor the Lutheran obtain a hearing. Nay, so opposed was Calovius, a Lutheran zealot, to any plan for the inclusion of the Calvinists, that Calixtus gave up the discussion. Thus, though present in Thorn, the man who had made peace the object of his life took no part in the Conference. After it had cost the citizens 50,000 florins, it failed, and "what before was said of Hurt was repeated with justice of this wasted effort."

*"Quid synodus? nodus. Patrum chorus integer? æger.
Conventus? Ventus. Gloria? stramen, amen."*

So intractable is the spirit of theology; so indefinable, evasive, and indemonstrable is its dogma!

Happily, "where Luther preached another preacher came whom we know as Goethe!" The life of this high-priest of truth and beauty has been pourtrayed, as the life of such a man rarely is pourtrayed, by Mr. Lewes.

"The Life of Goethe." By George Henry Lewes. Second Edition. Partly rewritten. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1864.

His record of the career of the greatest European poet since Shakespeare will occupy a permanent place in the biographical section of our libraries. For fidelity, research, narrative ability, clearness and completeness of exposition, critical insight, and transient purity of language, it deserves almost unqualified praise. The sale of thirteen thousand copies of this work in England and Germany is a proof of the estimation in which it is held. In the cheaper and more compact form which it has assumed, in the new English edition, it is likely to become still more popular. To enhance its value Mr. Lewes has partly rewritten it, introducing new material, as well as correcting and reconstructing it. By means of personal corroboration, by actual consultation of those "who lived under the same roof" with the poet, by the inspection of a mass of printed testimony, controlled and completed by the evidence of unprinted papers, Mr. Lewes has "sought to acquire and reproduce a definite image of the living man, and not simply of the man as he appeared in all the reticence of print." Occasional alterations, additions, or omissions may be discovered in the pages of this revised "Biography," as in the explanation of the love-affair with Frederica, the extract from a letter humorously describing the backward state of historical study at the University of Tübingen at the end of the eighteenth century, the sentences at the commencement of the now separate chapter on Goethe's wife, and the modifications in the magnificent survey of "The Poet as a Man of Science;" but the book is essentially the same book now that it was when it was first published some ten or twelve years ago, so that we may greet it as an old friend, finding the old memories and old associations undisturbed.

Mr. George Ticknor's Life of Mr. Prescott, in an illustrated quarto volume, has some agreeable and interesting pages, but is surely unnecessarily long.

"Life of William Hickling Prescott." By George Ticknor. Trübner and Co. 1864.

The blind historian, as we learn from it, had many estimable qualities. He was amiable, patient, and persevering. Naturally gay and volatile, he broke himself into habits of regularity and industry. The accident by which he became ultimately blind, or all but blind, occurred at college—the result of a frolic or chance-medley. The author of "Ferdinand and Isabella," "The Conquest of Mexico," and "Philip II.," had many English friends and acquaintance among them Macaulay, Milman, Lord Carlisle, and Sir Charles Lyell. His merits as an historian were recognised by Hallam and others praise is honour. When the late Mr. Thackeray visited him, he saw on the library-wall of one of the most famous writers of America two crossed swords which his relatives wore in the great War of Independence," and noted the fact, to Mr. Prescott's gratification, at the commencement of "The Virginians." There are many pleasing incidents recorded in Mr. Ticknor's volume. He shows us faithfully his hero's characteristics, discloses his ways of life and work, and registers his opinions. Mr. Prescott twice instituted an inquiry into Christianity, and in both instances came to a similar conclusion—that is, he rejected the orthodox version of that religion for a sort of vague Unitarianism. One of the most sweeping literary censures that we ever read is pronounced by this author on a book which we venture to think testifies to the possession of undoubted genius on the part of its writer, if ever book did. Speaking of "*The French Revolution*" Mr. Prescott says: "Carlyle is even a [unclear: bung] at his own business; for his creations, or rather combinations, in this way, are the most discordant and awkward possible. As he runs altogether for dramatic, or rather picturesque effect, he is not to be challenged, I suppose, with want of original views. This forms no part his plan. His views certainly, as far as I can estimate them, are trite enough. And, in short, the whole thing, in my humble opinion both as to *forme* and to *fond*, is perfectly contemptible." After this we can only add that William Hickling Prescott, who was born in Salem, New England, on the fourth day of May, 1796, died the twenty-eight of January, 1859.

We must content ourselves with a simple recognition of the biographical existence of two other transatlantic worthies—John Winthrop, the Governor of Massachusetts, A.D. 1630, but an Englishman by birth,

"Life and Letters of John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company at their Emigration to New England, 1630." By Robert C. Winthrop, Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1864.

and Edward Livingstone, the adviser of Jackson,

"Life of Edward Livingstone." By Charles Havens Hunt. With an Introduction by George Bancroft. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1864.

when President of the United States, and the legislator to whose lot, Mr. Bancroft tells us, it fell "to adjust the old municipal laws, derived from France and Spain, to the new condition of the connexion with America."

The same year which saw Winthrop installed as Governor of Massachusetts witnessed the imprisonment of Sir John Elliot, the leader of that patriotic assembly, of which Hallam says:—"In asserting the illegality of arbitrary detention, of compulsory loans, of tonnage and poundage levied without consent of Parliament, they stood in defence of positive rights won by their fathers, the prescriptive inheritance of Englishmen." A sketch of the life of Sir John Eliot, designated by the same authority the most illustrious confessor in the cause of liberty whom that time produced, was included by Mr. Forster in his "British Statesman," published many years ago.

"Sir John Eliot: a Biography, 1590-1632." By John Forster. In Two Vols. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1864.

The present Life of this champion of English freedom cannot be described as an expansion of that miniature biography. It is an entirely new work, demanding inordinate labour in preparation, and extreme care and diligence in execution. Loaded with fact, and oppressive with detail, this valuable Contribution to the history of the Stuart period will at once invite curiosity and exhaust patience. Based on Eliot's hitherto inherited papers, in the possession of his descendant Lord St. Germans, it professes to reflect what is important in his correspondence, and in the abstracts of his speeches, and on the memoirs drawn up by himself, In addition to materials supplied by these papers, often decipherable only after the most persevering inspection, Mr. Forster has derived information from public documents, as well as from a private collection of his own. The result is a complete and circumstantial biography of the great Cornishman, not only exhibiting the personal characteristics of the man, but presenting such a picture of the opening of the struggle against the government of Charles I, as the author may well suppose to be "in many respects more detailed and accurate than has yet been afforded." In relating the incidents of the hero's life, Mr. Forster has not neglected the opportunity of vindicating him against both the misrepresentations of party spirit and the perversions of the elder D'Israeli, to whom portions of the papers were submitted thirty years ago, when he was engaged in preparing his Commentaries on the Life of Charles the First. In the volumes before us, the entire story of Eliot's life from his youthful days is set forth, His early tastes and pursuits, his conduct as Vice-Admiral of Devon, his career as member for Newport, his views on politics, religion, literature, indicating, with a certain allowance for his age, a sound philosophy, perhaps irrespectively of all allowance, a commendable scholarship: the part he took as the great opposition leader in the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham, in the resistance to the Forced Loan, and the assertion of the Petition of Bight, and lastly his imprisonment and death, are all recorded in these volumes, which attest the indomitable diligence, the unflinching power of investigation, the enduring patience in composition, and the masculine thought and sound sense of their author. Our chief apprehension is that Mr. Forster has lost in breadth what he has gained in length, that his readers will sometimes be reminded of the epigrammatic saying of the Greek poet, and think how much better *one* of these volumes, if it had told the tale of Eliot's life, with discreet omission and wise condensation, would have been than *both*.

It is scarcely possible to institute a parallel between the representative of the expansive spirit of English liberty and the defender of the oligarchical Roman constitutionalism.

"Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero." By William Forsyth, M.A., Q.C., Author of "Hortensius, &c., and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In Two Vols. With Illustrations. London: John Hurray. 1864.

Yet Cicero, weak and vacillating as he often was, no doubt took what was the patriotic side, in opposing the ambition of Cæsar, and desiring, we can hardly say endeavouring, to establish the rotten aristocratical republic of Rome on its old foundations. Cicero justified and gloried in the overthrow of the man who, with all his shortcomings, more truly represented humanity than the sentimental stoic Marcus Brutus, who, according to Mr. George Long, "became an assassin in the name of freedom, which meant triumph of his party, and in the name of virtue, which meant nothing." A "Life of Cicero" written by a competent scholar and in wholesome every-day English is a book which, we think, will prove a valuable addition to our vernacular classical biography. Mr. Forsyth has, in calling up once more this great Roman writer, made a successful effort to show us not only the orator and the politician, but the father, the husband, the friend, the gentleman. An admirer of [unclear: Cicero], he is no apologist for his frailties, his vanities, his insincerities. Thus he admits that to oblige Brutus, who was evidently a man who had an eye to the main chance, Cicero abused his proconsular [unclear: authoris] when he declined to allow the Cyprians to deposit the sum [unclear: really] to that judicious money-lender, though nominally to Matinius and Scaptius, his friends, the latter of whom first tried to cheat his [unclear: debton] by pretending that they owed him more than they actually did, and who when his allegation

was disproved, entreated Cicero to let the matter stand over, hoping apparently that under a new governor he might get the illegal percentage, to which by the contract he had undeniably a right, though he had no right to increase the interest by refusing to take the offered principal. Nor was this the only instance in which, to please Brutus, Cicero abused his official power, though the case of Ariobarzanes was far less flagrant. So again Mr. Forsyth expresses a fear that in his hollow reconciliation with Vatinius and Gabinius he sacrificed not only his previous enmities but his principles; forfeiting his own self-respect and losing his influence in the senate and the rostra. On the other hand, Mr. Forsyth calls attention to the general excellence of Cicero's government. He says, and says with truth, that his administration deserved almost unqualified praise. "It is no light merit in Cicero to have been in advance of the morality of his age, and amidst the darkness of Paganism (?) to have exhibited the equity and self-denial of a Christian statesman. But a government was just a sphere in which he was fitted to shine. His love of justice, his kindness, his humanity, his disinterestedness were qualities which all there came into play without the disturbing causes which at Rome misled him more than once 'to know the best and yet the worse pursue,'" Mr. Forsyth's estimate of Cicero's moral character seems to us fair, and his critical judgment of his writings correct. But is not the assertion that he is the greatest master of the music of speech that has ever yet appeared among mankind, somewhat sweeping? Is he really superior to Plato, for instance? Or are the great poets of Greece, Italy, England, less melodious than the first essayist and orator of Rome?

The last book on our list carries us back into the twilight of history, describing the manners and customs, warlike and pacific, of the people of Asshur, to whom Mr. Rawlinson assigns an antiquity of more than 1800 years B.C.

"The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World; or, the History, Geography, and Antiquities of Chaldea, Assyria, Babylon, Media, and Persia, collected and illustrated from ancient and modern sources. By George Rawlinson, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College. In Four Vols. Vol. II. London: Murray. 1864.

This antiquity is divisible into two periods, one marked by the commencement of the empire about B.C. 1260, and continuing to its close, and the other distinguished by the seemingly dependent existence of the Assyrian people as far back, if we may trust the date, as B.C. 1820, when "Shamas-Iva, the son of Ismi-Dagon. King of Chaldea, built a temple to Anü and Iva at Asshur, which was then the Assyrian capital." Asshur was not only the name of the country—it was also the name of the supreme god of the country. This god Mr. Rawlinson supposes to have been the deified descendant of Noah, the so-called son of Shem. It is more probable that the writer, or the antecedent tradition which he followed, *euhemerized* the god into a man; but our author's account of this deity is, from paucity of material, extremely unsatisfactory. One thing, however, comes out with great clearness, if we may rely on the inscription-interpreters; we mean the intensely theological Jewish character of the Assyrian mode of thought. With the Assyrians, Asshur was the national god, as Jehovah was with the Jews. Thus, as Asshur's people, they are appointed to the government of the four regions: the fear of Asshur falls upon their defeated and flying enemies: at the invitation of Asshur, an expedition into a neighbouring land is undertaken; and when a country not previously subject to Assyria is attacked, it is because the inhabitants do not acknowledge Asshur. In addition to the historical and chronological elements of interest, there is much in Mr. Rawlinson's present volume which it is agreeable to read about, and the numerous woodcuts scattered over the pages help us to realize the life of this ancient people, who, it appears, anticipated us in the use of the magnifying-glass, constructed tunnels and aqueducts, employed the pulley, the lever, and the roller, enamelled, cut gems, and inlaid. If we are not always convinced of the correctness of Mr. Rawlinson's views, and are inclined to look with a suspensive scepticism on the pictures of the past which archæological enthusiasm revives for us, we are still grateful to him for writing a readable and pleasant book which embodies our real or supposed knowledge of the world's ancient empires.

Belles Lettres.

Since the Paris Exposition of 1855 disclosed to our neighbour the hitherto unsuspected fact that a school of English painting existed, the subject has attracted considerable attention among French art-critics, by whom, for the most part, its special merits have been amply recognised. According to M. Ernest Chesneau,

"L'Art et les Artistes Modernes en France et en Angleterre." Par [*unclear*: Ernest] Chesneau. Paris: Didiér. London: Nutt. 1864.

his countrymen, in their surprise at the unexpected discovery that the dull Briton could paint at all, have fallen into the opposite extreme, and have not only been betrayed into exaggerated admiration, but have given way to a ridiculous dread of possible rivalry between the artists of France and England. Such a contingency he dismisses as too preposterous to be seriously entertained by any one who is acquainted with the past history and present prospects of art in the two countries. For, as he conclusively affirms, the special characteristic of English art is the absence of genius; whereas the distinguishing peculiarity of the French school is that profound

love of truth, subordinating all things to itself, which is a quality "*tout à fait Française*." But there is also in M. Chesneau's book not a little sound criticism, and, on the whole, [*unclear*: a] and judicious estimate of the chief works by the best masters on both sides of the Channel. Many chapters are devoted to the examination in detail of the French Exhibition of last year, but the earlier part of the volume contains a rapid review of the progress of painting in France and England, and is well worthy of perusal, although the remarks on English art are sometimes more true than flattering, as may be seen by the following passage:—

"From whatever point of view we regard it, the English school reveals one striking peculiarity of the British mind. The works of this school do not indicate the faintest recognition of the value of painting for its own sake, considered as one of the fine arts. The art of painting appears to answer to no intellectual need of the English—to no real sentiment of beauty or of artistic expression. It is evident to me that for them a picture is an object of luxury; the acquisition of a chef d' œuvre is a sign of wealth and distinction which must therefore produced, but they promise themselves no delight in the contemplation of such a masterpiece. This is at the bottom of the artistic taste of England, and this explains why the buyers of pictures care much more for singularity than for simple beauty; hence their painters, whatever may be their natural tendency, think themselves bound to sacrifice everything to eccentricity and, in consequence, to bad taste. This submission to the caprice of the public is much greater and more apparent in British art than in our own, where there is, nevertheless, far too much of it. Thanks to the accumulation of Eire fortunes, the artist on the other side of the Channel knows before-hand which is his true public—that which pays; he knows perfectly well that there is but one class which will encourage and reward his efforts; and to this end he becomes a courtier. Was Hogarth any other than the courtier of the Paritan society of his time? On this score, it ought not to surprise us that art has flourished so little hitherto in England. It is true she professes the liveliest admiration for her great men. But do not let us be the dupes of the tombs in Westminster Abbey, nor of the columns nor statues set up in the public squares; the English have but a moderate esteem for their contemporaries while they are only on the road to greatness, and their courtesy barely ends to men of taste. Artists, in their eyes, are machines made for the express purpose of amusing and enlivening the aristocracy. Is that a fitting estimate of the great and the elevated in art? Hence the words grandeur, elevation, should be banished when the British painter is under consideration. They have a firm naïveté which soon becomes monotonous; they are prodigal of effects—effects literary as well as pictorial. Nevertheless the qualities they have are thoroughly their own. Thus, in genre pieces they display powers of observation in landscape they are great in skies, in which they show a marked superiority; they render those ever-varying effects with great care, and seize the uncounted varieties of aspect. Nor, lastly, should we forget that they number among them illustrious portrait-painters, nor that portrait-painting one of the most difficult of arts. But there is no evidence in the English school of any serious efforts (?); the latest school of all, rich in the experience of the past, it has produced very little, and originated nothing whatever."—p. 108.

But in spite of these severe strictures, M. Chesneau does ample justice to the rare and great beauties of Gainsborough, Reynolds, and Turner; and shows that he can admire as heartily as he can censure.

The works of another French writer, well known in England by his translation of "Childe Harold," and his "Études sur l'Angleterre," contributed to the "Revue des Deux Mondes," are in course of publication by his widow.

"Études sur l'Orient. Par Lucien Davesières de Pontès. Paris: Michel Lévy, Frères. 1864.

The sudden death of M. de Pontès, at the age of fifty-three, in 1859, cut short a career which had seemed to promise a greater eminence than he lived to attain. Madame de Pontès has set herself the task of collecting and printing all his writings contributed on various subjects to different Reviews, and the present volume is the first that has yet appeared. It contains notes upon Greece written while the author was an officer in the French navy, and essays on the East reprinted from the "Revue des Deux Mondes" and other periodicals. They are well written, fresh, and graphic, and convey the impression of accurate knowledge and personal observation. The short introductory memoir which occupies the first forty pages of the volume, by "Bibliophile Jacob" (Paul Lacroix), slightly sketches a life and character of no ordinary interest, and excites the wish for the more complete biography which the writer intimates an intention to undertake at some future day.

The valuable works on Indian Literature of the late Boden Professor of Sanscrit,

"Re-issue of the principal Works of the late Horace Hayman Wilson," [*unclear*: lected] and edited by Dr. Reinhold Rost. Trübner & Co. 1864.

are in course of publication under the editorship of Dr. Reinhold Rost. Of the four volumes already published, the two first consist of Essays and Lectures on the Religion of the Hindus, and the remaining two are upon Sanscrit Literature, with translations and abstracts of noted works of fiction and poetry. Nearly fifty years have elapsed since Professor Wilson, then assistant-surgeon in the service of the East India Company, published a translation of the Meghadūta, and from that time until his death in 1860, he pursued the study of Oriental literature with indefatigable zeal. A complete edition of his works, many of which are scarce and not

accessible, from having been originally published in the Transactions of Oriental societies, will form a most valuable and important work, and brings within the reach of the English reader much which has hitherto been known only to Sanscrit scholars. Volumes iv., v., and vi., on the Books of the Rig-Veda, are preparing for publication.

A Tamil Drama,

"Arichandra, the Martyr of Truth." A Tamil drama, translated into [unclear: Eng] by Mutu Coomàra Swàmy, Mudeliàr, M.R.A.S. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1863.

translated by a native of Ceylon, barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn, and member of Her Majesty's Legislative Council of Ceylon, is a curiosity in the history of letters. In a graceful and admirably well expressed dedication to the Queen, the translator claims to be the first who has sought that honour "of those millions of Orientals over whom you have been declared the first British Empress and to whom by the proclamation last issued under the sanction of your august name, you have accorded a charter of rights which opens up to them new careers of usefulness and happiness." The introduction, which is written in perfectly idiomatic English, is the composition of one well versed in ancient and modern letters and languages and briefly and clearly explains the origin of the drama of [unclear: Arichan] Although it is extremely popular both in Southern India and [unclear: Ti] Ceylon, no recognised text exists. "The manuscripts are chiefly written on the leaves of the Palmyra palm, and the facility which [unclear: scripts] always offer for interpolation and alteration has enabled inhabitants of the various districts which constitute the immense *Tamil-land* of India to modify the original, without, however, completely recasting it, in such a manner as to suit the peculiar tastes and fancies of different classes at different periods." Even the date of his play is unknown; it is only conjectured to have been in existence for about 500 years. It is the history of the greatness, the virtues, the sufferings, and the invincible constancy of Arichandra, King of Ayòdiah (supposed to be Oude), who undergoes all the trials of Job and all the tortures of a Christian martyr rather than tell [unclear: a] and who is at last restored to greatness and honour, blest by Siva in these words:—"You have borne your severe trials most heroically, and have proved to all men that virtue is of greater worth than all the [unclear: anties] of a fleeting world." This is the high moral throughout this singular and most interesting drama, and the surprise with which we receive it, suggests how much we have yet to learn of the Eastern mind. With some little irony, the accomplished translator justly observes:—

"It may be a source of some encouragement to those who inculcate the [unclear: debility] of improving the benighted Indians with a better code of morals than which their own systems of philosophy teach, that even amongst them are the found admirers of such characters as Arichandra, who, though persecuted for his persistent adherence to truth and virtue, yet maintains his constancy to the last, regardless of consequences, in the midst of the most excruciating [unclear: tor], and in the presence of death itself. The story of Arichandra may be [unclear: a]; but the response which its representation meets with in the hearts of a large section of the Hindus is a fact."

The original play is partly in prose and partly in verse of different [unclear: tres], and the absence of scenery is made up for by the actors, who describe what the spectators are to imagine they see. The dialogue is often eloquent, poetical, and impassioned, and every line conveys some western image or thought. In the history of the trials and temptations of the hero, it is impossible not to be reminded of the story [unclear: of] but through all a deep abiding fatalism may be traced. It is thus that Sattyakirti, the faithful minister, seeks to console Arichandra when the unhappy monarch has been compelled to sell even his Queen to enable him to keep his word:—

"Most noble king! succumb you, then, to misfortune? Is this, after all, the fruit of your knowledge and wisdom? Oh, no! Forget not that truth is more precious than all earthly happiness—that it must be maintained anyhow, at the risk of life, even in the face of Death himself. Sire, by far easier is [unclear: it] count the number of the sands which cover the shores whence rebound [unclear: the] of the ocean, or to ascertain the number of the atoms which constitute Meru, the loftiest mountain of the universe, than to enumerate the number of the births which our sins have already necessitated, and which we shall yet be compelled to pass through before final rest awaits us. Poor souls! we rae tossed hither and thither, washed by the waves of Destiny from world to world, sphere to sphere, age to age, bounding from death to fife, and [unclear: from] rebounding to death; children once—fathers again; a husband now—[unclear: a] anon; now a king—now a slave; now a man—now a beast; till [unclear: our] and demerits are cancelled off—till the heavenly sàyncchya [absorption of the soul into God] welcomes us to eternal bliss. Foolish [unclear: man] this earth, and cries out, 'Oh, this is my land, this my field, this [unclear: my] who dare take it from me? How can I part with it?' Knows he how many worlds have already owned him, and disown him now? He closely, and proclaims, 'Oh, this is my partner, this my love! who [unclear: dave] move her from me? How can I exist separated from her?' Know [unclear: you] many thousands of women have called themselves your wives, and [unclear: how] millions of children have cried out to you, 'Father! father?' When [unclear: such] life, why weep you? Battle with Fate itself. What must be done done. Grieve not because evils beset you and unhappiness is your [unclear: lot]; grasp the sword of wisdom,

demolish the wild phantasies of the [unclear: wicked] then mount the winged horse of reason, scale the heights of [unclear: knowledge] learn that where happiness is, there also unhappiness must [unclear: necessarily] Seek the one, and you seek the other as well: for pleasure ever ends [unclear: in] whilst, pain ever leads to pleasure. Such is the common lot of [unclear: humani]—p. 163.

The author of an Essay on Beauty explains that he found his subject too much for him, and has therefore postponed the examination poetic and picturesque beauty until he can prepare another volume. Meanwhile he publishes his first Essay on Natural Beauty, [unclear: and] pounds a theory on the subject as harmless as it is naive. Having discovered that in the Septuagint version of the book of Genesis that passage in the narrative of the creation which our version readers "behold it was very good," is there translated "behold it was very beautiful," and, remembering also that we use the expression "good looking," he has satisfied himself that beauty is goodness and goodness is beauty, and proceeds to apply and develop his discovery. It is not easy to feel the force of the arguments by which Mr. [unclear: Purto] imagines that he has demonstrated the absolute coincidence of [unclear: m] and spiritual with natural and visible beauty, or, as he expresses it. "The fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace beyond and above long-suffering; and the virtues of our warfare, and their perfectly rejected image or expression are—light, life, and harmony." But the subject of Natural Beauty has drawn the author into "much that seems [unclear: nected] with it," and an appendix which fills nearly half the book's devoted to these kindred themes. The reader will be hardly prepared to find that they consist of a discussion on the nature of the fall man—a theory on the personality of the devil or devils—a very remarkable discovery that before man was degraded by polygamy "has children to be born twins, male and female, *i.e.*, husband and the original law of nature"—and an examination of the causes which have produced the unequal standard by which society judges of [unclear: rent] moral offences. We must own our inability to trace the [unclear: nexion] between these dark and mysterious themes and the [unclear: ab] nature of beauty, although it is clear that the author writes [unclear: in] seriousness and earnest good faith.

The same theory of beauty is expressed far more dogmatically, and applied to the human face and form with uncompromising logic, in an

"Philocalia: Elementary Essays on Natural, Poetic, and Picturesque [unclear: Beauty] By Wm. Purton, M.A. London: Whitaker. 1864.

[unclear: sing] little essay "On Ugly People,"

"The Gouty Philosopher; or the Friends, Acquaintances, Opinions, Whims [unclear: and] Eccentricities of John Wagstaff, Esq." By Charles Mackay. London: [unclear: ders] and Otley. 1864.

which asserts that "all that is morally good is physically beautiful. All that is morally bad is physically ugly; *ergo*, every man and woman may be beautiful if they like, and no man or woman has a right to be ugly.—Q. E. D." It would be perhaps nearer the truth, to say that ugliness is too often the undeserved penalty of wronged humanity, caused by the [unclear: inherited] of progenitors, and intensified by bad food, bad air, starved heart and brain, and the lack of all that gives joy and beauty to life: who has not shuddered at the hideous countenances of even infants which [unclear: warm] in the dark alleys of great towns? But our author has more to say against the inexcusable and unnecessary fault of ugliness:—

"Take the case of my excellent friend Mr. Towers. Look at his nose, and his nose only—at that nose, rubicund and Bardolphian, out of all proportion to any ordinary face; a nose pimpled and freckled, bearing blossoms like a it, and of the colour of the peony—a nose that is a bonâ-fide gromometer— and judge him by that only, and you shall, at a casual glance, pronounce [unclear: him] But Mr. Towers is not ugly. The physical deformity is, no doubt, [unclear: vious] enough, and suggests ugliness enough to the passer-by. But hear [unclear: him] Listen to his wit. Let him unlock in your presence the [unclear: abundant] of his learning. See him pile a brick of wisdom here and another there. See him ransack all the brick-kilns of the ancients and the moderns, watch the house of Fancy or of Learning that he will build with [unclear: them] with him into private life and see what a joyous companion he is, what [unclear: a] friend, what a good husband, what a kind father, what a pure-minded citizen,—and in the light of his moral and intellectual excellence, you will look his ugly nose and admit that the face is beautiful—aye, that the nose itself is more beautiful than many a nose that Phidias or Praxiteles delighted model, but which belonged to a countenance that was not impermeated with moulded by these noble qualities.

"Take Trimmles, another man I know, and look at him as he walks along the street small, spare, and with a slight and scarcely perceptible hunch on his back; and at the first glance you shall call him ugly. But you will be in error if you do. Physically, he may seem to be ugly; but his mind is a [unclear: lody] and a harmony. He is a logician who could argue with Euclid. He daylight in the darkest corners of disputation with a mental eye, over which there is no film or darkness. He talks with eloquent tongue, and neither woman nor man can resist the fascination of his company. How can such a person be called ugly? In spite of his small stature and his hunch, Trimmles a handsomer than silly Captain Fitz-Mortimer of the Rifles, who has a [unclear: straight] a Roman nose, and a beard that Methuselah might envy.

"Then take the case of Theodosia Perkins—fresh, fair, twenty-three, and passably rich. She has a face and a form that a sculptor might love to imitate. But she is pert—she flirts—she has a bad opinion of her own sex and of the other—she has no education of the heart or of the mind—she has no taste [unclear: for] for tune, for propriety—she is 'fast'—she is 'loud'—she is eaten up with vanity and conceit, and thinks herself the very cream and quintessence of world. In one word, she is ugly in spite of her face and form. To look at her sufficient to know that she will find no one to marry her, except for money; and to prophesy, that after she is married her husband [unclear: will] her.

"Take also the ease of young Master Wigram. He was born a [unclear: pretty] and might have grown up to be a beautiful boy; but he is intensely [unclear: ugly], has been humoured and fondled without reason one day, and punished [unclear: without] reason the next; he has been indulged in all his caprices in the [unclear: morning], denied his just and natural requirements in the evening. He has [unclear: been] and petted, coerced and punished, equally without justification; and [unclear: the] is, that he is the plague of every one who comes near him. He is built up of evil passions. There is not a good thing about him. He is a [unclear: slave] minute and a tyrant the next; niggardly and extravagant-element and cruel. Though but fifteen years of age, he is ugly in the extreme, because he has not a single moral or intellectual quality to keep his physical qualities in good countenance. It comes to this—that whatever physical [unclear: nature] have done, or may have neglected to do for us, the power of being [unclear: beauti] remains with ourselves I know an old woman, of seventy-three of age, of a beauty as much superior to that of seventeen as that [unclear: of] Mont Blanc to verdant Primrose Hill. Lovely are the snow-[unclear: white] neatly parted over her serene forehead; lovely are the accents of [unclear: her] voice, that speaks loving-kindness to all the world; lovely is the smile she starts from her eyes, courses to her lips, and lights up all her [unclear: counti] when she fondles a child, or gives counsel of wisdom to young man [unclear: or] lovely is she even in her mild reproof of a wrong-doer—so mild [unclear: and]—so more than half-divine,—that he or she who relapses [unclear: afterwards] wickedness, is reckless and hardened indeed."—p. 191.

Mr. Wagstaffe has views not less positive and as strongly expressed on various other subjects, especially on smoking, or the use [unclear: of] words by persons who should know better; and on the twenty-five capital offences of criticasters. He is always racy and sensible, and was recommend the lucubrations of the Gouty Philosopher to all [unclear: who] appreciate his plain-spoken wisdom, and who will not quarrel [unclear: with] lamentations over modern degeneracy in thought, manners, and language. On this last head some few useful remarks will be found Dean Alford's notes on the Queen's English,

"The Queen's English: Stray Notes on Speaking and Spelling." By [unclear: Harry] Alford, D.D. London: Strahan and Co. 1864.

which make [unclear: their] public appearance in a neat, pleasant little gossiping volume. They first did duty as lectures to the Church of England Young [unclear: Me] Literary Association, at Canterbury, were then printed in *Good [unclear: Woo]* and now, with some alterations and emendations, they form a [unclear: sm] separate book. The author explains that they were written [unclear: in] moments of time, as when waiting for the train at railway [unclear: stat] which accounts for their superficial and often trivial [unclear: character], almost tempts the question, Why were they thought worth preserving Some of the passages which had called forth the animad version of critics have been altered, and the misquotation from the Book of Numbers, which gave the dean's pertinacious censor, Mr. [unclear: Moo] excuse for so much indignant vituperation, has been left out, and a verse from the Psalms substituted, that justifies the dean's appeal to the great storehouse of good English" as his authority for [unclear: plac] the adverb before the verb. Mr. Moon was invited to heal third lecture and to enjoy the hospitality of the dean, who thus, with [unclear: good]-humour than dignity, laughs at the antagonist whose criticize he sagaciously disarmed:—

"I did what I could. I wrote a letter, inviting the chief of my censors [unclear: to] to Canterbury and hear my third lecture. I wrote in some fear and [unclear: bling]. All my adverbs were (what I should call) misplaced, that I [unclear: might] offend him. But at last I was obliged to transgress, in spite of my good [unclear: tions]. I was promising to meet him at the station, and I was going [unclear: to] "if you see on the platform an old party in a shovel, that will be I." [unclear: But] pen refused to sanction (to endorse, I believe I ought to say, but I cannot) the construction. 'That will be me' came from it, in spite, as I said, of [unclear: my] of the best possible behaviour.'

We, nevertheless, protest against the dean's maxim that usage can excuse bad grammar, and trust that no one will be convinced by his [unclear: soning] behalf of such expressions as "it is me," "I was going to," which he declares may be used colloquially without blame.

Mr. Cox has followed up his "Tales of the Gods and Heroes" with another little volume of Greek Legends, "Tales of Thebes and Argos." By the Rev. Geo. W. Cox, M.A. London: [unclear: mans] 1864,

in which the spirit of the original myth is well preserved, and the story given as nearly in the original form as the conflicting versions of poets will allow. The [unclear: thor] is an earnest student of comparative

mythology, and believes that a better understanding of it will cleanse the ancient classic myths of much that has seemed gross and revolting in their later forms. In long and not very clearly-written Introduction, Mr. Cox seeks to establish the identity of Indian, Greek, and Scandinavian myths, and also to show how many of the Greek stories are but different versions of one and the same legend. Thus he writes:—

"If we can trace this recurrence of the same ideal in different heroes, and of same imagery in the recital of their adventures in Hellenic mythology [unclear: ne], the marvel is intensified a thousandfold when we compare this mythology with the ancient legends of Northern Europe or of the far distant East. There scarcely an incident in the lives of the great Greek heroes which cannot be [unclear: eed] out in the wide field of Teutonic or Scandinavian tradition; and the complicated action of the Iliad, or rather of the whole legend of which the [unclear: Iliad] a part, is reproduced in the Eddas and the lays of the Volsungs and [unclear: the] lungs. If the Greek tales tell us of serpent slayers and the destroyers of [unclear: ous] monsters, the legends of the ice-bound north also sing of heroes [unclear: who] the dragons that lie coiled round sleeping maidens. If the former recite the labours of Heracles and speak of the bondage of Apollo, Sifrit and Sigurdr are not less doomed to a life of labour for others, not for themselves. If Heracles those can rescue Hesionê from a like doom with Andromeda, or bring back [unclear: istic] from the land of Hades, it is Sigurdr only who can slay the [unclear: serpent] Ragnar Lodbrog alone who can deliver Thora from the [unclear: dragon's]. If, at the end of his course, Heracles once more sees his early love—if comes again to Paris in his death hour—so Brenhyldr lies down to die with Sigurdr, who had forsaken her. If Achilles and Baldr can only be founded on a single spot, Isfendiyar, in the Persian epic, can only be killed by the thorn thrown into his eye by Rustem. If Paris forsakes (Enônê, [unclear: and] leaves Ariadne mourning on the barren shore, so also Sigurdr deserts [unclear: hyldr], and Gudrun to him supplies the place of Aiglê or of Helen. If the tale of Perseus is repeated in the career of Heracles, the legend of Ragnar [unclear: Lodb] is also a mere echo of the nobler story which told of the sunbright Sigurdr. The name of Heracles brings us to the strange border ground in which the character of some of the gods assumes a jovial or even a comic aspect. The language of the Vedic hymns at once shows why this should be the portion of some among the greater gods, and not of others. Phœbus, Athenê, and Orpheus, as representing the pure effulgence of the sun, Hestia, as the unsullied fire upon the hearth; Demeter, as the nourishing mother of all livings; Poseidon, as the lord of the mysterious sea; Hades and Persephone, as rulers of the unseen land, pass under no conditions which may detract from their purity or their majesty. It was far otherwise with Ouranos or Zeus, the heaven and the sky, whose relations to the earth, when described under anthropomorphic forms, exhibit a mere unbounded licence and its results of envy, jealousy, and strife in the home of the gods."—p. 43.

In this manner our author traces the allegorical meaning of later stories, and finds it easy to establish the complete identity of Perseus, Bellerophon, Theseus, Kephalos, Paris, and Apollo. Indeed, all Greek mythology is easily reduced by his method to poetical forms of expression for the various aspects and processes of nature, and the Iliad ceases to be a tale of gods and heroes, being resolved into "a magnificent solar epic, telling us of a sun rising in radiant majesty (Achilles), soon hidden by the clouds, yet abiding his time of vengeance, when from the dark veil he breaks forth at last in more than his early strength, scattering the mists and kindling the ragged clouds which form his funeral pyre, nor caring whether his brief splendour shall be succeeded by a darker battle as the vapours close again over his dying glory. The feeling of the old tale is scarcely weakened when the poet tells us of the great cairn which the mariner shall see from afar, on the shore the broad Hillespontos." This may be so: Homer cannot vindicate or explain himself; but we may imagine the same mode of interpretation applied by some future scholar to Dante or Milton, when we, our beliefs and our language, will be things of the past; and the inference seems obvious, that it would fail utterly to elicit the true thought inspired either poet.

While the legends of ancient Greece are thus being resolved into a kind of meteorological fable, their modern representatives have been for the first time collected and edited. The author of two volumes of Greek and Albanian fairy tales

"Griechische und Albanesishe Märchen." Gesammelt übersetzt [unclear: er] von J. G. v. Hahn, K.K., Consul für das östliche Griechenland. [unclear: Lei] Engelmann. London: Nutt. 1864.

has accomplished a work as praiseworthy as that which Mr. Campbell performed for the folk-lore of the Highlands. During his residence at Jannina in 1848, [unclear: Herr] Hahn conceived the happy thought of employing some of the [unclear: pup] of the Gymnasium in aiding him to carry out a favourite project. He commissioned a dozen of the most intelligent to collect [unclear: for] during their holiday time, all the fairy tales they could gather from the lips of mothers, grandmothers, and sisters. He had great difficulty in procuring any contributions from Syra, until at last he was fortunate enough to find a young damsel who could write, and who was willing to exercise her uncommon talent in his service. By these means, a hundred and forty tales and fables were obtained, of which the author has now published a translation. He has carefully collated and classified his materials, and prefaces them by an introduction almost as elaborate as that of Mr. Cox upon the

nature, growth, and origin of those short chapters of primitive romance which are found with such unvarying constancy among people the most widely severed, and which point to some common source far back in the infancy of our race. Under the heading, "Märchen and Sagformeln," forty different groups of subjects are given, and the corresponding tale, legend, or fable indicated in the folk-lore of nine other nations, thus enabling the reader to see at a glance the comparative frequency and prevalence of each. There are also abundant notes critical and explanatory, which testify to the painstaking industry of the author, and which will be of interest to the philological student. It is a striking peculiarity of by far the greater number of these hitherto unwritten fairy tales, that they possess so little local colouring; now and then in a more modern composition, the influence of Christian and ecclesiastical ideas is discernible, but in general they are cast in the mould with which we are all familiar, and the child of Epirus or Tinos listens to the same stereotyped history of marvels that are the delight of our own nurseries—the king who has three sons who go to seek their fortunes, or the queen, long childless, who at last becomes the mother of the wonderful princess. But many of the tales are singularly unboning and as devoid of beauty as of wit.

The story of Niobe has been made the subject of a work

"Niobe und die Niobiden in ihre Literarischen, Künstlerischen, und Mythologischen Bedeutung." Von Dr. K. B. Stark. Leipzig: Engelmann. London: Nutt. 1863.

by Professor Stark, of Heidelberg, which friends will pronounce exhaustive, and which critics may be pardoned if they call it exhausting. In this ponderous volume, all that German industry could collect is brought together, and the whole mass pitilessly turned out again, with that lack of any distinct theory or animating purpose, and that calm unconsciousness of the ordinary limits of human patience, which belong to the true German scholar. The plates of the various statues, sculptures, reliefs, and vases in which the story of Niobe and her children, are represented, are well executed, beginning with the sitting figure on Mount Sipylus which still exists, and is supposed to be the very same that Pausanias mentions, and ending with the well-known Niobe group at Florence. Every author who has mentioned or alluded to Niobe, from Homer to Dante, and from Dante downwards, contributes a line or a sentence to this elaborate, shadowless piece of Mosaic work, which is a work of immense industry, but which would have been far more useful and readable had the materials been better arranged, and selected with more discrimination.

The present quarter yields but few novels of any special interest. In "Mr. and Mrs. Faulconbridge,"

"Mr. and Mrs. Faulconbridge." By Hamilton Aidé. London: Smith and Elder. 1864.

the stale old expedient of collecting a number of ladies and gentlemen in a large country house, and developing a plot by means of private theatricals, has adopted, but with the addition of an intricate mystery which is ingeniously kept up, and gives a certain novelty to the well-worn materials. The author, like Mr. Wilkie Collins, from whom he has taken other hints, begs the reviewers to respect the secret which ought not to be divulged before the fulness of time has come in the second volume; we must therefore observe a discreet silence with regard to it, although it is not always so well kept by the author as to elude the penetration of an experienced novel reader. The mystery, which certainly fulfils its purpose of keeping up the sense of a coming catastrophe, and an uncomfortable state of increasing embroilment, is not, however, the only noticeable feature. There is in this tale the same evidence of close observation, knowledge of the world, and aptitude for portraying certain types of the modern lady and gentleman which have distinguished the previous works of the author of "Rita," and there is also a refinement of feeling and tone of good society which give a certain ease and grace to his compositions. The people are real; their conversation almost painfully true to nature, and most real and well described is the oppression which will overtake even the virtuous when their stay in a country house is prolonged beyond the expected time. We quote a scene which is a fair sample of the easy style and light quality of the story—a "five o'clock tea" at [*unclear: Stourto*] Towers, the seat of Sir Richard Stourton, uncle of the hero George (who is disabled by an accident which has compelled the postponement of the play) and of the charming Lady Trevelyan. Mr. and Mrs. Faulconbridge have come in a professional character to manage the theatricals:—

*"It had grown so dark that faces were no longer distinguishable. Some one came in—a tall figure with a heavy tread—and approached George's sofa. 'Who is that?' said Lady Trevelyan. 'It's me, Diana.' The grammar was everybody's, but the voice was Sir Richard's. 'How d'ye feel this evening Georgy?' He sat himself down heavily in a chair, and took out his [*unclear: snuffbox*] 'Oh! fresh as a two-year old, uncle Dick. I'm thinking of offering to ride in the grand military steeple chase on Saturday, sir.' 'Gad! you [*unclear: madcap*] said his uncle, 'I believe we shall have to put a strait-waistcoat on you, if you're to be kept on that sofa for a week.' Then followed a sound which told that Sir Richard was taking a pinch of snuff; after which, in laying his box down on the table, his hand encountered the teatray. Sir Richard always waged war against this barbarous innovation on the habits of his day, and always affected extreme surprise on every fresh occasion that he saw a teacup before dinner. 'God bless my soul! What's this? Tea? Tea at this [*unclear: hour!*] You don't mean to say, Georgy, that you're taking to that absurd habit-only fit for women. Destroy your appetite for dinner—injure*

your digestion. If you must take anything, have a glass of sherry and bitters. Not [unclear: that] require anything from breakfast to dinner. It wasn't the fashion of my time to be eating all day long.' 'Only to drink all night long?' said George laughing. 'Aye, George, a gentleman then wasn't afraid of his couple of bottles or so. You young men now are such a set of mollycoddles, you want to be off to the ladies after a couple of glasses.' 'You see, [unclear: unc] Dick,' said George, with mock humility, 'I'm ashamed to own it—it's a shocking horrid vice, I know, but I'm fond of my cup of tea.' 'Pshaw!' said sir [unclear: chard], with a lofty good humour. 'Don't chaff your uncle, sir. Diana, where are you? Impossible to see a soul in this Trophonius's cave of yours. That is another ridiculous custom, not to have lights as soon as it gets dark. What is the use of sitting like so many ghosts there? Why don't you ring for a lamp?' 'Those last rays of sunset are so beautiful from this [unclear: window],' his niece. 'It seems a pity to shut them out. Besides, no one [unclear: ever] anything at this hour.' 'And that is such a blessing,' chimed in George. 'It is the only time of the day one sits down without a fidgety desire to [unclear: get] and do something else.' 'I didn't know, Master George,' observed his uncle, 'there was ever one hour in the twenty-four when you were free from that [unclear: ction]—ha! ha! except, by-the-by, when you're sitting by a pretty woman. Is there any one else here, Diana? Do I see some one opposite there, in the [unclear: chair?]' 'It is Mr. Faulconbridge, uncle.' 'Oh!' There was a formality in the way that interjection was exhaled—a perceptible change at once in the [unclear: ont's] manner. Those jokes and sportive family ways were not for such as the 'young man who is down here, you know, to superintend the plays, [unclear: and] forth.' 'I am glad to find from my nephew that this congtreton, Mr. Faulconbridge, will not deprive him and the company in general of your service—very valuable I am sure—for these plays . . . The theatres are sadly changed since my day. I remember the time when the stage was supported by the first people in the land. What a galaxy of talent there was then! Betterton—the Kembles—Mrs. Siddons! I seldom enter a theatre now—[unclear: the] buffoonery, and then the audience! Even the opera. When I think what the pit of the opera was in my day. Fop's alley is gone! Now there is only a mass of tailors and bootmakers, who push and elbow you. By gad! it's intolerable!' 'Yes,' said George, 'the pit of the opera resembles, in one particular, that bottomless pit, where so much gnashing of teeth goes on' . . . 'The Elizabethan drama has utterly departed. No such thing as a five-act tragedy in blank verse is ever given now, I believe. A few enterprising persons, who are fond of low, very low, wit, go down to some place in the Strand, where sit, jammed in a vice they call a stall, and listen to a vulgar set of dogs in a burlesque, and that's what they call "going to the theatre" in the present day!' 'You wouldn't call it going to chapel, sir?' said George. [unclear: The] opened at that moment, and the figures of two ladies loomed in the dusk. We thought we should find some one here,' said Miss Skipton's brisk voice, and tea going on, I declare. We have had such a walk. Is Lady [unclear: Trevelyan]? because it's impossible to tell. Mrs. Faulconbridge and I are so tired—a cup of tea, please, Gracious! Mr. Faulconbridge, I beg your pardon! I was going to sit down, not seeing your knee. It really is so dark.' 'Of course it is,' said Sir Richard's pompous voice, out of the darkness, 'I wonder don't all tumble over each other. Miss Skipton, I thought you were a [unclear: man] of more sense than to drink slops at this hour.' 'We must [unclear: make] more slops for her, I see,' laughed Lady Trevelyan, 'for we have [unclear: rained] the teapot. Mr. Faulconbridge, if you can find the silver teabox any where on the table, you may empty it in here, and put in some water. Uncle Richard, I want to speak to you before you go.'

"Sir Richard was interrupted by something that nearly approached a shriek from Miss Skipton. 'Oh!oh! ugh! Gracious goodness! What on earth is there in this tea? Oh! Of all the horrible—horrible—ugh!' Amid general exclamations of astonishment, enters Mr. Millet, with a lamp. 'By Jove!' shouted George, with a roar of laughter, 'By Jove! Sir Richard, here's Faulconbridge has [unclear: been] emptied your snuffbox into the teapot. Poor Miss Skipton!' That was it. The Empty snuffbox beside the teapot left it beyond all doubt. All [unclear: gathered] the unfortunate sufferer except Sir Richard, who as he left the room, took occasion to say—"This comes of your drinking your slops at this hour, and sitting in the dark. I'm not the least surprised. I always told you how it would be!"—Vol. i. p. 279.

Dr. Sandwith has drawn upon his recollections and experience of the east for the subject-matter of "Hekim Bashi,"

"The Hekim Bashi; or, the Adventures of Giuseppe Antonelli, a Doctor in the Turkish Service." By Humphry Sandwith, C.B., D.C.L., author of "The Siege of Kars." London: Smith and Elder. 1864.

and the result is entertaining volumes which bear the stamp of faithful adherence to facts, only so far trimmed and pruned as to render them fit for use in the form of an imaginary autobiography. The hero of the story is an Italian doctor, who confesses to having played the part of cheat, traitor, and renegade in the pursuit of wealth, but who repents of his evil ways, and is found by an English traveller in the Hospital of Incurables at Pinerolo, in Sardinia, in the character of a Cistercian monk devoted to charitable works. He relates how he arrived at Constantinople in 1858, as a young doctor seeking his fortune, and he thus describes the medical school of Galata Serail:—

"My medical brethren were as various in their nationalities as in their garments. Italy furnished the majority of the foreigners, France a goodly number, Germany several, and England a few; but these mostly of the highest position. Of natives, there were a few genuine Turks, enjoying but little of the confidence of their fellow countrymen. The Greeks swarmed, and some of them occupied the best medical appointments in the palace and the public service. There were also a few Armenians, who did not, however, possess a great reputation even amongst their own people. These Christian Asiatic nationalities furnished a great number of professors of small surgery: there were numbers of barbers, who were bleeders, tooth-drawers, cuppers, and dressers of wounds. Some years before my arrival in Constantinople, all the doctors possessed of diplomas were foreigners, or natives who had studied abroad; but latterly the Sultan had founded a medical university of his own, and a curious exotic it was. The pupils were clothed, fed, and paid, and yet but few of the Turks would face the horrors of learning anatomy. Moreover all the lessons were given in French, which the students had to learn [unclear: white] listening to the lectures. The Sultan, however, was determined that the lecture-rooms should be filled, so peasants were captured in the interior, and brought in chains to learn the science of medicine. This plan, however, did! succeed, as the brains of these rustics were found impermeable to both French and physiology, besides which many of them were only too glad to settle for life at the school when they found themselves fed, clothed, and paid, and disliked the idea of leaving it. Compulsory attendance was, therefore, given up, and (with the peculiar advantages held out) there was no lack of Greeks Jews, and Armenians, with a few Ottomans, which latter were highly encouraged in their studies, some of them being made colonels as soon as they had passed a very indulgent examination. The professors were, in the beginning, first-rate men and highly paid, from France and Austria; these were in time gradually replaced by Greeks and Armenians, who neglected their duties, and made traffic of the emoluments and appointments connected with their posts. Vol. i. p. 45.

Dr. Sandwith has evidently but small faith in the much talked of reforms that have taken place in the Turkish Government and administration, in consequence of the pressure of European, and especially of English, interference of late years; and according to his pictures of provincial misrule, corruption, and injustice, the improvement has not spread into Asia, nor does he believe in any change for the better in the universal system of bribery and extortion from the highest official to the meanest slave, while he is loud in his condemnation of the recent: policy of England, which has always taken the side of the Mussulman against the Christian. The following is one of the notes to the second volume: the statement is bold, to say the least—

"When I was in Turkey in 1860, it was notorious that the British consuls had received hints from the embassy to refrain from reporting anything that could tell against the Turkish Government. I was once conversing with a consul, and he told me stories of Turkish oppression that aroused my indignation. 'At least,' I remarked, 'you have the satisfaction of reporting these horrors to your Government.' 'By no means,' was his answer; 'I dare not report anything unfavourable to the Turks; such a course would be fatal to my career, since Sir H. Bulwer has given us to understand that we are always to take the part of the Turks.'"

Another two volume novel, called "Uncle Crotty's Relations,"

"Uncle Crotty's Relations." By Herbert Glyn, Author of "The Cotton Lord." Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.

would have been more aptly named "Aunt Crotty's Will," since the chief interest of the story relates to the two wills of a remarkably disagreeable lady of that name, by one of which the heroine would possess 3000l. a-year, and by the other only 3000l., the hero becoming the heir in her stead; but as it is plain from the first that they are lovers, and intended to come together in happiness and prosperity, the reader is disturbed by no misgivings about the money, and knows that it will ultimately come to the two deserving cousins. The story is a quiet, cheerful little picture of common life, with which the attempt to interweave a darker thread of crime and tragedy does not harmonize, as the author seems to have become suddenly conscious, and cuts it short in a somewhat abrupt manner. In fact, the work is a series of incomplete schemes and surprises, not always expressed in good English; but there are a few well-sketched scenes, and one or two characters sufficiently interesting to redeem it from dulness and insipidity.

"Le Maudit "

"Le Maudit." Par l'Abbé * * * Quatrième Édition. Paris: Libraire Internationale London: Williams and Norgate. 1864.

is the title of a book in three large volumes, devoted to the exposure of the cruelties of the Inquisition and the corruptions of the Romish clergy, especially of the disciples of Loyola. The author quotes clerical precedents for adopting the form of composition which considers the best suited to the popular taste, and justifies his choice by the examples of Fénelon and Cardinal Wiseman. The nature of work hardly bears out the assertion that it is neither polemical nor religious, but "a work of art," for there is very little art displayed in the voluminous narrative, but there are pages of argumentation, and whole chapters of religious discussion. The main object of the book is to trace the fortunes of a young Abbé—high minded and irreproachable—who starts in life with the shadow of priestly disfavour upon him, and who becomes the cruelly persecuted victim of the

Holy Office, undergoing a lifelong persecution from the Jesuits both on account of his avowed liberal opinions, and because he has endeavoured, although vainly, to recover his own and his sister's rightful inheritance of which the Jesuits had possessed themselves by means of flattery and intimidation patiently exercised for ten years, winning at last a will in their favour. There is nothing new in the disclosures of the intricate chicanery and perfect organization by which the Society of Jesus obtains its ends and circumvents its unfortunate victims, but so earnest and outspoken a protest against clerical domination and the corruption of faith and practice in the Church of Rome, is expressive of the rowing impatience of thinking men under a yoke which has long lost its sanctity in the eyes of those who are not blinded by bigotry. The story is of the present time, and among his various adventures, the hero escapes from the prison of the Inquisition in Rome by the help of a Garibaldian irregular. There are passages in his life as a quiet curé in a remote mountain district which have all the air of being sketches from life; but it must be the inherent interest of the subject more than the artistic skill of the author which has caused this somewhat clumsy performance to go through four editions, unless, indeed, the fact of its having been prohibited be not a sufficient explanation.

"Lloyd Pennant "

"Lloyd Pennant, a Tale of the West." By Ralph Neville. London: Chapman and Hall. 1864.

and "Die von Hohenstein,"

"Die von Hohenstein." Roman von Friedrich Spielhagen. Berlin: [unclear: O] Janke. London: Nutt. 1864.

are not otherwise remarkable than as giving a tolerably accurate idea of two very distinct phases of life; the first is an Irish story of the time of the French invasion under Hoche, the second is a history of personages not particularly moral or well conducted or interesting, during the revolutionary days of 1848. A cheap edition of Mrs. Gaskell's "Sylvia's Lovers"

"Sylvia's Lovers." By Mrs. Gaskell. Illustrated Edition. Smith, Elder and Co. 1863.

in one volume will no doubt obtain deserved popularity, but the very inferior illustrations do not add to its attractions.

Among illustrated gift books we have to notice two very beautiful volumes adorned with photographs many of which are admirable. Our English Lakes,"

"Our English Lakes, Mountains, and Waterfalls, as seen by William Wordsworth." London: Alfred W. Bennett.

is a well chosen selection from Words worth's poems, with exquisite photographic illustrations of many of the loveliest spots commemorated by or associated with them. The poet's modest home at Rydal Mount forms the frontispiece, and the simple stone which marks the last resting-place of William and Mary Wordsworth, in Grasmere churchyard, is the appropriate finish of a volume which has every form of artistic and typographic excellence to recommend it. The other work is the second series of "Ruined Abbeys and Castles,"

"Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain and Ireland." By William Howitt. London: Alfred W. Bennett, 5, Bishopsgate-street Without. 1864.

for which Mr. Howitt supplies the descriptive letter-press. The softness, minute delicacy, and richness of tint in these photographs, many of them extremely small, are remarkable, and the exterior of the volume is a triumph of bookbinding decoration.

Mr. Richard Doyle's "Bird's-eye Views of Society,

"Bird's-eye Views of Society." Taken by Richard Doyle. Smith, Elder, and Co. 1864.

which first appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*, are now published in a separate volume, with a page or two of very tame letter-press to each engraving. As specimens of Mr. Doyle's extraordinary power of delineating the human face and form in every possible variety of grotesque ugliness and distressing vulgarity these drawings are matchless, and perhaps the almost unprecedented absence of grace and fitness in the style of costume now in fashion, deserves to be recorded in these grim unsparing satires. But the constant repetition of the same vacant, vapid, meaningless faces, with only just enough of variety to prove the artist's skill, becomes at last more painful than diverting, and the effect is less that of a caricature than of a sneering libel. Even in the Juvenile Party there is scarcely a face that is not distorted by evil passion or mean feeling, while in the State Party we are shown sixteen ladies and gentleman engaged in demolishing delicacies out of season, each with a Scowling malignity or an inane insipidity of expression which it is simply a penalty to look upon. But there is one scene in which none of these defects intrude themselves, and where Mr. Doyle's marvellous tower of drawing has full play—The Science and Art Conversazione. Here every face, however ugly, has a true individual expression, and the various attitudes of the learned and inquisitive company are truly comic, without being dismally ungainly. The contrast between the artist's pencil and his pen is striking: the letter-press is somewhat flat, but full of amiable benignity—the drawings might have been the work of a cynical monomaniac, whose brain had been turned on the subject of overcrowding at evening parties.

We are shown ourselves in detail in two volumes of sketches;

"Heads of the People; or, Portraits of the English." Henry G. Bohn. 1864.

the descriptions are by various authors, including the late Mr. Thackeray and Douglas Jerrold; the drawings are by Kenny Meadows, and are of the coarsest rudest character, little if at all superior to the wood engravings in the cheapest periodicals.

A dainty little volume on Palms

"The Palm Tree." By S. Moody. London: Nelson and Sons. 1864.

is adorned with glowing illustrations from drawings by the authoress, and in addition to a good deal of botanical and miscellaneous information, there is a vein of religious sentiment, and a section devoted to "Scripture Notices of Palms," which redeems the work from the suspicion of being dangerously scientific, and which will recommend it to the timidly pious, who are afraid of any reading that is not plentifully sprinkled with Scripture texts.

Two picture-books

"Was willst du werden?" Von Oscar Pletsch. Berlin: Weidmann. London: Williams and Norgate.

for children, containing between them thirty-eight engravings, illustrate the question What should you like to be? Each trade and profession is illustrated by a typical scene which at once its own story. The drawings are excellent, both in design and execution, and hit off minor niceties of expression with much cleverness and sly humour without caricature.

Mr. Charles Mackay's new volume of poems

"Studies from the Antique and Sketches from Nature." By Charles Mackay Virtue. 1864.

evinces his usual vigour and warmth of feeling in the treatment of themes of modern life and experience, but he is less at home in classical ground, and never ceases to be the Englishman of to-day even in "Momus" and Cassandra."

The "Tales of a Wayside Inn"

"Tales of a Wayside Inn." By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Routledge 1864.

will hardly satisfy those who remember what Mr. Longfellow has written, although there is the tree ballad clang and thunder in the Saga of King Olaf.

The chief poem in another volume of American poetry

"Alice of Monmouth, an Idyll of the Great War, with other Poems." By Edmund C. Stedman. New York: Carleton. 1864.

is entitled an "Idyl of the Great War," and if the author does not promise to write war-songs like those of Körner, he has at least seized one of the forms of tragic interest which bring a national struggle within the circle of personal feelings and sorrows; and the tone of plaintive sadness which quenches the fire out of the battle-scenes may be well excused in one who is or who tries to be patriotic in the midst of civil war. There is real poetic feeling and taste in this poem, but there is also a certain faintness and hesitation, in which no trace of hearty enthusiasm, as for a cause wholly believed in, can be traced. Thus it concludes:—

*"'Daughter,' the man replied (his face was bright
With the effulgent reflex of that light,
The time shall come, by merciful Heaven will'd,
When these celestial omens shall be fulfill'd,
Our strife be closed, and the nation purged of sin,
And a pure and holier union shall begin;
And a jarring race be drawn throughout the land,
Into new brotherhood by some strong hand;
And the baneful glow and splendour of war shall fade
In the whiter light of love, that, from sea to sea,
Shall soften the rage of hosts in arms array'd,
And melt into share and shaft each battle blade,
And brighten the hopes of a people great and free.
But in the story told of a nation's woes,
Of the sacrifices made for a century's fault,
The fames of fallen heroes shall ever shine,
Serene, and high, and crystalline as those
Fair stars which reappear in yonder vault;
In the country's heart their written names shall be,
Like that of a single one in mine and thine."*

A new volume of sacred verse,

"Lyra Messianica: Hymns and Verses on the Life of Christ. Ancient and Modern." Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley. Longman. 1864.

by the author of "Lyra Eucharistica," contains a large and choice selection of devotional poetry from various sources and of every age of the Christian Church. Ancient breviaries and mediaeval missals furnish some of the hymns and in their quaint symbolism betray their origin through their English dress, and scarcely harmonize with the English hymns by living writers. The translations are well done, and many of the Latin and Greek hymns are now first published in verse. The collection is well deserving a place beside the beautiful "Lyra Germanica" of Miss Winkworth, and is printed and bound in the same antique style.

Important Family Medicine.

Norton's Camomile Pills,

The Most Certain Preserver of Health,

A Mild, Yet Speedy, Safe, and Effectual Aid in Cases of Indigestion, and All Stomach Complaints, and, as a Natural Consequence, Enter of the Blood, and a Sweetener of the Whole System.

[unclear: is] a weakness or want of power [unclear: tive] juices in the stomach to [unclear: con-] eat and drink into healthy for the proper nourishment of the system. It is caused by everything [unclear: kens] the system in general, or [unclear: the] in particular. From it proceed all the the diseases to which we are for it is very certain, that if we could Keep the stomach right we should by old age or accident. Indigestion [unclear: a] great variety of unpleasant [unclear: sensa-] amongst the most prominent of [unclear: its] effects are a want of, or an [unclear: inorditite], sometimes attended with [unclear: a] [unclear: eraving] for drink, a distension [unclear: or] enlargement of the stomach, [unclear: flatuburn], pains in the stomach, [unclear: acidity], taste in the mouth, perhaps [unclear: sick-cambling] noise in the bowels: in [unclear: some] depraved digestion there is nearly [unclear: a] disrelish for food, but still [unclear: the] is not greatly impaired, as at the period of meals persons so afflicted [unclear: can] although without much [unclear: gratifi-] long train of nervous symptoms [unclear: are] attendants, general [unclear: debility], gaidness, and incapacity for [unclear: exer-] minds of persons so afflicted [unclear: fre-] become irritable and [unclear: desponding], anxiety is observable in the [unclear: coun-] they appear thoughtful, [unclear: melan-] dejected, under great [unclear: appre-] some imaginary danger, will start [unclear: ected] noise or occurrence, and [unclear: ated] that they require some time to calm and collect themselves: yet for all this the mind is exhilarated without much difficulty; pleasing events, society, will for a time dissipate all appearance of disease; but the excitement produced by an agreeable change vanishes soon after the cause has gone by. Other symptoms are, violent pal pitations, restlessness, the sleep disturbed by frightful dreams and startings, and affording little or no refreshment; occasionally there is much moaning, with a sense of weight and oppression upon the chest, nightmare, &c.

It is almost impossible to enumerate all the symptoms of this first invader upon the constitution, as in a hundred cases of *Indigestion* there will probably be something peculiar to each; but, be they what they may, they are all occasioned by the food becoming a burden rather than a support to the stomach; and in all its stages the medicine most wanted is that which will afford speedy and effectual assistance to the digestive organs, and give energy to the nervous and muscular systems,—nothing can more speedily or with more certainty effect so desirable an object than *Norton's Extract of Camomile Flowers*. The herb has from time immemorial been highly esteemed in England as a grateful anodyne, imparting an aromatic bitter to the taste, and a pleasing

degree of warmth and strength to the stomach; and in all cases of indigestion, gout in the stomach, windy colic, and general weakness, it has for ages been strongly recommended by the most eminent practitioners as very useful and beneficial. The great, indeed only, objection to its use has been the large quantity of water which it takes to dissolve a small part of the flowers, and which must be taken with it into the stomach. It requires a quarter of a pint of boiling water to dissolve the soluble portion of one drachm of Camomile Flowers; and, when one or even two ounces may be taken with advantage, it must at once be seen how impossible it is to take a proper dose of this wholesome herb in the form of tea; and the only reason why it has not long since been placed the very first in rank of all restorative medicines is, that in taking it the stomach has always been loaded with water, which tends in a great measure to counteract, and very frequently wholly to destroy the effect. It must be evident that loading a weak stomach with a large quantity of water, merely for the purpose of conveying into it a small quantity of medicine must be injurious; and that the medicine must possess powerful renovating properties only to counteract the bad effects likely to be produced by the water. Generally speaking, this has been the case with Camomile Flowers, a herb possessing the highest restorative qualities, and when properly taken, decidedly the most speedy restorer, and the most certain preserver of health.

Norton's Camomile Pills are prepared by a peculiar process, accidentally discovered, and known only to the proprietor, and which he firmly believes to be one of the most valuable modern discoveries in medicine, by which all the essential and extractive matter of more than an ounce of the flowers is concentrated in four moderate-sized pills. Experience has afforded the most ample proof that they possess all the fine aromatic and stomachic properties for which the herb has been esteemed; and, as they are taken into the stomach unencumbered by any diluting or indigestible substance, in the same degree has their benefit been more immediate and decided. Mild in their operation and pleasant in their effect, they may be taken at any age, and under any circumstance, without danger or inconvenience. A person exposed to cold and wet a whole day or night could not possibly receive any injury from taking them, but, on the contrary, they would effectually prevent a cold being taken. After a long acquaintance with and strict observance of the medicinal properties of *Norton's Camomile Pills*, it is only doing them justice to say, that they [unclear: are] most valuable of all TONIC MEDICINE the word tonic is meant a [unclear: medicine] gives strength to the [unclear: stomach] digest in proper quantities [unclear: all] food, which increases the [unclear: power] nerve and muscle of the human [unclear: body] other words, invigorates the [unclear: ner] muscular systems. The solidity [unclear: or] of the whole tissue of the [unclear: body] quickly follows the use of [unclear: Norton's] Pills, their certain and speedy [unclear: effects] pairing the partial dilapidations [unclear: from] intemperance, and their [unclear: lasting] fluence on the whole frame, [unclear: is] [unclear: vincing], that in the smallest [unclear: compa] tained the largest quantity of [unclear: the] ciple, of so peculiar a nature as [unclear: to] the whole system, through [unclear: which] health and strength sufficient [unclear: to] formation of disease, and [unclear: also] constitution against contagion [unclear: as] general use is strongly [unclear: recommended] preventative during the [unclear: prevalence] [unclear: nant] fever or other infectious [unclear: dis] to persons attending sick rooms [unclear: they] valuable, as in no one instance [unclear: have] failed in preventing the taking [unclear: of] even under the most trying [unclear: circum]

As *Norton's Camomile Pills* [unclear: cularly] recommended for all [unclear: sto] complaints or indigestion, it will probably [unclear: pected] that some advice should [unclear: be] respecting diet, though after all [unclear: that] written upon the subject, after [unclear: the] of volume upon volume, after the has, as it were, been [unclear: inundated] [unclear: tical] essays on diet, as a [unclear: means] life, it would be unnecessary to [unclear: say] did we not feel it our duty [unclear: to] humble endeavour of inducing [unclear: the] regard them not, but to [unclear: adopt] which is dictated by nature, [unclear: by] by common sense. Those [unclear: persons] the wholesomes, and are governed [unclear: by] opinion of writers on diet, [unclear: are] both unhealthy in body and [unclear: weak] There can be no doubt that [unclear: the] signed to inform us what [unclear: is] stomach, and of course that [unclear: must] struct us what food to take [unclear: and] avoid: we want no other [unclear: adviser] can be more clear than that [unclear: those] which are agreeable to the [unclear: taste] nature intended for our food [unclear: and] whether liquid or solid, foreign [unclear: or] [unclear: if] they are pure and [unclear: unadul-] no harm need be dreaded by their [unclear: will] only injure by abuse. [unclear: Con-] whatever the palate approves, [unclear: eat] always in moderation, but [unclear: never] keeping in mind that the [unclear: first] of digestion is performed in [unclear: the] the second in the stomach; and [unclear: that], that the stomach may be able to [unclear: do] properly, it is requisite the [unclear: first] [unclear: should] be well performed; this [unclear: con-] masticating or chewing the [unclear: solid] as to break down and separate [unclear: the] small substances of meat and [unclear: ve]-mixing them well, and blending the [unclear: gether] before they are [unclear: swallowed]; particularly urged upon all to [unclear: take] time to their meals and never [unclear: eat]. If you conform to this short [unclear: and] but comprehensive advice, and [unclear: find] are various things which others [unclear: rink] with pleasure and without [unclear: in]-and which would be [unclear: pleasant] only that they disagree, you [unclear: may]

conclude that the fault is in [unclear: the] that it does not possess the [unclear: power] ought to do, that it wants [unclear: assist-] the sooner that assistance is [unclear: af-] the better. A very short trial of [unclear: this] will best prove how soon it [unclear: will] stomach in a condition to perform all the work which nature [unclear: intend-] its use you will soon be [unclear: able] in moderation, whatever is [unclear: agree-] the taste, and unable to name one [unclear: in-] article of food which disagrees with [unclear: asantly] on the stomach. Never that a small meal well digested affords [unclear: shment] to the system than a [unclear: large] of the same food, when [unclear: digested]. Let the dish be ever so [unclear: deli-] ever so so enticing a variety offered, [unclear: the] so enchanting, never forget [unclear: that] tends to preserve health, and [unclear: lth] is the soul of enjoyment. [unclear: But] impropriety be at any time, or [unclear: ever] committed, by which the [unclear: stomach] overloaded or disordered, render [unclear: it] aid by taking a dose of *Norton's Camomile Pills*, which will so promptly assist in carrying off the burden thus imposed upon it that all will soon be right again.

It is most certainly true that every person in his lifetime consumes a quantity of noxious matter, which if taken at one meal would be fatal: it is these small quantities of noxious matter, which are introduced into our food, either by accident or wilful adul-teration, which we find so often upset the stomach, and not unfrequently lay the foundation of illness, and perhaps final ruination, to health. To preserve the constitution, it should be our oonstant care, if possible, to counteract the effect of these small quantities of unwholesome matter; and whenever, in that way, an enemy to the constitution finds its way into the stomach, a friend should be immediately sent after it, which would prevent its mischievous effects, and expel it altogether; no better friend can be found, nor one which will perform the task with greater certainty than NORTON'S CAMOMILE PILLS. And let it be observed that the longer this medicine is taken the less it will be wanted; it can in no case become habitual, as its entire action is to give energy and force to the stomach, which is the spring of life, the source from which the whole frame draws its succour and support. After an excess of eating or drinking, and upon every occasion of the general health being at all disturbed, these PILLS should be immediately taken, as they will stop and eradicate disease at its commencement. Indeed, it is most confidently-asserted, that by the timely use of this medicine only, and a common degree of caution, any person may enjoy all the comforts within his reach, may pass through life without an illness, and with the certainty of attaining a healthy Old Age.

On account of their volatile properties, they must be kept in bottles; and if closely-corked their qualities are neither impaired by time nor injured by any change of climate whatever. Price, 13 ½d. and 2s. 9d. each, with full directions. The large bottle contains the quantity of three small ones, or PILLS equal to fourteen ounces of CAMOMILE FLOWEKS.

Sold by nearly all respectable Medicine Vendors.

Be particular to ask for "NORTON'S PILLS," and F do not be persuaded to purchase an imitation.

A CLEAE COMPLEXION!!! GODFREYS EXTRACT OF ELDER FLOWER Is strongly recommended for Softening, Improving, Befl ing and Preserving the SKIN, and giving it a blooming charming appearance. It will completely remove Tan, burn, Redness, &c., and by its Balsamic and Healing qui render the skin soft, pliable, and free from dryness, &c it from every humour, pimple, or eruption; and by contin its use only a short time, the skin will become and co soft and smooth, and the complexion perfectly clear beautiful. Sold in Bottles, price 2s. 9d., by all Medicine Vendors and Perfe

FOR GOUT, RHEUMATISM AND RHEUMATIC GO SIMCO'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC P are a certain and sate remedy. They restore tranquillity to the nerve! give to the stomach, and strength to the whole system. No other medicine compared to these excellent Pills, as they prevent the disorder from at the stomach or head, and have restored thousands from pain and misery to and comfort. Sold by all Medicine Vendors, at 1s. lid. and 2s. 9d. per

INFLUENZA, COUGHS AND COLDS SIMCO'S ESSENCE OF LINSEED is the most efficacious remedy ever discovered for the relief of persons from Influenza; the first two doses generally arrest the progress of this complaint, and a little perseverance completely removes it. Children's as well as recent ones in Adults, will be removed by a few doses (frequently the first); and Asthmatic persons, who previously had not been able to in bed, have received the utmost benefit from the use of SIMCO'S ESSENCE OF LINSEED. Sold in Bottles at 1s. 1½d. and 2s. 9d. each.

THE CHANGES EFFECTED IN THE NATURAL FEATURES OF A NEW COUNTRY BY THE INTRODUCTION OF CIVILIZED RACES. By W. T. L.

RAVERS, F. L. S.

(Part I.)

[Lecture delivered at the Colonial Museum, Wellington, August 7, 1869.]

Is attempting to compress within the limits of a lecture so broad a subject as character and extent of the changes effected by civilized man in the physical features and organic life of new countries, I am aware that I have undertaken to ordinary task, and on this ground alone I should have to crave your [*unclear*: indulgence]; but when, added to its inherent difficulties, I venture to state that my usual avocations are not akin to such investigations, I trust I may have a still further claim upon your good nature. In discussing the subject which I propose to bring under your notice, it is necessary that I should call your attention to the position which, so far as investigation has yet afforded light upon it, man has occupied on this globe [*unclear*: earn] the most ancient times, for it must be manifest that although man, in his [*unclear*: dest] stages of life, must long be dependent upon spontaneous productions for his means of subsistence, and that it is not until the arts of civilization have been considerably advanced, that he is able to bring under his dominion, more than a very limited number of the varied productions which are made to minister his wants, or to his luxuries, yet nevertheless, in an enquiry like the present, we must take into account his primitive condition of existence. It has been well observed by a modern writer of great power, that "there are few scientific questions exciting so much interest as the origin and antiquity of man, and that nevertheless, general as the interest is, there is no subject so furtively studied and so unfairly dealt with." The same writer then shows that the influence of theological ideas has induced the great mass of enquirers [*unclear*: its] approach the subject with doubt and hesitation, and that even the [*unclear*: ned] societies of Europe exhibit an "uneasy tenderness" in dealing with it; and yet he points out how infinitely more important it is to acquire a Knowledge of the origin, present condition, and probable future of man, than it is to possess the most intimate acquaintance with any of the other biological problems presented for our solution. And he argues that "if there be any irreverence in dealing with such questions as man's origin, antiquity, and destiny, that irreverence must rest with those who would circumscribe the range of reason, and seek by unworthy clamour to deter the human intellect from arriving at some conception, however faint, of those laws by which the Creator has chosen to sustain the phenomena of this marvellous universe. That man's relations to external nature, his relations to his God, and his relations to his fellow men, determine at once the range of his knowledge and the sum of his obligations; and that unless these relations be understood (and this is what science is always striving after), there never can be a complete fulfilment of the duties they involve. That it thus becomes truly pitiable to [*unclear*: har] from certain quarters their misrepresentations of scientific aims and scientific conclusions. That, in fact, it is easier to bear than to hear them; and that one can scarcely avoid the conviction, that those who can misrepresent the opinions of others, in order to strengthen their own arguments, would have little hesitation in falsifying facts to subserve a similar purpose. They talk of religion and infidelity! There is no profession of religion more offensive than that which, under the assumption of superior piety, attempts to vilify the honest convictions of others; the 'stand aside because I am holier than thou art' is, in general, void of reality, as it is wanting in Christian humility and charity. They talk of reconciliation between the utterances of science and religious beliefs, as if true religion and sound science ever have been or can be at variance. If religion means belief in certain dogmas and adherence To certain ritualistic forms, science and religion may often be in conflict; if, on the other hand, the exercise of religion consists in search after truth, regard to the relations in which we are placed to the universe, and devotion to the Great Author of all, then science and religion 'are at one, and need no reconciliation.'"

Agreeing entirely with these sentiments, I wish it to be borne in mind, that in the enquiries I propose to make in this lecture, I hold myself free from those theological dogmas which attempt to put arbitrary limits of time to man's presence upon earth, and to dictate the character in which he first appeared, and that I intend to deal with this part of the question under the light which the investigations of scientific men have recently thrown upon it

Now we are told, by a late writer upon this part of our subject, that "the first appearance of man in Europe dates back to a period so remote, that neither history, nor even tradition can throw any light on his origin or

mode of life," and we accordingly find that Prehistoric Archæologists are driven to acquire a knowledge of the character and habits of these early races, by examination of the remains they have left behind them.

Adopting this test, careful enquiry has enabled Archæologists to divide (by way of *ad interim* classification) the præhistoric period of Europe into four epochs.

1st. The "Palæolithic," in which man shared the possession of Europe, including England itself, with the Mammoth, the Cave Bear, the woolly-haired Rhinoceros and other now extinct animals.

2nd. The "Neolithic," in which men used beautiful polished stone weapons and other instruments, but did not until nearly the close of this age, possess any knowledge of metals except gold.

3rd. The "Bronze Age," in which bronze was used in the manufacture of arms and instruments of all kinds.

4th. The "Iron Age," in which iron had superseded bronze for many uses, though the latter metal was still used for ornamental purposes.

During the first of these periods we shall find that even in England man was the contemporary of the Elephant, the Rhinoceros, the Cave Bear, the Reindeer and the Hyæna. Mr. Lubbock in his recent work on [*unclear*: "Præhis] Times" tells us as follows :—

"In the year 1840, Mr. Godwin Austin communicated to the Geological Society a memoir on the Geology of the south-east of Devonshire, and in this description of Kent's Hole, near Torquay, he says that 'human remains and works of art, such as arrow heads and knives of flint, occur in all parts of the cave, and throughout the entire thickness of the clay; and no distinction founded on condition, distribution, or relative position, can be observed, whereby the human can be separated from the other reliquiæ, which included bones of the Elephant, Rhinoceros, Ox, Deer, Horse, Bear, Hyæna, and a feline animal of large size.

"The value," he truly adds, "of such a statement must rest on the care with which a collector may have explored; I must therefore state that my own researches were constantly conducted in parts of the cave which had never been disturbed, and in every instance the bones were procured from beneath a thick covering of stalagmite; so far, then, the bones and works of man must have been introduced into the cave before the flooring of stalagmite had been formed

"These statements, however, attracted little attention; and the very similar assertions made by Mr. Vivian, in a paper read before the Geological Society, were considered so improbable, that the memoir containing them was not published.

"In May, 1858, Dr. Falconer called the attention of the Geological Society to a newly-discovered cave at Brixham, near Torquay, and a committee was appointed to assist him in examining it. Grants of money were obtained for the same object from the Royal Society and Miss Burdett Coutts. In addition to Dr. Falconer, Mr. Pengelly, Mr. Prestwich, and Professor Ramsay were intrusted with the investigations. In September, 1858, a preliminary report was made to the Geological Society, but it is very much to be regretted that the results have not yet been published in extenso.

"The deposits in the cave were, in descending order:—

- Stalagmite of irregular thickness,
- Ochreous cave earth with limestone breccia,
- Ochreous cave earth with comminuted shale,
- Rounded gravel.

"The organic remains belonged to the following species :—

- *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*. Teeth in considerable numbers and an astragalus.
- *Bos sp.* Teeth, jaws, and other bones.
- *Equus sp.* A few remains.
- *Cervus tarandus*. The Reindeer, skull and bones.
- *Cervus sp.* Horns.
- *Ursus spelæus*. The Cave Bear; lower jaws, teeth, and the bones of a hind leg.
- *Hyæna speæa*. Lower jaws, teeth, fragments of skulls, and other bones.

"Several flint flakes were also found indiscriminately mixed with these bones, and according to all appearance, of the same antiquity. They occurred at various depths, from ten inches to eleven feet, and some of them were in the gravel, below the whole of the ochreous cave earth. One of them was found close to the bones of the left hind leg of a cave bear. The remains comprised not only the femur, tibia, and fibula, but even the knee-pan and astragalus were in their respective places. It is evident, therefore, that the limb must have been imbedded while in a fresh condition, or at least while the bones were held together by the ligaments. As, then, they must have been deposited soon after the death of the animal, it follows that, if man and the cave bear were not contemporaneous, the latter was the more recent of the two."

It is impossible, within the limits I have assigned to myself, even to enter upon the mass of evidence of a similar kind which has been adduced by number-less, writers and enquirers in support of the great antiquity of man in Europe, and the foregoing extracts must be taken as only examples of the cases which have been

investigated; but it is certainly impossible for us to resist the conviction that a length of time, enormous beyond all ordinary ideas on the subject, must have elapsed, since England and the western parts of Europe were inhabited by the elephant and the rhinoceros, animals of which no account is preserved even in the oldest known traditions or monuments. But although the circumstances, that many of the bones of each of these animals exhibit marks of having been cut and broken by man in order to extract the marrow, and that many of the implements which have been found associated with his remains, were made from such bones, may satisfy us that, even at that remote period, man had attained to a position of power over the lower animals, we are nevertheless justified in supposing that these early men were greatly limited in number, and were living in a state of much degradation and barbarism. We may conclude, therefore, that nothing was done by people in such a condition to modify, in any material degree, the physical character of the country they inhabited, or which was calculated to subvert or even materially to affect the balance then existing amongst the various forms of contemporary organic life.

In the next age (the Neolithic) a great advance was made, for we find, (at all events during the later periods of this age), that man must have increased largely in numbers, and have made considerable strides in civilization. The principal monuments of the polished stone age in Europe are "Tumuli" ancient burial mounds, the "Lake dwellings" of Switzerland, and the "shell mounds" of Denmark, each of which is characterized by peculiarities which can only be glanced at here.

There are also other remains of great interest which have been investigated by archæologists, such as the ancient "castles" and "camps" which crown so many of the hills in England; the great lines of embankment which cross many of the downs; the so-called Druidical circles, and the vestiges of apparently contemporary habitations, and the "Hut circles" and "Picts' houses" found in various places, but it is not my purpose to do more than refer to them.

With regard to the Tumuli, Mr. Lubbock tells us as follows :—"All over Europe wherever they have not been destroyed by the plough or the hammer, we find relics of præhistoric times, such as camps, fortifications, dykes, temples, tumuli, etc., many of which astonish us by their magnitude, which all of them excite our interest by the antiquity of which they remind us, and the mystery by which they are surrounded. Some few indeed, there are, such, for instance, as the Roman Wall in England, the Dannevirke, and Queen Thyra's tumulus, in Denmark, of which the date and origin are known to us, but by far the greater number, such as the Wansdyke, the 'temple' of Carnac in Brittany, the tumuli supposed to be those of Thor, Odin, and Freya at Upsala, and the great tumuli near Drogheda, are entirely prehistoric. Some of them doubtless, belong to the metallic period, some to that of stone, but it very rarely happens that we can attribute any of them, with reasonable probability, to one period rather than to another. This is particularly the case with ancient earthworks and megalithic temples or circles. The barrows, or Lows, on the other hand, frequently contain objects from which some idea of relative antiquity may be obtained. These ancient burial mounds, of which several typical example and represented, are extremely numerous. In our own island they may be seen on almost every down; in the Orkneys alone it is estimated that more than two thousand remain; and in Denmark they are even more abundant; they [unclear: raje] found all over Europe, from the shores of the Atlantic to the Oural mountains in Asia they are scattered over the great steppes, from the borders of Russia, to the Pacific Ocean, and from the plains of Siberia to those of Hindostan in America we are told that they are to be numbered by thousands and tens of thousands, nor are they wanting in Africa, where the Pyramids themselves exhibit the most magnificent development of the same idea; so that the whole world is studded with these burial places of the dead. The Cromlechs, Dolmens, Cistvaens, are now generally regarded as sepulchral, and the great number in which these ancient burial places occur is very suggestive of their antiquity, since the labour involved in the construction of a tumulus would not under taken except in honour of chiefs and great men. Many of them are small, but some are very large; Silbury Hill, the highest in Great Britain, has a height of one hundred and seventy feet; but though evidently artificial, there is great doubt whether it is sepulchral.

"Mr. Bateman, in the Preface to his second work, has collected together the most ancient allusions to burial ceremonies, and we see that 'Mound burial' was prevalent in the earliest times of which we have any historical record. Achan and his whole family were stoned with stones and burned with fire, after which we are told that Israel 'raised over him a great heap of stones unto this day. So the Lord turned from the fierceness of his anger.' Again, the king of Ai was buried under a heap of stones.

"According to Diodorus, Semiramis, the widow of Nirius, buried her husband within the precincts of the palace, and raised over him a large mound of earth. Some of the tumuli in Greece were old, even in the time of Homer, and were considered by him to be the burial places of the heroes. Pausanias mentions that stones were collected together, and heaped up over the tomb of Laius, the father of Œdipus. In the time of the Trojan war, Tydeus and Lycus are mentioned as having been buried under two earthen barrows. Hector's barrow was of stones and earth. Achilles erected a tumulus upwards of one hundred feet in diameter, over the remains of his friend Patroclus. The mound supposed by Xenophen to contain the remains of Alyattes, father of Cræsus, king

of Lydia, was of stone and earth, and more than a quarter of a league in circumference. In later times, Alexander the Great caused a tumulus to be heaped over his friend Hephæstion, at the cost of 1200 talents, no mean sum, even for a conqueror like Alexander, it being £232,500 sterling. Virgil tells us that Dercennus, King of Latium, was buried under an earthen mound; and, according to the earliest historians, whose statements are confirmed by the researches of archæologists, mound burial was practised in ancient times by the Scythians, Greeks, Etruscans, Germans, and many other nations. The size of the tumulus may be taken as rude indication of the estimation in which the deceased was held; the Scotch Highlanders have still a complimentary proverb, 'Curri mi clach er do cuirn,' i.e; 'I will add a stone to your cairn.'

"What Schoolcraft says of the North American Indians is applicable to many savage tribes. 'Nothing that the dead possessed was deemed too valuable to be interred with the body. The most costly dress, arms, ornaments and implements, are deposited in the grave; which is always placed in the choicest scenic situations, on some crowning hill or gentle eminence in a secluded valley.' And the North American Indians are said, even until within the last few years, to have cherished a friendly feeling for the French, because, in the time of their supremacy, they had at least this one great merit, that they never disturbed the resting-places of the dead."

Now it is somewhat remarkable, (and parenthetically I may say the fact speaks strongly for the more extreme antiquity of the cave men,) that although in these ancient burial monuments the bones of animals are constantly found associated with those of men, yet most of the species to which such bones belonged had then undoubtedly been domesticated, and we no longer find the bones of the elephant or rhinoceros, of the bear, hyaena, or reindeer, with which the remains of the earlier men were constantly associated. These animals had evidently disappeared, and in the meantime great advances had been made in various branches of art and civilization. No longer dependent upon spontaneous animal and vegetable growth for food and clothing, we find the people of this age protecting and propagating numerous forms of animal life, and we may assume that they warred upon such rival organisms as might have preyed upon these objects of their care, or might have obstructed the increase of their numbers. We may suppose too that these people carried on considerable agricultural pursuits, and that in doing so they encroached upon the forests which had covered the greater part of the surface of the countries they inhabited. We have, therefore, in our investigations of these early monuments, evidence of the first great modifications effected in the physical character and organic life of our own mother country, and we are entitled fairly to [*unclear: assuem*] that the consequences which ordinarily result from the felling of the woods namely, changes in local climate, changes in the drainage of the soil, and changes in the external configuration of the ground, followed the action of these people, and rendered England a fitter abode for man, as a civilized being, than it had been during the earlier period I have referred to. We are, as I think I before observed, fairly justified in assuming, on the one hand, that during the age of the cave men, the population was extremely limited, and confined to localities easily accessible, while the country at large was ranged over by animals analogous to those which now occupy the jungles of India, and on the other, that during the later Neolithic period the population was large, extending over every part of the country, and that the earlier fauna and flora had given place to one more suited to the wants and uses of a semi-civilized people. How this change was brought about it is difficult to say, but that a very large period of time must have been concerned in producing it, is beyond all doubt.

The Neolithic age passes, by insensible gradations, into the age of Bronze.

Of the latter age Mr. Lubbock tells us as follows :—" There are four principal theories as to the Bronze age. According to some Archaeologists, the discovery, or introduction of bronze was unattended by any great or sudden change in the condition of the people; but was the result, and is the evidence of a gradual and peaceable development. Some attribute the bronze arms and implements, found in Northern Europe, to the Roman armies, some to the Phœnician merchants; whilst others, again, consider that the men of the Stone age were replaced by a new and more civilized people of Indo-European race coming from the East; who, bringing with them a knowledge of bronze, over ran Europe, and dispossessed—in some places entirely destroying—the original or rather the earlier inhabitants.

"It is not, indeed, necessary to suppose that the introduction of bronze should have been effected everywhere in the same manner; so far, for instance as Switzerland and Ireland are concerned, Dr. Keller and Sir W. R. Wilde may be quite right in considering that the so-called 'primitive' population did not belong to a different race from that subsequently characterized by the use of bronze.

"Still, though it is evident that the knowledge of bronze must necessarily have been preceded by the separate use of copper and of tin; yet no single implement of the latter metal has been hitherto found in Europe, while those of copper are extremely rare. Hungary and Ireland, indeed, have been supposed to form partial exceptions to this rule. The geographical position of the former country is probably a sufficient explanation; and as far as Ireland is concerned, it may perhaps be worth while to examine how far that country really forms an exception. In the great Museum at Dublin, there are 725 celts and celt-like chisels, 282 swords and daggers, and 276 lances, javelins, and arrow heads; yet out of these 1283 weapons, only 30 celts and one sword blade are

said to be of pure-copper. I say 'are said to be,' because they have not been analyzed, but are supposed to be copper only from the 'physical properties and ostensible colour of the metal;' indeed, one of these very celts which was analyzed by Mr. Mallet, was found to contain a small percentage of tin. It is possible that for some of the purposes to which celts were applied, copper may have been nearly as useful as bronze, and at any rate it might sometimes have happened that from a deficiency of tin, some implements would be made of copper only.

"Taking these facts into consideration, Ireland certainly does not appear to present any strong evidence of an age of copper, while no one has ever pretended to find either there, or anywhere else in Europe, a trace of any separate use of tin.

"Sir W. R. Wilde himself admits it to be remarkable, that so few [*unclear: antique*] copper implements have been found, although a knowledge of that metal must have been the preliminary stage in the manufacture of bronze." He thinks, however, that "the circumstance may be accounted for either by supposing that but a *short* time elapsed between the knowledge of melting and casting copper ore, and the introduction of tin and subsequent manufacture and use of bronze; or from the probability of nearly all such articles having been recast and converted into bronze subsequent to the introduction of tin, which renders them harder, sharper, and more valuable.

"There is, however, another circumstance which strongly militates against this theory of a gradual and independent development of metallurgical knowledge in different countries, and that is the fact which has been broadly stated by Mr. Wright, and which I may, perhaps, repeat here, that whenever we find the bronze swords or celts, whether in Ireland in the far west, in Scotland. In distant Scandinavia, in Germany, or, still further east, in the [*unclear: fida vonic*] countries, they are the same—not similar in character, but identical. The great resemblance of stone implements found in different parts of the world may be satisfactorily accounted for by the similarity of the material, and the simplicity of the forms. But this argument cannot be applied to the bronze arms and implements. Not only are several varieties of celts found throughout Europe, but some of the swords, knives, daggers, etc., are so similar they seem as if they must have been cast by the same maker. It has been easy to multiply examples of this similarity, and it is not going, too far to say that these resemblances cannot be the result of accident. On the other hand, it must be admitted that each country has certain minor peculiarities. Neither the forms nor the ornaments are exactly similar. In Denmark and Mecklenburg, spiral ornaments are most common; farther south, these are replaced by ring ornaments and lines. The Danish swords generally have solid, and richly decorated handles, while those found in Great Britain terminate in a plate which was riveted to pieces of wood or bone. Again, the British lance heads frequently have loops at the side of the shaft-hole which is never the case with Danish specimens. The discovery of moulds in Ireland, Scotland, and England, Switzerland, Denmark, and elsewhere, shows that the art of casting in bronze was known and practised in many countries. Under these circumstances, it appears most probable that the knowledge of metal is one of those great discoveries which Europe owes to the East, and that the use of Copper was not introduced into our Continent, until it had been observed, that by the addition of a small quantity of tin it was rendered harder and more valuable."

At whatever period the people of the Western countries of Europe may have acquired their first knowledge of bronze, it is clear that it must have been long anterior to any of which we have historical knowledge, nor does it much concern our enquiry except as regards the very great antiquity of the march of civilization. In the opinion of Professor Wilson (as we are told by Mr. Lubbock), "the ornamentation characteristic of the Bronze age, is decidedly Semitic rather than Indo-European. He lays considerable stress on two curious vase-carriages, one found in Sweden and the other in Mecklenburg, which certainly appear to have been very like the 'vases' made for Solomon's temple, and described in the first Book of Kings. Finally he believes that the use of war chariots, the practice of reaping close to the ear, and a certain mode of fishing, are all evidences of Phœnician intercourse."

We find, then, that the close of the Bronze age brings us to the dawn of historic times, and we are able, by examination of a variety of remains, to trace the progress of change in the physical character and organic life of the older countries of Europe, a subject full of interest, and one which is found to march, hand in hand, with increasing civilization. But whilst I have thoughts it necessary thus to call your attention to this subject, I have done so chiefly for the purpose of suggesting a comparison between the rapid changes which are effected in new countries, as the result of their sudden occupation by civilized man, on the one hand, and the wonderfully slow process by which the physical character and organic life of our own country (for example), has been changed from the condition in which it appears to have existed at the time of the men, to that in which we now find it.

Let us now turn to the special subject upon which I propose to address you.

It is manifest that a subject so broad can, consistently with what is due to your patience, be only partially dealt with, and therefore, whilst I propose to offer some general reflections on the questions involved in it, I intend confine myself, by way of example, chiefly to a consideration of the effect which has been produced

upon these Islands.

In looking into the history of the discovery of these Islands, we are led to believe that the impressions made upon early voyagers were somewhat erroneous, for whilst it is true that the general aspect of a country, as regards its fertility, may as a rule, afford an idea of its capacity for sustaining & population, yet that capacity may be very different from what the immediate conformation and appearance of the country would lead the traveller to expect; height above sea level, exposure to special winds, and a variety of other causes, giving rise to the anomaly. Captain Cook (as you are aware) sailed round both of these islands, determining their size and figure, as well as their character and appearance, and the general opinion he arrived at was, that the whole country was one long chain of mountains with fertile valleys near the shores, and that it was chiefly covered with dense and in many places impenetrable woods. But even then our great navigator appreciated the advantages which these islands might, at some future time, offer as a field for settlement, and we have no reasons to suppose that the most sanguine opinions which have since been formed on that subject, are not open to realization.

Except, however, by the Maoris, these islands remained entirely unoccupied until the year 1818, when the first missionary settlements were formed at the Bay of Islands, and until a short period before that, the only animals which had been introduced were the dog and the pig, and the vegetables the kumera, the taro, and the gourd. How the Maoris obtained the dog is doubtful, but they owed the pig to Captain Cook, whilst the kumera, the taro, and the gourd, had certainly been brought with them upon their original migration to this country. It is a singular fact (so far at least as I know that these islands produce no indigenous edible fruit or vegetable capable of being improved into value by cultivation, and, therefore, although the Maoris used a considerable variety of indigenous vegetable substances as food, these were quite insufficient for their ordinary purposes, and they were therefore compelled to devote a large portion of their time and attention to the cultivation of the few introduced plants to which I have before referred. But the population was not sufficiently numerous, and their cultivations were not sufficiently extensive to effect any great changes in the aspect or organic life of the country. It is true that for a long, but remote period, during the latter part of which man was certainly an actor on the scene, these islands had been the habitat of large struthious birds, of which the osseous remains are to be found distributed all over the country. What were the actual circumstances under which they disappeared we cannot say, although analogy leads us to suppose that the birds themselves, as well as their eggs, were diligently sought for as food in a country otherwise destitute of large animal life, and that they were gradually driven away from those grounds which alone afforded them the means of sustenance. Taken on the whole, then, notwithstanding the cultivations of the Maoris, we may treat these islands as having been a virgin country, but little modified by the hand of man until the arrival of the European settlers.

Let us then enquire into the changes which have already been effected, and into the probable further changes which will in time be effected as the result of our colonization. This subject is necessarily twofold in its bearing, firstly, as regards the effect of colonization upon the native race, and secondly as regards its effect upon the indigenous fauna and flora.

In considering this subject I am tempted to draw your attention to the difference in the character of ancient and modern colonization, for it must not be supposed that the art of colonization is of purely modern invention, although, as you will find, the mode in which it is now carried out differs greatly from that which was practised by older civilized nations.

It has been urged by some political writers, that although the great nations of Europe have, within the last three centuries, sent colonies into almost every part of the habitable world, and have by this means subjected countries infinitely surpassing in extent those they have left, yet that we cannot compare the colonies of the ancients with those of the moderns, without being at once impressed with the conviction that the former renewed the human race, tempering it afresh, and beginning existence with all the advantages of youth, whilst the latter are born old, with all the jealousies, all the troubles, and many of the vices of the States from which they spring. That the colonies of the ancients, in every point of civilization, constantly rose above those who had given birth to them, whilst ours as constantly tend to fall below their founders that the European colonies already large, are destined to become larger, but that in vain will be sought for in them, the virtues, the patriotism and the vigour which belonged to the first age of the world. They urge that the Greeks, and before them the Egyptians, founded a colony that "it might be complete in itself, whilst we (speaking of existing European nations) design it become part of another empire. They had constantly in view the welfare of the colonists; we, the advantage of the mother country. They wished the colony to depend upon itself with respect to its subsistence, defence, internal government, and all the principles of its development; we wish it to be dependent in every way, to subsist by commerce, and that this commerce should enrich the mother country; that it should be obedient to her orders, governed by her lieutenants, and that its citizens should receive even their education, in its highest branches, from their elder brothers. It is added, moreover, that whilst the colonies of the Egyptians, of the Phœnicians, of the Greeks, and even of the Romans, brought benefits to the people in

whose countries they were established, ours bring calamities. That the first, by their contact, civilized the barbarians, whilst the modern Europeans have, wherever they have settled, barbarised the races they call barbarous, and in turn have become barbarised themselves. And it is urged, with much force and truth, that in their transactions with the aborigines, recent colonists have frequently sullied themselves by deceit and by abuse of force; that they go back in their agriculture and other arts, and that the general level of intelligence descends instead of rising.

Such writers further show that the first care of the ancient colonists was the choice of a site to build their city, for it was in cities they wished to live; and it was by means of cities that they spread the arts of the life of towns or civilization, and that the colonists, usually few in number as compared with the aborigines, and completely abandoned to themselves (for the mother country did not think of defending them), took care to build all their houses within the enclosure of the city, from which they went forth daily to cultivate the fields in their vicinity. Of course, the progress of such colonies in wealth and numbers was slow as compared with modern ones, but their advance in the arts of civilization and of social life was never checked. In modern colonies, on the other hand, an immense extent of fertile land is sought for, and when obtained, is abandoned to the first occupier, who, relying upon the protections of the mother country, takes up a portion out of all proportion to his strength to cultivate, his capital to improve, or his wants to consume the produce. Masters at once of large tracts of country, which they hold, either by force or by purchase, they do not husband any of the benefits of nature. They clear the forests by fire, or by barking the trees, leaving them to decay where they stand; they abandon every system of manuring, of improvement, and of the rotation of crops. They apply themselves to benefit by the natural advantages of the soil, to which they sacrifice all others; they exhaust it by a succession of the same crops, and soon reduce the richest land to comparative sterility.

In the old colonies the different conditions of the citizens did not art with us, or in our colonies, by a universal rivalry of one another, but, on the contrary, all felt a common interest, which had relation also to the aborigines. Intercourse with them could alone feed the colony at its commencement, and the means of gaining their friendship, of obtaining their confidence, and of establishing between them and the colonists common signs, or a conventional language, was the business of all and the urgent interest of all. At the same time it was from these aborigines that all danger arose, and watchfulness of them and defence against them, in the case of any sudden quarrel, were also interest felt by all. Now, on the contrary, wherever European colonization takes place, the colonists preserve all the incidents annexed to the different conditions of the citizens, both in relation to themselves and to the aborigines; all engage in rivalry as to rank and wealth, the latter frequently securing the former with but little relation to those higher grounds upon which alone superiority of position ought to be admitted. Intercourse with the aborigines is maintained on a footing of friendship only until the colonists are strong enough; to be independent of them, and then we see the former rapidly become degraded those who had previously held high rank amongst them, first losing their status, whilst the race itself soon dies out. It is indeed a fact, which does not admit of doubt, which is even presented to us as a law of nature,—as a necessity—that wherever a white race comes into contact with an indigenous dark race, on ground suitable to the former, the latter must disappear in a few generation, It will be said that the parallel I have drawn offers but a gloomy picture, but in its main features I think its truth is indisputable. However, I will now deal with my subject in those respects in which it may offer us more pleasing grounds of thought.

The general effects of human action in altering the surface of the earth and its natural productions have been thus eloquently described by Mr. George P. Marsh, an American author of great research and intelligence :—

"It is certain that man has done much to mould the form of the earth's surface, though we cannot always distinguish between the results of his action and the effects of purely geological causes; that the destruction of the forests the drainage of lakes and marshes, and the operations of rural husbandry and industrial art have tended to produce great changes in the hygrometric, thermometric, electric, and chemical condition of the atmosphere, though we are not yet able to measure the force of the different elements of disturbance, or to say how far they have been compensated by each other, or by still obscurer influences; and, finally, that the myriad forms of animal and vegetable life which covered the earth when man first entered upon the theatre of a nature, whose harmonies he was destined to derange, have been, through his action, greatly changed in numerical proportion, sometimes much modified in form and product, and sometimes entirely extirpated.

"The physical revolutions thus wrought by man have not all been destructive to human interests. Soils to which no nutritious vegetable was indigenous, countries which once brought forth but the fewest products suited for the sustenance and comfort of man, while the severity of their climate created and stimulated the greatest number, and the most imperious urgency of physical wants—surfaces the most rugged and intractable, and least blessed with natural facilities of communication, have been made in modern times to field and contribute to the sensuous enjoyments and conveniences of civilized life. The Scythia, the Thule, the Britain, the Germany, and the Gaul, which the Roman writers describe in such forbidding terms, have been brought

almost to rival the native luxuriance and easily-won plenty of Southern Italy; and, while the fountains of oil and wine that refreshed old Greece and Syria and Northern Africa, have almost ceased to flow, and the soils of those fair lands are turned to thirsty and inhospitable deserts, hyperborean regions of Europe have conquered, or rather compensated, the rigours of climate, and attained to a material wealth and variety of product that, with all their natural advantages, the granaries of the ancient world can hardly have been said to have enjoyed.

"These changes for evil and for good have not been caused by great natural evolutions of the globe, nor are they by any means attributable wholly to the moral and physical action or inaction of the peoples, or, in all cases, even of the races that now inhabit these respective regions. They are products of a complication of conflicting or coincident forces, acting through a long series of generations; here improvidence, wastefulness and wanton violence; there, foresight and wisely guided persevering industry. So far as they are the purely calculated and desired results of those simple and familiar operations of agriculture and of social life, which are as universal as civilization—the removal of the forests which covered the soil required for the cultivation of edible fruits, the drying of here and there a few acres too moist for profitable; husbandry, by draining off the surface waters, the substitution of domesticated and nutritious for wild and unprofitable vegetable growths, the construction of roads and canals and artificial harbours—they belong to the sphere of rural, commercial, and political economy more properly than to geography, and hence are but incidentally embraced within the range of our present enquiries, which concern physical, not financial balances. I propose to examine only the greater, more permanent, and more comprehensive mutations which man has produced, and is producing, in earth, sea, and sky, sometimes, indeed, with a conscious purpose, but for the most part, as unforeseen though natural consequences of acts performed for narrower and more immediate ends.

"The exact measurement of the geographical changes hitherto thus effected is, as I have hinted, impracticable, and we possess, in relation to them, the means only of qualitative, not quantitative analysis. The fact of such revolutions is established partly by historical evidence, partly by analogical deduction from effects produced in our own time by operations similar in character to those which must have taken place in more or less remote ages of human action. Both sources of information are alike defective in precision; the latter, for general reasons too obvious to require specification; the former, because the facts to which it bears testimony occurred before the habit or the means of rigorously scientific observation upon any branch of physical research, and especially upon climatic changes, existed."

Bearing these general views in mind let us apply them to the case of New Zealand. Before the settlement of these Islands by the Europeans they were inhabited by a race of savages, barbarous beyond conception, and practising rites of so foul a kind, that the very existence of such rites was often doubted by modern writers. And yet these people possessed characteristics which were calculated to redeem them even in the eyes of civilized man. Brave to a fault, having a clear perception of the distinctions of rank, and therefore proud in character, they also possessed a large amount of intellectual capacity, and even of latent moral character. Acute in their understanding and comprehension, they rapidly fell in with many of the arts and habits of the colonists, but, unaccustomed to the restraints of civilized life, and in the habit of indulging with little check their natural impulses, they have found it difficult to adopt as fully, as their own appreciation of them would otherwise lead them to do, the social habits of the Europeans. Unfortunately too we have shown too little regard to their feelings of pride and nationality, and by the ridicule with which we have treated their habits and manners, we have driven them to adopt, as individuals as well as collectively, a position of isolation, if not of hostile feeling towards us. Without having introduced amongst them any form of government more suited to promote and foster our intercourse with them, we have broken down the power and influence of the greater chiefs, and have induced a consequent disorganization of their own social condition, which is producing unfortunate results. I wish, however, not to be misunderstood in this matter. It has been admitted by foreign political economists that the English are the only nation which, of late years, have felt any true sympathy for the people amongst whom they have sent their colonist, who have acknowledged their rights, and who have seriously proposed to civilize them, to protect them, and to make them happy. But in their efforts to effect these objects from a distance, and with the imperfect knowledge they necessarily possessed of the original character of the native races, and of the changes which contact with civilization would produce upon them, they have constantly overlooked many important considerations. They have forgotten that those to whom the task of protection was entrusted, would naturally place themselves in antagonism to the advance of the colonists, whilst the latter would certainly view with distrust and dislike, those who stood in the way of their efforts to acquire wealth; and thus, between the two, the natives would come to grief. Our colony (as it appears to me) has exhibited to some extent, this unfortunate phase of English philanthropy, and yet elements of hope present themselves to our view. It is not, however, my purpose to pursue any further this enquiry, which belongs rather to the political economist and the legislator, than to the student of geography and natural history, and I will proceed at once to call your attention to the general physical appearance of these Islands, and the character of their fauna and flora before the introduction of European civilization, and to the changes which have since been effected and are now in

progress. In doing this, however, I propose to disregard such alterations as had resulted from their occupation by the native race.

Stretching from the thirty-fourth to the forty-seventh degree of south latitude in a general north and south direction, with an average breadth in the Middle Island not exceeding 120 miles, and in the North Island (except above Auckland) of about 150 miles, the whole extent may be treated as a great mountain chain divided by Cook's Strait. In the North Island there are, in the western and north-western sides of this chain, several large volcanic cones some of the mountains of which rise to altitudes varying from 4000 to 9000 feet above sea level, and of which Tongariro, nearly in the centre of the greater mass of the island, is still active. In the Middle Island the great mountain chain extends from the north (in the form of spurs radiating from the Spencer mountains on the west side, and from the Kaikoura mountains the east) to the extreme south, attaining its greatest elevation in Mount Cook whilst in many places it reaches an altitude of 10,000 feet, and has a general elevation of from 6000 to 8000 feet. In the Middle Island, with the exception of the Canterbury plains and the undulating country to the north and south of them, stretching on the one side to the Waiarau river, and on the other to the south of Otago, there is little in the general appearance of the country to include any high idea of its capacity for sustaining a large agricultural population; nor does the North Island present, at first sight, any better field, although on the eastern side it also possesses plains, in the Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa districts, and the country on the West Coast from Otaki to the Manukau probably contains some of the most fertile land in the world, eastern sides of both islands, including the slopes of the mountain chains, contain large tracts of grassy country available for pastoral purposes, but, as a rule, the whole of the western sides are clothed with dense and, in many parts, impenetrable forest. It is found, however, that the slopes of the mountain chains excellent soil, and that when cleared of the forest growth, they are capable, under proper cultivation, of being converted into valuable pasture had. The whole country may be said to be well, and in many places, profusely watered, and the native growth is usually luxuriant to a degree.

It must be manifest that in islands having so large a range of latitude, there must be a corresponding range in climate, and accordingly we find that whilst in the extreme north the climate is sufficiently warm to ripen freely many of the fruits of the tropics, and that, even in the neighbourhood of Auckland, the citron, the orange, and the guava mature their fruit, so, as we pass to the South, we find it eminently suited to the production of all the varied fruits and vegetables which make the luxury of temperate climates. It would lead me too far (nor indeed is it necessary in addressing a New Zealand audience), were I to attempt any very detailed description of the physical aspect of the country or its climate, and the general outline I have given will be sufficient for my purpose. To the first colonists it undoubtedly presented the appearance of a country in an almost untouched condition, covered, in its forest lands, with the growth of untold centuries, and in its open lands with grasses, *[unclear: terms]* and swamp-loving plants to which their eyes were totally unused, and which differed in all important respects from the wild growth of Europe. I had intended to describe, in some detail, the organic natural productions of the country, but I began to find that this lecture would stretch to an inconvenient length, and I must leave your local knowledge on this point to fill up the void. This is perhaps the less important, for with the exception of grasses, made available in their uncultivated state for depasturing purposes, and of timber used for building and farm purposes, it may be said, that little has been done towards utilizing them, and still less towards ascertaining their properties and value. Within the last two years the fibre of the *Phormium tenax* has been reared as an article of export, and, if properly managed, it will probably yield an excellent return, but I know of no other natural vegetable production of the country (unless we can give that name to Kauri gum) which has yet been turned to account for purposes of foreign export. You are all aware that the mineral resources of these islands are very large and very varied, but it is clear that the natives had no knowledge which would enable them to turn those resources to account, before the arrival of the Europeans, for we found them still using stone and wooden weapons, similar to those which, in Europe, characterize the middle epoch of the Neolithic age.

Such, in brief, was the condition of the country when civilized man under the impulses which ordinarily inspire modern colonists, was poured upon it—and now how changed has it all become? Instead of the miserable "pahs" and "Kaingas" of an uncivilized and utterly barbarous race, we have, in most of the great ports of the country, flourishing towns, each inhabited by thousands of Europeans, and many of them possessing buildings which present all the characters of wealth and durability. Instead of the solitary canoe of the native fisherman, or the fleet of a war party intent upon murder and rapine, our waters teem with ships busily engaged in the peaceful work of commerce whilst large and valuable works in our various ports give facilities for the carrying on and development of that commerce. Instead of our great tracts of native pasture lying idle, and yielding sustenance to no useful living thing they are now roamed over by and maintain large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Instead of the desolate, but luxuriant vegetation of the swampy ground along many parts of our sea board, and the impenetrable forests of many of our valleys, we have rich fields, producing the grain and other crops of temperate Europe. Instead of the narrow bush track, along which the savages travelled on his

mission of revenge, we have roads penetrating the country in all directions, facilitating the maintenance of that intercourse, which is essential to the progress of the community in wealth and civilization. Instead of the mineral resources of the country lying idle, we have thousands of men busily engaged in extracting them from the soil, and thus, whilst enriching themselves, contributing by their labours to the wealth of others. We have, indeed, on all sides of us abundant evidence that the energies of a European race are rapidly converting a country which in its natural state scarcely afforded means for the sustenance of man, into one capable not only of maintaining a contented population, but of affording the materials for an extended foreign commerce.

But it is not merely these more material and directly apparent effects concern us. Many, if not all of you, have heard of the Darwinian theory as applied to the origin of species. This theory teaches us that a struggle for existence is constantly going on between all the varied organisms, both animal and vegetable, which occupy any particular Zoological or Botanical province, and that only such organisms can ultimately succeed in maintaining a place, as may happen, for the time being, to possess some point of vantage beyond the rest. Of course time is an important factor in this theory, and in order to appreciate its bearing upon the origin of species, the observer must be prepared to admit millions of years for the work. In a country like New Zealand, placed at such a distance from other countries as to preclude the risk of invasion, except through the agency of man, it must be manifest that this struggle would be carried on under peculiarities little likely to be observed in other places, and the results already caused by the introduction of new and rival organisms satisfies me that the indigenous flora and fauna even on their own ground, are unable to cope with the intruders. I cannot but think that the former had reached a point at which, like a house built of incoherent materials, a blow struck anywhere shakes and damages the whole fabric. The "Kiore" has been replaced, if not destroyed by the European rat; the European honey bee now swarms in our forests, taking the food of the meliphagous birds, which are already diminishing palpably in numbers, whilst the facility afforded by the immense epiphytical growth upon the forest trees enables the rat also to aid in this destruction by devouring eggs and young birds. The forests too contain large numbers of wild pigs, cattle, and goats. The former root up the ground, destroying the seedling trees, whilst the latter browse upon the young shoots and foliage, and even eat the bark of the smaller trees in a manner tending greatly to limit their growth. Following in their wake come many of the hardy vegetable organisms of Europe which spring up on all sides as rivals to the remaining indigenous plants, and thus the latter are exposed to a contest under circumstances in which defeat is almost certain. Such in effect, is the activity with which the introduced plants are doing their work, that I believe if every human being were at once removed from the Islands for even a limited number of years, looking at the matter from a geological point of view, the introduced would succeed in displacing the indigenous fauna and flora.

I must now bring my task to a close, and in doing so again apologize to you for the imperfect manner in which it has been performed. I know that I have left untouched a huge mass of matters bearing upon the question, under [*unclear: consideration*] to which I ought, in justice to you, to have referred; but the with which, and the difficulties under which this lecture has been written, must be my excuse both for sins of omission and of commission. I will only said, that in all which is taking place around us, we see the energies of our [*unclear: and*] forming a new and vigorous state. The face of the country, the life native to its soil, and the aboriginal race which claimed it, are all being modified, [*unclear: afsharma*] and displaced. The intrusive race has indeed wrought mightier changes in the third part of a century than the aborigines would have effected had they remained for another thousand years unvisited by civilized man.

The rapidity of such changes, too, strikes the on-looker with astonishment, and is inconceivable to those who have not witnessed it for themselves. In 1839 the "Tory" first visited Cook's Straits on a colonizing mission, and then found the natives engaged in a bloody feud at Waikanae, and exhibiting the most forbidding habits, natural to savage life. All was strange, wild, and [*unclear: average.*]. Thirty years have elapsed since then, and already large cities have [*unclear: rien*] in many parts of the Islands. Everywhere the broad sheets of the press are engaged in diffusing information, and in discussing the politics and wants of a civilized people, where so recently the hut of the savage was the only evidence of the presence of man. The clearing, the farm, the industrious settlement have displaced the scanty cultivation of the Maori, and his ephemeral [*unclear: hat*]. The progress of a single year outspeeds the work of past centuries, and amid the charred stumps of our hill-side forests, and the rough clearings of our farms, fancy may trace the handsome villas, and luxurious plantations of wealthy landed proprietors. Already we have seen the iron horse doing its work in the colony, whilst the mind of the people is intent on extending the range of its work to the immense tracts of rich country, still too distant, for full value, from the centres of population. If, by the intrusion of the vigorous races of Europe, smiling farms and busy marts are to take the place of the rough clearing and hut of the savage, and the millions of a populous country, with the arts and letters, the matured policy, and the ennobling impulses of a free people, are to replace the few thousands of the scattered tribes now living in an apparently aimless and unprogressive state, even the most sensitive philanthropist may learn to look with resignation, if not with complacency, on the extinction of a people which, in the past had accomplished so imperfectly every object of man's being. If the Maoris can, so far

as wise policy and a generous statesmanship can accomplish it, be admitted to an equal share with the intending colonizer in all the advantages of a progressive civilization; then we may look with satisfaction at the close of that long night time during which this country gave birth to no science, no philosophy, no moral teaching, and hail the dawn of centuries in which it is to claim a place in the common-wealth of nations, and bear a part in the accelerated progress of the human

(Part II.)

[Lecture delivered October 16, 1869.]

I will now proceed to discuss, at greater length, that part of the subject which more especially referred to the effects likely to be produced upon the fauna and flora of this country, by the introduction of competing foreign organisms. In order that you may be able satisfactorily to follow my observations, it will be necessary that I should, in the first place, call your attention shortly to the divisions and classification of the organic world, and the laws which govern its distribution; and, somewhat more fully, to the views originated by Mr. Darwin, and now generally entertained by naturalists, in regard to the "Origin of Species," for (as you will find in the sequel) I have assumed that many of the principles of action which his theory is intended to elucidate, are directly engaged in producing the changes which I propose to notice, both as having been already effected, and as being likely to ensue in the course of time.

You are all doubtless aware, that organic nature is broadly divisible into two great branches, namely, animal and vegetable life, the study of the former being termed Zoology, and of the latter Botany. It is true, that at the extreme confines of each of these two kingdoms, as we descend from the higher to the lower forms, even this broad distinction is apparently obliterated, and we find, in effect, that naturalists were long in doubt to which of the two kingdoms some of the lowest observed organisms, ought properly to be assigned. This, however, is a matter which little concerns our present enquiry, through it certainly helps to demonstrate the accuracy of that admirable analysis of the organic world, which has lately been exhibited to us by our great physiological writers, and from which we have learnt, not only that the infinite diversity both of animal and vegetable life which peoples the globe, may all be brought down to the primordial form of a single cell, but also that both may be reduced into, and are, in fact, composed of the same elementary constituents.

It had, however, been known long before reaching this more advanced analysis, that the enormous multiplicity both of animal and vegetable life, could, in each case, be reduced to a few types of construction, and, indeed, the types thus established have constituted the bases of all those systems of classification by the elaboration of which we have been enabled to study the organic world in detail.

Looking to the probability that the vegetable kingdom yielded to man his earliest means both of sustenance and shelter, it has been assumed by every writer on Natural History, that it was the first to engage his attention and become his study, and that the necessity of distinguishing between such forms as were useful and such as were injurious, led to the first rude classification of vegetable life. "By placing together individuals apparently identical in form (says Dr. Lindley), and having regard to the uses they could be applied to, species were distinguished, and by applying a similar process to the species themselves, groups analagous to what we now call genera were obtained. The last step was to constitute classes, which were recognized under the well known names of 'grass and herbs yielding seed, and fruit trees yielding fruit.'"

It will not be necessary for me to point out how, step by step, the complete systems of classification now adopted by naturalists were arrived at, how the artificial system of Linnaeus was replaced by the natural systems of succeeding enquirers, until we are gradually reaching a more exact knowledge of the plan of nature, it being sufficient for my purpose to call your attention broadly to those systems, and to the circumstance that, in every case, virtually terminate with what is called "species."

The animal kingdom has been primarily divided into two great Sub-kingdoms or Provinces, namely, the Vertebrata and the Invertebrata, each of which has been again subdivided into classes, orders, families, and species.

The vegetable kingdom has also been primarily divided into two sub-kingdoms, namely, into asexual or flowerless, and sexual or flowering plants, each comprising a number of distinct classes, orders, genera, and species. With the latter term indeed, whether in the Animal or Vegetable Kingdoms, classification proper has been supposed to end, although all systematists have recognized the existence of varieties, even in a state of nature.

Now it might be supposed, looking more particularly to our recent great advance in knowledge of the

physiology and anatomy both of animals and plants, that, for purposes of classification, there would be little difficulty in defining the term "species" as applied to any particular class or group of organisms, but this is far from being the case, for we find, that the most acute and diligent enquirers, after careful study of the question, have acknowledged that this term can only be applied arbitrarily and for the sake of convenience merely, to some set of individuals closely resembling each other, and that in its necessary application by systematists it does not essentially differ from the term "variety" which, in comparison with mere individual differences, is usually given quite as arbitrarily to forms somewhat less distinct and more fluctuating.

This point has been made the subject of most elaborate investigation by Mr. Darwin, in his volume on the "Origin of Species," in which he has brought together a great mass of facts to prove that all classes of organisms exhibit a greater or less degree of variability, and to show the consequent difficulty of giving any conclusive or satisfactory definition of the term "Species,"—the general conclusions he arrived at being thus stated,—"Finally, then, varieties have the same general character as species, for they cannot be distinguished from species—except, firstly, by the discovery of intermediate linking forms, and the occurrence of such links cannot affect the actual characters of the forms which they connect; and except, secondly, by a certain amount of difference, for two forms, if differing very little, are generally ranked as varieties, notwithstanding that intermediate linking forms have not been discovered; but the amount of difference considered necessary to give to two forms the rank of species, is quite indefinite. In genera having more than the average number of species, in any country, the species of these genera have more than the average number of varieties. In large genera the species are apt to be closely, but unequally allied together, forming little clusters round certain species. Species very closely allied to other species, apparently have restricted ranges. In all these several respects the species of large genera present a strong analogy with varieties. And we can clearly understand these analogies, if species have once existed as varieties, and have thus originated : whereas, these analogies are utterly inexplicable if each species has been independently created.

"We have, also, seen, that it is the most flourishing or dominant species of the larger genera which, on an average vary most; and varieties, as we shall hereafter see, tend to become converted into new and distinct species. The larger genera thus tend to become larger; and, throughout nature, the forms of life which are now dominant, tend to become still more dominant by leaving many modified and dominant descendants. But, by steps hereafter to be explained, the larger genera also tend to break up into smaller genera. And thus, the forms of life, throughout the Universe, become divided into groups subordinate to groups."

Flourens, in his paper on "La Quantité de vie sur le Globe," also tells us, "that every species manifests two tendencies, namely, a tendency to vary and a tendency to transmit to succeeding generations the acquired modifications;" and he, properly, observes, "that if the acquired variations and modifications of each generation could not be transmitted to its descendants, such variations and modifications would remain mere individual traits, and would never become the characteristics of a race." Flourens, however, does not appear to have seen the full effect of these views as to the variability of species, for he assumes that such variations only affect what he terms "superficial characteristics," and that they are at all times easily detected, whilst he urges that "the unity, identity, and reality of a species is always determinable by the presence or absence of the more deep seated characteristic of continuous fecundity."

In order to illustrate the difficulty referred to by Mr. Darwin, I will call your attention to some instances in nature.

Experiment has shown that the Zebra, the Hemionus, the Ass, and the Horse, can mutually produce young, but that their produce, notwithstanding I certain exceptional instances of further fertility which have been sufficiently well authenticated, cannot perpetuate themselves, and yet no naturalist holding a position of eminence at the present day, would venture to deny that these four races of animals have all descended from common ancestors.

Here, then, we have an example of very limited divergence in outward form, accompanied by great limitation in fecundity, and naturalists may, notwithstanding their admitted descent from common ancestors fairly claim to treat each of these animals as having reached the position of a separate species.

With the dog, on the other hand, although the external difference between many forms, as, for example, the Bull dog, the Turnspit, and the Greyhound, are far greater and more striking than those which we observe between the Horse, the Ass, and the Hemionus, yet the former are always perfectly fertile in interbreeding, and the cross-breeds perpetuate themselves. Here then we have an example of considerable divergence in outward form, in the "superficial characteristics" of Flourens, without any apparent interference with fecundity, and, yet, in this case, although naturalists have also arrived at the conclusion that all existing varieties of the dog are descended from common ancestors, they also treat each of these animals as a separate species.

If, therefore, continuous fecundity were *the* essential characteristic in the determination of "species," then the Horse, the Ass, and the Hemionus ought to be treated as separate species, whilst the Bull dog, and the Greyhound, and all the other innumerable and peculiar forms of Dog found in every corner of the globe, ought

only to be ranked as varieties of one species.

Such an adherence to any arbitrary rule is, however, unnecessary for purposes of classification, though it bears strongly upon other points in the theory propounded by Mr. Darwin to which I propose hereafter to call your attention. But it is not only to animal life that the foregoing observations extend. Although more difficult to understand in their application, the same rules must be adopted in dealing with the classification of vegetable organisms. Take, for example, plants belonging to the natural order Composite which includes the Daisy, the Groundsel, and other allied forms. Here on the table you have four specimens, very similar in outward form, and at least as closely allied in essential points of structure as the Horse and his congeners.

Now, although we have not yet attempted to ascertain experimentally whether these four forms would produce cross-breeds, I think few naturalists would for one moment suppose that they would. If this be so, then we have here an example of still greater divergence in fecundity, whilst we have no difficulty in believing that these several forms, as well as all other plants belonging to the same order, had a common origin. Indeed it would be easy to bring together numberless examples from the book of nature, of incomplete fecundity with slight divergence in outward form or general structure; of complete fecundity with great divergence in outward form; and complete sterility with great similarity in most of those characteristics, which are used by naturalists for purposes of classification, while, at the same time, we should have little hesitation in admitting the descent of all the species of each class, from common ancestors. I will merely add further, that whilst all great naturalists admit that it is quite chimerical to suppose that we can construct any arrangement which shall be an absolutely correct expression of *the* plan of nature, yet they also allow that we can, by carrying into effect with care and skill certain well recognized principles, construct what may fairly be termed *a natural system*.

In such a system groups of species are collected into genera, groups of genera into orders, and groups of orders into classes; each order comprising a number genera distinct from those of the others, but which, nevertheless, are distinguished by certain general characters different from those of any other orders of plants, characters, too, which are preserved through every existing modification of form.

I have thus shown you that the organic world is primarily divided into two great kingdoms; that each of these is subdivided into classes, orders, genera, and so-called species; and that every species is held to possess two leading tendencies, the one to vary, and the other to accumulate such variations there profitable, by transmitting to its descendants the modifications resulting from variation. I now purpose, in the next place, to call your attention shortly to certain observed facts in relation to the geographical distribution of animals and plants.

The Abbé Domenech has observed that "if Eden were the birthplace of mankind, it certainly was not the birthplace of the whole animal and vegetable creation, for," he says, "the works of God invariably bear the witness of Divine Wisdom, and to have created in Eden the Reindeer of Lapland, the Lama of Peru, the Kangaroo of Australia, and the Ostrich of the Sahara, would have been as useless as to people the coasts of Tyre and Sidon with the Whale of Greenland, the Tortoise of the Gulf of Mexico, and with fishes which only live in Intertropical and Hyperborean regions."

"In considering the distribution of organic life over the globe," says Mr. Darwin, "the first great fact which strikes us is, that neither the similarity nor the dissimilarity of the inhabitants of various regions can be accounted for by their climatal and other physical conditions. Of late, almost every author who has studied the subject, has come to this conclusion. The case of America alone would suffice to prove its truth; for, if we exclude the northern parts where the circumpolar land is almost continuous, all authors agree that one of the most fundamental divisions in geographical distribution is that between the New and Old Worlds; yet if we travel over the vast American Continent, from the central parts of the United States to its extreme southern point, we meet with most diversified conditions; the most humid districts, arid deserts, lofty mountains, grassy plains, forests, marshes, lakes, and great rivers, under almost every temperature. There is hardly a climate or condition in the Old World which cannot be paralleled in the New, at least as closely as the same species generally require; for it is a most rare case to find a group of organisms confined to any small spot, having conditions peculiar in only a slight degree; for instance, small areas in the Old World could be pointed out hotter than any in the New World, yet these are not inhabited by a peculiar fauna or flora. Notwithstanding this parallelism in the conditions of the Old and New Worlds, how widely different are their living productions!

"In the Southern Hemisphere, if we compare large tracts of land in Australia, South Africa, and Western South America, between latitudes 25° and 35°, we shall find parts extremely similar in all their conditions; yet it would not be possible to point out three faunas and floras more utterly dissimilar. Or again, we may compare the productions of South America, south of latitude 35° with those north of 25°, which consequently inhabit a considerably different climate, and they will be found incomparably more closely related to each other, than they are to the productions of Australia or Africa under nearly the same climate. Analogous facts could be given with respect to the inhabitants of the sea."

The author from whom I have just quoted, then points to certain facts which bear, in a close and important

manner, upon the differences between the productions of various regions, and shows how barriers of any kind which prevent free migration, favour,—under the operation of the laws which he proceeds to point out and elucidate—the production of organisms presenting marked differences from each other, without destruction of those general affinities, which the same species (using this term in the sense now applied to it by advanced systematists) present at different points and stations.

In like manner, Sir Charles Lyell, in the last edition of his "Principles of Geology" calls special attention to the geographical distribution of species and to the causes which affect it, and I cannot do better than quote some passages from that work also. And here I may say, that I have the least hesitation in using extracts from the writings of such authors as Darwin and Lyell, because it would be impossible for me to convey in more clear and apposite language, the matters involved in these extracts.

Sir C. Lyell says, "Although in speculating on 'philosophical possibilities,' said Buffon, writing in 1755, the same temperature might have been expected, all other circumstances being equal, to produce the same beings in different parts of the globe, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, yet it is an undoubted fact, that when America was discovered, its indigenous quadrupeds were all dissimilar to those previously known in the Old World. The elephant, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the cheetah, the camel, the dromedary, the buffalo, the horse, the ass, the lion, the tiger, the apes, the balloons, and a number of other mammalia, were nowhere to be met with on the new continent; while in the old, the American species, of the same great class, were nowhere to be seen—the tapir, the lama, the paca, the jaguar, the cougar, the agouti, the paca, the coati, and the sloth.

"These phenomena, although few in number, relatively to the whole animate creation, were so striking and so positive in their nature, that the great French naturalist caught sight at once of a general law in the geographical distribution of organic beings, namely, the limitation of groups of distinct species to regions separated from the rest of the globe by certain natural barriers. It was, therefore, in a truly philosophical spirit that, relying on the clearness of the evidence obtained respecting the larger quadrupeds, he ventured to call in question the identifications announced by some contemporary naturalists, of species of animals said to be common to the southern extremities of America and Africa.

"In order to appreciate the importance and novelty of the doctrine, that separate areas of land and water were the abodes of distinct species of animals and plants, we must look back to the times of Buffon and see in what crude conjectures even so great a naturalist as his illustrious contemporary Linnæus indulged, when speculating on the manner in which the earth may first become peopled with its present inhabitants. The habitable world was imagined by the Swedish philosopher to have been for a certain time limited to one small tract, the only portion of the earth's surface that was as yet laid bare by the subsidence of the primeval ocean. In this fertile spot the originals of all the species of plants which exist on this globe were congregated together with the first ancestors of all animals and of the human race. 'In quâ commode habitaverunt animalia omnia, et vegetabilia læte germinaverunt.' In order to accommodate the various habits of so many creatures, and to provide a diversity of climate suited to their several natures, the tract in which the creation took place was supposed to have been situated in some warm region of the earth, but to have contained a lofty mountain range, on the heights and in the declivities of which were found to be all temperatures and every climate, from that of the torrid to that of the frozen zone. There are still perhaps some geologists who adhere to a notion once very popular, that there are signs of a universal ocean at a remote period after the planet had become the abode of living creatures. But few will now deny that the proportion of sea and land approached very nearly to that now established long before the present species of plants and animals had come into being.

"The reader must bear in mind that the language of Buffon, in 1755, respecting 'natural barriers' which has since been so popular, would be wholly without meaning had not the geographical distribution of organic beings led naturalists to adopt very generally the doctrine of specific centres, or, in other words, to believe that each species, whether of plant or animal, originated in a single birthplace. Reject this view, and the fact that not a single native quad-[unclear: paped] is common to Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and South America, can in no ways be explained by adverting to the wide extent of intervening ocean, or to the sterile deserts, or the great heat or cold of the climates, through which each species must have passed, before it could migrate from one of those distant regions to another. It might fairly be asked of one who talked of impassable barriers, why the same kangaroos, rhinoceroses, or lamas, should not have been created simultaneously in Australia, Africa, and South America? The horse, the ox, and the dog, although foreign to these countries until introduced by man, are now able to support themselves there in a wild state; and can scarcely doubt that many of the quadrupeds at present peculiar to Australia, Africa, and South America, might have continued in like manner to inhabit all the three continents, had they been indigenous in each, or could they once have got a footing there as new colonists."

I might multiply quotations from these and other authors occupying the [unclear: foremost] rank in the scientific world, in order to show that both sea and land may, in the present condition of organic nature in every

part of the globe be properly divided into what have been termed distinct Zoological and Botanical Provinces, each occupied by special groups of animals and plants which, however, have been found to exhibit, in each case, a certain amount of coincidence in range of species; and, indeed, it is urged, that no hypothesis respecting the origin of species can possibly be satisfactory, which does not show, in the first place, how species and genera, and other larger groups, now range in space in such a manner as to lead to the implication that they have spread from a limited area termed a "centre of creation," until their progress has been stopped either by some physical barrier or other condition hostile to further extension; and which does not account, in the next place, for the restriction of peculiar generic forms to certain parts of the globe.

There is nothing more striking to the naturalist, moreover, than the fact, well determined, that the rules established by observation in regard to the distribution of living organisms are those which have also been found to obtain in regard to fossil forms, and it has thence been fairly argued, and as I believe sufficiently well proved, that the intimate connection observed between the existing and the fossil forms within each particular province points to the certainty that the former are of derivative origin, and are not primordial or independent creations. I am compelled, having regard to the length of a lecture, arbitrarily to limit my observations upon this part of the subject, but I think that even without going into the reasons urged by Mr. Darwin and others, as to the improbability of our being able to identify the actual fossil ancestor of any living species, or to trace its descent through past geological [unclear: ochs,] I have sufficiently shown to you the probability that the forms of life now occupying any particular Zoological or Botanical Province may be looked upon as the descendants of those which have occupied it during past geological periods, and that the differences between the existing and fossil forms are due to the operation of the laws so clearly expounded by Mr. Darwin. Of course in assuming such a probability, time becomes an important factor, and those who have been accustomed to trust to Usher's chronology, and to look upon our globe, at least, as having been created within a few thousand years, will be utterly unable to accept, because they cannot comprehend, such a hypothesis. But whilst each particular province presents, as I have explained to you, its own peculiar generic forms, we constantly find a large degree of affinity existing between the organic life occupying more extended areas comprising frequently several of such provinces. Upon this point (in special connection with the affinities of the flora of New Zealand) I quote as follows from Dr. Hooker's "Introductory Essay" to his "Flora of New Zealand," as published in 1853:—

*"Of all the branches of Botany, there is none whose elucidation demands so much preparatory study, or so extensive an acquaintance with plants and their affinities, as that of their geographical distribution. Nothing is easier than to explain away all obscure phenomena of dispersion by several speculations on the origin of species, so plausible that the superficial naturalist may accept any of them; and to test their soundness demands a comprehensive knowledge of facts, which, moreover, run great risk of distortion in the hands of those who do not know the value of the evidence they afford. I have endeavoured to enumerate the principal facts that appear to militate against the probability of the same species having originated in more places (or centres) than one; but in so doing I have only partially met the strongest argument of all in favour of a plurality of centres, viz., the difficulty of otherwise accounting for the presence of two widely sundered localities of rare local species, whose seeds cannot have been transported from one to the other by natural causes now in operation. To take an instance, how does it happen that *Edwardsia grandiflora* inhabits both New Zealand and South America? or *Oxalis Magellanica* both these localities and Tasmania? The idea of transportation by aerial or oceanic currents cannot be entertained, as the seeds of neither could stand exposure to the salt water, and they are too heavy to be borne in the air.*

"Were these the only plants common to these widely sundered localities, the possibility of some exceptional mode of transport might be admitted by those disinclined to receive the doctrine of double centres; but the elucidations of the New Zealand Flora has brought up many similar instances equally difficult to account for, and has developed innumerable collateral phenomena of equal importance, though not of so evident appreciation. These, which all bear upon the same point, may be arranged as follows:—

- *Seventy-seven plants are common to the three great south temperate masses of land, Tasmania, New Zealand and South America.*
- *Comparatively few of these are universally distributed species, the greater part being peculiar to the south temperate zone.*

"There are upwards of 100 genera, sub-genera, or other well marked groups of plants entirely or nearly confined to New Zealand, Australia and extra-tropical South America. These are represented by one or more species in two or more of these countries, and they thus effect a botanical relationship or affinity between them all, which every botanist appreciates.

"4. These three peculiarities are shared by all the islands in the south temperate zone (including even Tristan d'Achuna, though placed so close to Africa), between which islands the transportation of seeds is even more unlikely than between the larger masses of land.

"The plants of the Antarctic islands which are equally natives of New Zealand, Tasmania, and Australia,

are almost invariably found only on the lofty mountains of these countries."

The author then points out certain conclusions, to which he was at that time forced by a consideration of the facts involved in the distribution of the plants composing the New Zealand Flora, and proceeds as follows:—

"It was with these conclusions before me, that I was led to speculate on the possibility of the plants of the Southern Ocean being the remains of a flora that had once spread over a larger and more continuous tract of land than now exists in that ocean; and that the peculiar Antarctic genera and species may vestiges of a flora characterized by the predominance of plants which are now scattered throughout the southern islands. An allusion to these speculations was made in the 'Flora Antarctica,' where some circumstances connected with the distribution of the Antarctic islands were dwelt upon, and their resemblance to the summits of a submerged mountain chain was pointed out; but beyond the facts that the general features of the flora favoured such a view, that the difficulties in the way of transport appeared to admit of no other solution, and that there are no limits assignable to the age of the species that would make their creation posterior to such a series of geological changes as should remove the intervening land, there was nothing in the shape of evidence by which my speculation could be supported. I am indebted to the invaluable labours of Lyell and Darwin, for facts that could alone have given countenance to such an hypothesis; the one showing that the necessary time and elevations and depressions of land need not be denied; and the other, that such risings sinkings are in active progress over large portions of the continents and [unclear: mans] of the Southern Hemisphere. It is to the works of Lyell that I must refer for all the necessary data as to influence of climate being dependent on geological change. In the 'Principles of Geology' these laws are proved to be of universal application, and amply illustrated by their being applied to the [unclear: dation] of difficult problems in geographical distribution. It follows from what is there shown, that a change in the relative positions of sea and land has occurred to such an extent since the creation of still existing species, that we have no right to assume that the plants and animals of two given areas, however isolated by ocean, may not have migrated over pre-existing land between them. This was illustrated by an examination of the natural history of Sicily (where land-shells, still existing in Italy, and which could not have crossed the Straits of Messina, are found imbedded on the flanks of Etna, high above the sea-level), regarding which Sir Charles Lyell states that most of the plants and animals of that island are older than the mountains, plains, and rivers they now inhabit."

You will, then, observe that although New Zealand presents all the characteristics of, and is properly treated as a distinct province for the purposes of a description and classification of its animal and vegetable life (for the remarks I have quoted in regard to its Flora apply also to its Fauna,) yet it must also be considered as forming a part only of a greatly larger area, within which the Fauna, and Flora exhibit such a degree of affinity, as can only be accounted for by the former existence of means of inter-communication, of which all visible traces are now lost. In this connection, for example, it is highly interesting to know that except one or two plants not found in New Zealand, the whole Flora of the Chatham Islands, four hundred miles to the eastward of Banks' Peninsula, is absolutely identical with that of these islands, although some of the forms (as for example, *Lomaria discolor*, a common fern in our forests) have been somewhat modified in outward appearance, a fact itself of great and striking significance in connection with the views of Mr. Darwin. The same remarks also apply to the Flora of Raoul or Sunday Island, a small island some six or seven hundred miles to the north-east of the northern part of New Zealand, with this increased difficulty in accounting for the general identity between the two Floras (except on the supposition of a former extension of the land of New Zealand, as to include the several islands referred to) that the prevalent winds and the ocean currents between this country and Raoul Island, would drive us to the conclusion, that the former had been colonized from the latter, a supposition opposed to all our present knowledge in regard to the origin and distribution of life.

I will now proceed to offer a few remarks upon the distribution, in its leading characteristics, of the flora and fauna of these islands, which, however, I must do with great briefness, in order not to weary you. But first, let me repeat a remark made in my former lecture, as to the peculiar physical character of the surface of these islands, namely, that they present all the appearance of rugged mountain chains, which originally formed part of an immensely larger area, the greater part of the lower and more level tracts of which have since been submerged. Looked at broadly, in connection with the Flora, and exclusive of alpine and sub-alpine tracts, we may treat the surface of the Islands generally as divisible into bush or forest land, fern land, grass land, and swamp land. I apply the words "swamp land," in the local sense the term, to tracts usually found near the coasts, and covered with a rich growth of *Phormium tenax*, and other plants requiring a considerable depth of vegetable soil and much moisture, and by no means in the sense in which the same words would be used in England. Our swampy lands are easily drained and become very fertile under cultivation, and then yield, in this mild climate, immense and continuous crops of grass. Such tracts generally indicate the site of former forest growth, for, in every instance that I am aware of at a moderate depth below the surface, large quantities of timber are found. The area occupied by land of this class is not extensive, but it possesses considerable importance in an economical point of view, not merely on account of the fertility of the land itself, but also as yielding a large

supply of one of the most valuable fibre plants in the world.

The grass lands occur chiefly, if not exclusively, on the eastern sides of both islands, and now afford pasture to millions of sheep and to great numbers of cattle and horses, thus, in their mere natural condition, adding largely to the wealth of the colony.

Whether these pasture lands were ever covered with forest I very much doubt, although many great naturalists are of opinion, that every part of the surface of the habitable earth, in all climates and regions, was covered with forest growth before it first became the home of man. Nor is enquiry into this question material to the subject under consideration, for it is clear that little, if anything, had been done before these Islands became the abode of civilized man to alter or modify the character or distribution of its vegetation. I have never travelled over the pastoral tracts of the North Island, and am therefore unable to point out what general differences exist (if any do exist) between the grasses there, and those which cover the pastoral lands of the Middle Island. The latter until used as sheep and cattle runs, consisted chiefly of tussock grasses, growing with more or less luxuriance according to the nature of the soil, but presenting only slight differences in character, in their [*unclear*: atitudinal] range.

When these Islands were first colonized by us, very large tracts were covered with Fern, chiefly "Pteris aquilina." I have little doubt that the greater part of such lands had originally been occupied by forest, destroyed by fire after the occupation of the country by the present native inhabitants. The soil occupied by this growth is usually friable and easily worked, and wherever the fern grew luxuriantly, has turned out valuable for agricultural purposes. The "Bush" or Forest may be roughly divided into three classes, namely, 1st, That which occupies the lower parts of our larger valleys and other low lying tracts near the sea coast,—2nd, That which occupies the upper or higher parts of our valleys, and hills of moderate elevation, within a few miles from the coast line,—and 3rd, That which occupies the greater mass of the mountain districts on the western sides of both islands, up to sub-alpine elevations.

The first class comprises a varied growth, the timber trees belonging, for the most part to certain peculiar genera of Coniferæ, whilst the undergrowth is usually very luxuriant and dense, more particularly in the deep alluvial deposits at the lower parts of the valleys, where we also find the *Laurelia Novæ Zelandiæ* and other trees affecting rich moist soils. The small remnant of forest still seen at the entrance of the Hutt valley affords us an example of this class of bush land, and although it is fast being destroyed, it even now gives us an excellent idea of its original variety and density of growth. We still find there living specimens of most of the forest trees, covered with remarkable epiphytes, whilst amongst the undergrowth, the Tree Fern, the Nikau Palm, the Cordyline, and the Freycinetia, and a variety of shrubs delighting in shade and moisture, are closely interlaced with the Supple-jack, the Clematis, and other creeping plants. The second class also comprises a varied growth, but here we find, in addition to forms of Coniferæ occurring in the lower grounds, many species of *Metrosideros*, *Elæocarpus* and other timber trees, whilst the undergrowth is also extremely dense and impenetrable, more particularly in the innumerable gullies which have been furrowed in every direction out of the hill sides. Those, however, who can be tempted to explore these dense gullies, are amply repaid for their toil by the extreme beauty and variety of the ferns and mosses with which the ground is carpeted, and the trunks of the trees are covered, whilst the appearance of many of the more gigantic forest trees, is rendered singularly beautiful, by the enormous mass of epiphytes with which they are covered. The third class consists almost exclusively of species of *Fagus*, with a very sparse undergrowth of *Aralia*, *Coprosma*, *Rubus*, etc. These enormous beech forests will, no doubt, become valuable as the country becomes more thickly peopled, for the timber is well adapted for shipbuilding, and for a large variety of other useful purposes, and the bark yields a considerable quantity of tannin. The great difference in appearance which these Beech forests present, as compared with the other classes of bush to which I have referred, is very striking. As a rule they are open and easily traversed, but the eye becomes fatigued, and the mind oppressed by their monotony, and by the general absence of life which characterises them.

To the North of the Isthmus between Auckland and the head of the Manukau occur extensive forests of kauri, the only true coniferous tree found in these Islands. It does not now occur as a common tree south of the above line, though I am informed that single specimens have been observed as far south as Kawhia; but the bituminous shales associated with some of the coals of Otago, present numerous impressions of forms of *Dammara* closely allied to the living tree, leading us to the conclusion that the latter is the modified descendant and representative of forms which flourished abundantly during those far distant periods. A fossil [*unclear*: guns], chemically undistinguishable from the kauri gum of the north, is also found in the brown coals throughout these Islands, and even in the Chatham Islands, from which we may also infer that these coals are in part derived from altered wood of trees belonging to the same germs, which formed part of the earlier vegetation of that larger area, of which New Zealand is assumed to be only a remnant.

With the Fauna of these Islands I must deal even more sketchily than I have done with the Flora, for, with the exception of its birds, very little has been attempted towards illustrating this branch of their Natural History.

The only mammal (exclusive of two or three species of Bat) which was known to be indigenous to these Islands, was the Kiore, or so-called Native rat. It has been the fashion to assume that before the arrival of Europeans in this Colony, this creature was common, and to attribute its destruction to the European [unclear: ant] and, indeed, the natives have been credited with a proverb in relation to this point It is not in effect impossible, that the ultimate destruction of those which still existed when trade was first opened between Europeans and the Natives, long after the colonization of New South Wales, may have been hastened by the introduction of the European rat; but I am satisfied that before that time they had become very scarce, and indeed I have been told by gentlemen who have lived in the northern part of this Island for upwards of forty years, that they never saw a specimen.

The Birds of New Zealand have been collected and investigated by Ma Walter Buller, who has long promised a more extensive work on the subject, than the pamphlet published in the first volume of our Transactions.

The number of species of land birds is not large in itself, though, as Mr. Buller remarks, the ornithology of these islands does not compare unfavourably in this respect with that of temperate countries in the Northern hemisphere, but although in regard to number of species it may not be important, our birds present many peculiarities interesting to zoologists.

We have, for example, the wingless Apteryx (or Kiwi), the present representative of gigantic races of birds which formerly roamed over our plains and open lands; the Kakapo, or Ground Parrot, inhabiting excavations in the ground, and strictly nocturnal in its habits. Both of these species are confined to our forest-clad ranges, and the latter has not, so far as I am aware, been found in the North Island. We have also, though now very rare, the beautiful Notornis Mantelli, a large Rail, the plumage of which is extremely rich and varied in colour. This bird is known to exist in both islands, but whether the species is in each case strictly identical, I am unable to say. Species of the Wood hen (*Ocydromus*) are found in both islands, and this bird is abundant, if not actually increasing in the Middle Island.

Amongst the other land birds more familiar to us are the Kaka or *Nestor meridionalis*, the Pigeon, the Tui or Parson bird; and several species small perching birds found in every wood. Many of the New Zealand perching birds are honey-feeder's, and, the great majority are insect-feeders. The Kaka feeds largely upon the honey of the phormium tenax, and upon the flowers of the rata. Of ducks there are several species, for example, the Paradise duck (more properly speaking a goose), the Grey duck, the Blue or Mountain duck, and some varieties of Teal. The Paradise duck is a remarkably handsome bird, the female differing completely from the male plumage.

Of wading birds we have many, amongst others, a magnificent white Crane (*Ardea flavirostris*), a handsome blue Crane (*Ardea matuku*), a Bittern (*Botaurus poicilopterus*), the Pukeko (*Porphyrio melanotus*), and several smaller birds. The Crane and Bittern are scarce, but the Pukeko is to be found in large numbers in every swamp, and more particularly in those which about upon cultivations. This bird is indeed more inclined by appetite to cereal grains and plants than to aquatic herbs, and frequents the land more than it does the water. It is handsome and graceful, and active in its movements. It is easily tamed, and mingles readily with ordinary domestic poultry. As these birds are also found in the eastern and southern provinces of Europe, we may accept their presence in this Colony as some indication of the adaptability of our climate to animals, birds, and plants indigenous to mild latitudes.

Of the poultry tribe, except the Pigeon referred to before, I only know the Quail, a delicious eating bird, which, unfortunately, is rapidly disappearing but which formerly existed on the plains and in all the river valleys in considerable numbers. It has indeed been said that as many as forty brace and upwards sometimes fell to a pair of guns in a single day's shooting.

Of rapacious birds we have several species. A small Hawk, distinguished like its European congener for its daring; a large Kite, and two or three species of Owls. These birds kill vast numbers of rats and mice, and thus more than compensate for the loss of a few chickens and ducklings. I was once told by a German settler that his young chickens, etc., were never molested by these birds, (although they existed in great numbers in his neighborhood), when under the charge of a turkey mother.

From noxious reptiles this country is happily free, and we shall scarcely require to import boa constrictors from St. Lucia (as recommended by Sir Charles Darling, to the Acclimatization Society of Victoria), for the purpose of devouring them.

With the indigenous sea fish, and the marine crustacea and testacea we are but little acquainted. The Hapuka, Baracouta, Ling, Snapper, Kawai, and Moki, a species of Flounder, and a few varieties of Rock fish, are the sea fish chiefly obtained and used, and of most of these, as indeed of a large number of the New Zealand sea fish, it may be said, that they are poor in flavour and coarse in flesh, affording a most striking contrast in this respect to the many delicious species found in English waters. There are two species of salt-water Crayfish, both coarse; some excellent Oysters, and a few of the commoner shell fish, such as Mussels, Cockles, Limpets,

etc.; but until lately nothing has been done to extend the knowledge obtained by the very earliest colonists in respect to our marine fauna.

Of fresh water fish, we have Eels of several kinds, all extremely good eating; Lampreys, said by the natives to be delicious, and the fry of a fish as yet unascertained, which ascends the rivers in the months of October and November, and is used as whitebait

In the Province of Nelson, during the month of April, shoals of a small fish from a quarter to half a pound in weight, and of delicious flavour, ascend the rivers, and are then eagerly sought for by epicures, but I am not aware that any attempt has been made to ascertain the ordinary habits of this fish.

Of the invertebrata, we have great numbers, but no great variety, in species of the spider. Moths, and consequently their larvæ, are extremely numerous, and the latter, as well as the larva; of certain species of beetles, frequently do great damage to the grain and other crops.

There are several varieties of indigenous flesh, and other flies, which are found to be great pests, and they, as well as the imported house and cattle flies, are increasing to an extent which threatens to prove a serious source of damage and discomfort. My own opportunities of observation have been too limited to enable me to point out the checks now in operation to the further and more destructive increase of these insects, but I am convinced that it is of great importance that we should speedily add to the number of those checks, unless we are willing to submit to severe injury and loss. It has been said by a great author, in reference to the injuries which insects can do us, "that the Almighty ordains various instruments for the punishment of offending nations; sometimes he breaks them to pieces with the iron rod of war; at others the elements are let loose against them; earthquakes and floods of fire at his word being sudden destruction upon them; seasons unfriendly to vegetation threaten them with famine; the blight and mildew realize these threats; and often, the more to manifest and glorify his power, he employs means, at first sight, apparently the most insignificant and inadequate, to effect their ruin; the numerous tribes of insects are his armies, marshalled by him, and by his irresistible commands impelled to the work of destruction; where he directs them, they lay waste the earth, and famine and the pestilence often follow in their train.

"The generality of mankind overlook or disregard these powerful, because minute, dispensers of punishment; seldom considering in how many ways their welfare is affected by them, but the fact is certain, that should it please God to give them a general commission against us, and should he excite them to attack, at the same time, our bodies, our clothing, our houses, our cattle, and the produce of our fields and gardens, we should soon be reduced, in every possible respect, to a state of extreme wretchedness, the prey of the most filthy and disgusting diseases, divested of a covering, unsheltered, except by caves and dungeons from the inclemency of the seasons, exposed to all the extremities of want and famine;" and in the end, as Sir Joseph Banks, speaking on this subject, has well observed, "driven with all the larger animals from the face of the earth." You may smile, perhaps, and think this a highly coloured picture, but you will recollect, I am not stating the mischiefs that insects commonly do, but what they would do, according to all probability, if certain counter checks, restraining them within due limits had not been put in action; and which they actually do, as you will see, in particular cases, when those counter-checks are diminished or removed.

It might, indeed, be supposed, that the injuries which can be inflicted upon man by insects have often been exaggerated, but our own experience during the last few years completely justifies these ideas. You may, for example, remember the nearly total annihilation of the cabbage, cauliflower, turnip, and other vegetables belonging to the large cruciferæ in the year 1862, caused by an aphid which had not previously appeared in this country. Our apple trees are the prey of another insect of the same kind—the aphid lanifera—commonly called the American blight, which has put a stop to the cultivation of orchards on a large scale. The rapidity with which these creatures increase is something marvellous, though less so when we find that the ordinary laws of generations are suspended in regard to them, the production of young without fecundation being common to the whole family. Bounet long ago demonstrated, by a series of most carefully conducted experiments, that at least five generations of the aphid sambuci may succeed each other, the females never pairing. The oak aphid carried this to the ninth generation, and, strange to state, he found that whilst, after pairing, the aphides produced ova, in other cases they produced their young alive. Reaumur computes that each aphid may produce about ninety young, and that in consequence, in five generations the descendants from a single insect would amount to the astonishing number of 5,904,900,000. "Were it not," says Mr. Swainson, "that these immense multitudes are called into being to furnish food for other races, they would be sufficient to destroy vegetation and annihilate the empire of Flora."

Having thus (I am afraid, however, in a very off-hand manner) pointed out to you the leading characteristics and distribution of the Flora and Fauna of these islands, I will now call your attention to what has aptly been termed the "Struggle for Existence" which living organisms of all kinds, are exposed to in a state of nature, and point out in what manner variation lends its aid in protecting both animals and plants from extinction under that struggle, In doing this I shall not hesitate to borrow largely from Mr. Darwin's work. After

adverting to the acknowledged variability of organic beings in a states nature (to which I have called your attention in an earlier part of this lecture) he asks, "How all those exquisite adaptations of one part of the organization to another part, and to the conditions of life, and of one distinct organic being to another, have been perfected? How it is that varieties, (which by the war he has called 'incipient species'), became ultimately converted into good and distinct species, which, in most cases, obviously differ from each other far more than do the varieties of the same species? How those groups of species which constitute what are called distinct genera, and which differ from each other more than do the species of the same genus, have arisen?" And he proceeds to answer these questions by saying, that the results referred to all follow from the "Struggle for Life," in which all the members of the organic world are engaged. Owing to this struggle," he observes, "any variation, however slight, and from whatever cause proceeding, if it be in any degree profitable to a individual of any species, in its infinitely complex relations to other organic beings and to external nature, will tend to the preservation of that individual, and will generally be inherited by its offspring. The offspring, also, will thus have a better chance of surviving, for, of the many individuals of any species which are periodically born, but a small number can survive.

"This struggle for existence inevitably follows from the high rate at which all organic beings tend to increase. Every being which during its natural lifetime produces several eggs or seeds, must suffer destruction during some period of its life, and during some season or occasional year, otherwise, on the principle of geometrical increase, its numbers would quickly become so inordinately great, that no country could support the product. Hence, as more individuals are produced than can possibly survive, there must in every case be a struggle for existence, either one individual with another of the same species, or with Individuals of distinct species, or with the physical conditions of life. It is the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms; for in this case there can be no artificial increase of food, and no prudential restraint from marriage. Although some species may be now increasing, more or less rapidly, in numbers, all cannot do so, for the world would not hold them.

"There is no exception to the rule that every organic being naturally increases at so high a rate, that if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered by the progeny of a single pair. Even slow breeding man has doubled in twenty-five years, and at this rate in a few thousand years there would literally not be standing room for his progeny. Linnæus has calculated that if an annual plant produced only two seeds—and there is no plant so unproductive as this—and their seedlings next year produced two, and so on, then in twenty years there would be a million plants. The elephant is reckoned the slowest breeder of all known animals, and I have taken some pains to estimate its probable minimum rate of natural increase; it will be under the mark to assume that it breeds when thirty years old, and goes on breeding till ninety years old, bringing forth three pair of young in this interval; if this be so, at the end of the fifth century there would be alive fifteen millions of elephants, descended from the first pair.

"But we have better evidence on this subject than mere theoretical calculations, namely, the numerous recorded cases of the astonishingly rapid increase of various animals in a state of nature, when circumstances have been favourable to them during two or three following seasons. Still more striking to the evidence from our domestic animals of many kinds which have run wild in several parts of the world; if the statements of the rate of increase of slow breeding cattle and horses in South America, and latterly in Australia, had not been well authenticated, they would have been incredible. So it is with plants: cases could be given of introduced plants which have become common throughout whole islands in a period of less than ten years. Several of the plants, such as the cardoon and a tall thistle, now most numerous over the wide plains of La Plata, clothing square leagues of surface almost to the exclusion of all other plants, have been introduced from Europe; and there are plants which now range in India, as I hear from Dr. Falconer, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya, which have been imported from America since its discovery. In such cases, and endless instances could be given, no one supposes that the fertility of these animals or plants has been suddenly and temporarily increased in any sensible degree. The obvious explanation is that the conditions of life have been very favourable, and there has consequently been less destruction of the old and young, and that nearly all the young have been enabled to breed. In such cases the geometrical ratio of increase, the result of which never fails to be surprising, simply explains the extraordinarily rapid increase and wide diffusion of naturalized productions in their new homes.

"In a state of nature almost every plant produces seed, and amongst animals there are very few which do not annually pair. Hence we may confidently assert, that all plants and animals are tending to increase in a geometrical ratio, that all would most rapidly stock every station in which they could any how exist, and that the geometrical tendency to increase must be checked by destruction at some period of life. Our familiarity with the larger domestic animals tends, I think, to mislead us; we see no great destructions falling on them, and we forget that thousands are annually slaughtered for food, and that in a state of nature an equal number would have somehow to be disposed of.

"The only difference between organisms which annually produce eggs or seeds by the thousand, and those

which produce extremely few, is, that the slow breeders would require a few more years to people, under favourable conditions, a whole district, let it be ever so large. The condor lays a couple of eggs, and the ostrich a score, and yet in the same country the condor may be the more numerous of the two : the Fulmar petrel lays but one egg, yet it is believed to be the most numerous bird in the world. One fly deposits hundreds of eggs, and another, like the hippobosca, a single one; but thus difference does not determine how many individuals of the two species can be supported in a district. A large number of eggs is of some importance to those species which depends on a rapidly fluctuating amount of food, for it allows them rapidly to increase in number. But the real importance of a large number of eggs or seeds is to make up for much destruction at some period of life; and this period in the great majority of cases is an early one. If an animal can in any way protect its own eggs or young, a small number may be produced, and yet the average stock be fully kept up; but if many eggs or young are destroyed, many must be produced, or the species will become extinct. It would suffice to keep up fully the numbers of a tree, which lived on an average for a thousand years, if a single seed were produced once in a thousand years, supposing that this seed were never destroyed, and could be ensured to germinate in a fitting place. So that in all cases, the average number of any animal or plant depends only indirectly on the number of its eggs or seeds."

The author then proceeds to comment upon the causes which check the natural tendency of each species to increase in number, and points out not only the extreme obscurity of these causes, but also that even when at all ascertainable, they are found to be very complex and unexpected. Of this he gives several striking instances, as, for example :—

"In Staffordshire, on the estate of a relation, where I had ample means of investigation, there was a large and extremely barren heath, which had never been touched by the hand of man; but several hundred acres of exactly the same nature had been enclosed twenty-five years previously, and planted with Scotch fir. The change in the native vegetation of the planted part the heath was most remarkable, more than is generally seen in passing from one quite different soil to another; not only the proportional numbers of the heath plants were wholly changed, but twelve species of plants (not counting grasses and carices) flourished in the plantations, which could not be found on the heath. The effects on the insects must have been still greater, for six insectivorous birds were very common in the plantations, which could not be found on the heath; and the heath was frequented by two or three distinct insectivorous birds. Here we see how potent has been the effect of the introduction of a single tree, nothing whatever else having been done, with the exception that the land had been enclosed, so that cattle could not enter. But how important an element enclosure is, I plainly saw near Farnham, in Surrey Here there are extensive heaths, with a few clumps of old Scotch firs on the distant hill-tops : within the last ten years large spaces have been enclosed, and self-sown firs are now springing up in multitudes, so close together that all cannot live. When I ascertained that these young trees had not been sown or planted, I was so much surprised at their numbers that I went to several points of view, whence I could examine hundreds of acres of the unenclosed [unclear: heath], and literally I could not see a single Scotch fir, except the old planted clumps. But on looking closely between the stems of the heath, I found a [unclear: altitude] of seedlings and little trees, which had been perpetually browsed down by cattle. In one square yard, at a point some hundred yards distant from one of the old clumps, I counted thirty-two little trees; and one of them, with twenty-six rings of growth, had during many years tried to raise its head, and had failed. No wonder that, as soon as the land was enclosed, it became thickly clothed with vigorously growing young firs. Yet the heath was so extremely barren and so extensive, that no one would ever have imagined that cattle would have so closely and effectually searched it for food.

"Here we see that cattle absolutely determined the existence of the Scotch fir in this particular locality and under the conditions indicated; but in several parts of the world insects determine the existence of cattle. Perhaps Paraguay offers the most curious instance of this; for here neither horses, nor cattle, nor dogs, have ever run wild, though they swarm northward and southward in a feral state; and Azara and Rengger have shown that this is caused by the great number in Paraguay of a certain fly, which lays its eggs in the navels of these animals when first born. The increase of these flies, numerous as they are, must be habitually checked by some means, probably by birds. Hence, if certain insectivorous birds (whose numbers are probably regulated by hawks or beasts of prey) were to increase in Paraguay, the flies would decrease—then cattle and horses would become feral, and this would certainly greatly alter (as indeed I have observed in parts of South America) vegetation; this again would largely affect the insects; and this, as we have just seen in Staffordshire, the insectivorous birds, and so onwards in ever increasing circles of complexity. We began this series by insectivorous birds, and we have ended with them. Not that in nature the relations can ever be as simple as this. Battle within battle must ever be recurring with varying success; and yet in the long run the forces are so nicely balanced, that the face of nature remains uniform for long periods of time, though assuredly the merest trifle would often give the victory to one organic being over another, nevertheless so profound is our ignorance, and so high our presumption, that we marvel when we hear of the extinction of an organic being; and as we do not

see the cause, we invoke cataclysms to desolate the world, or invent laws on the duration of the forms of life!"
The same author further adds :—

"I am tempted to give one more instance showing how plants and animals, most remote in the scale of nature, are bound together by a web of complex nations. I shall hereafter have occasion to show that the exotic *Lobelia fulgens*, in this part of England, is never visited by insects, and consequently, from its peculiar structure, never can set a seed. Many of our orchidaceous plants absolutely require the visit of moths to remove their pollen-masses, and thus to fertilize them. I have, also, reason to believe that humble-bees are indispensable to the fertilization of the heartsease (*Viola tricolor*), for other bees do not visit this flower. From experiments which I have lately tried, I have found that the visits of bees are necessary for the fertilization of some kinds of clover; but humble-bees alone visit the red clover (*Trifolium pratense*), as other bees cannot reach the nectar. Hence I have very little doubt, that if the whole genus of humble-bees became extinct or very rare in England, the heartsease and red clover would become very rare, or wholly disappear. The number of humble-bees in any district depends in a great degree on the number of field mice, which destroy their combs and nests; and Mr. H. Newman, who has long attended to the habits of humble-bees, believes that 'more than two-thirds of them are thus destroyed all over England.' Now the number of mice is largely dependent, as every one knows, on the number of cats; and Mr. Newman says, 'Near villages and small towns I have found the nests of humble-bees more numerous than elsewhere, which I attribute to the number of cats that destroy the mice.' Hence it is quite credible that the presence of a feline animal in large numbers in a district might determine, through the intervention first of mice, and then of bees, the frequency of certain flowers in that district!"

In summing up the results of his enquiries, Mr. Darwin has applied the term "Natural selection" to the principle or operative agency, which the foregoing extracts are intended to illustrate, viz., that principle under which slight variations in any species tend, if useful, to be accumulated and to be preserved to succeeding generations. The term "Natural selection" was adopted by Mr. Darwin in order to mark the relation of the principle or agency in question, to the power which man exercises over domestic animals, for, as you are aware, man by taking advantage of variations in character amongst domesticated animals has been able to produce a large number of breeds and varieties, more or less useful to himself. It must not, however, be supposed that nature operates as rapidly or necessarily in the same direction as man in assimilating such variations.

"Man," says Mr. Darwin in his work on "Animals and Plants under Domestication," "selects varying individuals, sows their seeds, and again selects their varying offspring. He may be said to be trying an experiment on a gigantic scale, but the initial variation on which he works, and without which he can do nothing, is caused by slight changes in the conditions of life which must often have occurred under nature. The experiment which man has been making is one which nature, during the long lapse of time, has incessantly tried."

To sum up again: I have now briefly shown you—by reviewing the investigations of modern writers on such subjects, and chiefly those of Hooker, Lindley, Darwin, Lyell, and Marsh,—the divisions and subdivisions of the organic world; the laws which regulate the geographical distribution of plants and animals; the tendency to vary which characterises living organisms; the principles under which any variation, however slight and from whatever cause proceeding, if it be profitable, tends to the preservation of the individual; the transmissibility of acquired variations in character and the struggle for existence which all life is engaged in.

And I have also shortly called your attention to the distribution, affinities, and general characteristics of the Flora and Fauna of these Islands—sketchily it is true—but sufficiently for the purposes of my further observations, if. As I have a right to suppose, you have made any reasonable use of the opportunities you enjoy in common with myself, of acquiring more detailed knowledge regard to them.

It was my intention originally to have dealt with the whole of my subject in this lecture, but I have found it impossible to do so, and I am compelled to defer to a future occasion a consideration of the position, (relatively to the questions discussed in this and in my last lecture), in which our Flora and Fauna stood immediately before the systematic colonization of these islands, and the effects already produced, and likely to follow, from the introduction of competing foreign organisms. This, of course, I can only do broadly and briefly, but I hope to satisfy you, that the operations now going on are calculated to produce all the results which I have suggested as probable in the future

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Art. LXVII.—On the Changes effected in the Natural Features of a New Country by the Introduction of Civilized Races. By W. T. L. TRAVERS, F. L. S.

(Part II.)

[Abstract of Lecture delivered at the Colonial Museum, Wellington, August 27, 1870.]

AFTER shortly recapitulating the points noticed in his two former lectures, printed in Vol. II. of the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, the lecturer proceeded as follows :—

When left to themselves, the natural forces which regulate organic life tend to counterbalance each other, and all life is by degrees brought to a conditions of nice equilibrium, check and countercheck being most admirably applied. But the direction of these forces is changed, and the equilibrium arrived at disturbed, with more or less violence, when man appears as an actor in the scene, the amount of disturbance being, as I have already shown, affected chiefly by the character in which he appears, and usually being greater in proportion to his own advance in civilization.

These islands, indeed, afford us a most pregnant instance of my views on this point, as I now propose to show by reference to what has already occurred and what is constantly taking place under our own eyes, in the direction of modifying and displacing the life native to the soil. Let it be remembered, in this connection, that when civilized man transplants himself to a new country he carries with him a special knowledge of the value of a certain number of organisms, which have been gradually brought into subservience to his wants in the country which he formerly inhabited, whilst, in all probability, he is absolutely, or at least greatly, ignorant of the uses or value of the natural productions of his newly-adopted home. Moreover, his own necessities demand that he should, without any delay, introduce such of the productions of his former home as are most suited to his wants and offer the best prospect of succeeding in his new country, having regard to its climate and soil. He has at this period of active settlement no time to study the value or character of the organic life which he finds there, and accordingly he proceeds at once to bring land under cultivation, to sow it with the seeds of plants previously foreign to the soil, and to introduce such domestic animals as are most useful to him, either in the way of food or for purposes of labour.

In the struggle which he is thenceforth destined to carry on as a colonist, he becomes, as a rule, more and more careless of the native productions, unless they present some prospect of being immediately and directly profitable. The native timber is used for building and fencing, and in some few instances becomes an article of commerce; but, as a rule, the forest stands in the way, and is recklessly and improvidently burnt or otherwise destroyed, without regard either to the immediate effects which such destruction may produce upon climate, or to the certain injury which must be inflicted upon posterity. The native grasses are temporarily utilized for feeding sheep and cattle, but little attention is paid to their feeding values or to the probability of bringing them, either alone or mixed with exotic grasses, into that condition of cultivation in which they may become permanently valuable or be made to yield the largest return.

In these islands we have already seen this course taken, and those who look beyond the present, cannot but be struck with the immense direct injury which has already resulted from the indiscriminate and reckless destruction of the forest and of many other of the natural productions. As a pregnant example, bearing upon this point, I may take the instance of the *Phormium tenax*. which, for nearly thirty years, has been destroyed to a greater or less extent in every part of the country. I have seen thousands of acres of this plant, of a growth which would yield nearly a ton and a half of pure fibre per acre under any fair system of manufacture, burnt recklessly for the purpose of substituting grass; and I have seen the land upon which the flax plant had stood in its greatest luxuriance, so injured by the fire which was used for clearing it, as to be unfit for the production of

any other crop except at an outlay for which no adequate compensation could be obtained.

Our large rivers, which most colonists remember as inflicting, in former days but little injury to the valleys and plains through which they flow, have now in most instances become raging torrents, against whose injurious effects we are called upon to guard by expensive and difficult engineering works. We may trace the course of this change to precisely the same violation of natural laws which has brought about similar results in other countries. There, as here, when the forest has been destroyed, the moisture long stored up in its mould is evaporated, and returns in deluges of rain, which wash away the dried soil into which the accumulated mass of mould has been converted. The water-courses become choked and encumbered with the débris, and the country which had previously presented an appearance of rich vegetation is converted into bald hills and dessicated plains, liable to be still further damaged by the ravages of the intersecting streams. There can be no doubt that this process is now going on in many parts of these islands, and we have seen, during the last two or three sessions of the Legislature, measures introduced for the purpose of checking the growing mischief.

We are told by a distinguished author, "that there are parts of Asia Minor, of Northern Africa, of Greece, and even of Alpine Europe, where the operation of causes set in action by man (causes precisely similar in character to those which have been recklessly set in action in this colony), has brought the face of the earth to a desolation almost as complete as that of the moon; and within that brief space of time which we call 'the historical epoch,' they are known to have been covered with luxuriant woods, verdant pastures, and fertile meadows, they are now too far deteriorated to be reclaimable by man, or to become again fitted for human use, except through great geological changes or other influences or agencies of which we have no present knowledge, and over which we have no prospective control." The same author without hesitation affirms, and a careful study of the question as it affects many parts of the world, leads to a perfect acceptance of his views, that "the earth is fast becoming an unfit home for its noblest inhabitant, and that another era of equal human crime and human improvidence and of like duration with that through which traces of that crime and that improvidence extend, would reduce it to such a condition of impoverished productiveness, of shattered surface, and of climatic excess, as to threaten the degradation, barbarism, and, perhaps, even extinction of the species."

This is strong language, but I may confidently appeal to any of those who have visited the plains of Babylon and Nineveh, and those parts of Judea, once described, and truly described, as flowing with milk and honey, and now converted into a howling desolation, in confirmation of their absolute truth. I may be told that these are evidences of God's wrath against the people who inhabited those countries; but setting aside all questions of controversy as to whether the Great Author of Nature ever so deals with man as intentionally and mischievously to interfere with the conditions of life, it is clear that it is to man's action, as a primary cause, that we may attribute the misery and desolation to which they are now reduced—and as a proof of this, let me cite; an instance in very modern times of the class of mischief to which I have alluded, and one which bears very directly upon the line of action pursued in various parts of these islands.

[The lecturer here quoted descriptions of the devastations caused by floods in the Alps of Provence and other parts of France, as described by Blanqui Surell, and others.]

What a picture of evils have we here! And yet in this country, with similar results staring us in the face, we still persist in the course which has led to them.

One of the authors from whom I have quoted, however, guards himself from any charge of rash and unphilosophical attempts either to set limits to the ultimate power of man over inorganic nature, or to speculate as to what may be accomplished by the discovery of now unknown and unimagined forces, or even by the invention of new arts and new processes. He properly cites the comparatively modern discovery of the motive powers of elastic vapours, the wonders of telegraphy, the destructive explosiveness of various compounds (even when as innocent looking as gun cotton), as instances which serve to show that we have by no means reached the limits within which man may bring his own powers to the aid of physical conquest, and, therefore, he calls upon his readers to understand, that when he speaks of the apparent impossibility of repairing the injuries which have been inflicted upon immense tracts of country by the improper action of man, he refers only to the agencies now known to and directed by man. And, indeed, even with the aid of these agencies, however inadequate to the complete restoration of wasted hill-sides and desolated plains to their former fertility and healthiness, we find there is a partial reverse to the ugly picture which I have presented to you.

We have seen in the case of Holland (for example) immense tracts of country recovered from the sea and great lakes drained of their waters, and the land thus laid bare converted into valuable pastures; we see rivers compelled to aid, by the deposit of the slime and silt with which they are charged, in filling up low-lying tracts and swampy morasses; we see fertile oases created even amidst the barren sands of Sahara, by means of Artesian fountains; but all these achievements are on too small a scale to give hope that we shall ever make full atonement for former spendthrift waste, and it becomes our positive duty, imposed upon us as a sacred trust, not merely to abstain from wanton destruction of the natural resources of this country, and from undue interference with those operations which in the past have tended so much to fit it for the abode of mankind, but also, in all

cases in which, through recklessness, or carelessness, or accident, anything has been done tending to injure them, that we should endeavour to effect all the reparation in our power.

It has well been pointed out, that if "the old world which man has overthrown, were rebuilt, could human cunning rescue its wastes and desert places from solitude and nomadic occupation, from barrenness, from nakedness, and from insalubrity, and restore the ancient fertility and healthfulness of the Etruscan sea coast, the Campagna and the Pontine Marshes, of Calabria, of Sicily, of the Peloponnesus and Insular and Continental Greece, of Asia Minor, of the slopes of Lebanon and Hermon, of Palestine, of the Syrian Desert, of Mesopotamia, and the delta of the Euphrates, of the Cyreniaca, of Africa Proper, Numidia, and Mauritania, the thronging millions of Europe might still find room on the Eastern Continent, and the main current of emigration be turned towards the rising instead of the setting sun." Whilst, therefore, we are devising great political plans for the extended peopling of these Islands, let us not forget how much it is our duty to preserve them from those destructive processes which even civilized man, in ignorance or wantonness, unhesitatingly applies in his attempts to bring new countries under the dominion of his wants.

[The lecturer then proceeded to point out that where natural arrangements are disturbed by man, they are not usually restored until long after he has retired from the field, and free reign has been allowed to the spontaneous recuperative energies of the natural forces. He then continued as follows]:—

And now let me turn to the consideration of some of the more important changes which have already been effected in the physical character and organic life of these Islands. In my former lectures I pointed out how little, if anything, was to be found amongst the indigenous animal or vegetable productions which was useful for the permanent sustenance of civilized man, and it is only necessary to recall the dreadful extremities to which the first European settlers were reduced in the early days of American discovery, and that, too in a country whose useful natural productions were enormously in excess of those of these Islands, to understand how little could have been done here, by even the most civilized and energetic settlers, without the aid of the animals and plants which have been introduced.

Take the case of the Province of Canterbury for example. Consisting of several thousand square miles of valuable plain and undulating land and mountain, its lower grounds, near the sea, containing many rich tracts covered with swamp-loving growth, whilst its upper grounds were dry, and clothed either with forest or with waving tussock grasses well fitted to support pastoral animals, it was yet, in its natural condition, utterly unfit for the abode of civilized man. Not a plant did it produce which could have been turned to account for purposes of constant food; and with the exception of a few birds, which would have yielded an occasional but scanty meal, it was devoid of all animal life. But now, how changed is all this! The city of Christchurch, destined, in my opinion, to occupy a foremost position amongst the cities of the colony, built upon a spot of which a large portion was originally a swamp, now present to us substantial and elegant public and private buildings, which might fairly vie with those of many large provincial towns in England; markets supplied with meats and vegetables and fruits, in no degree inferior, and in many respects superior, to those which are produced in the best gardens of Europe; well kept streets, in which a busy population is carrying on trade and commerce and intercourse; foundries and factories producing machinery and implements of trade necessary for the agriculturist and the artizan; collegiate and other schools for the instruction of youth, and institutions of various kinds for the diffusion of knowledge amongst those of more advanced years, and which in their operations are guided and governed by men whose intelligence and perseverance are not only making their fellow-citizens better acquainted with the natural resources of their adopted country, but are also greatly instrumental in relieving life from the weariness and tedium inseparable from the struggle for fortune—whilst those lighter distractions are not wanting which are essential, at all events to youth. Outside of the city we see extensive tracts of country redeemed from the character of a wilderness; handsome villas with well kept grounds, in which are flourishing the flowers and plants, the trees and shrubs, of many foreign countries; smooth Macadamized roads, along which a great and increasing traffic is carried between the chief city and many outlying towns and hamlets, and upon which are to be seen every kind of vehicle, from the elegant carriage built in England or America to the humble spring cart of the market gardener, and from the huge five-horse coach of the enterprising Yankee proprietor to the inconvenient cruelty-van drawn by a single jaded horse. On every side, as we travel along these highways, we see evidence of energy and civilization; farms and corn fields stretching for miles on either hand, enclosed by well-kept hedges and fences; sleek-looking cattle and sheep, and happy horses snorting, as with tail and mane erect they canter over their pasture; steam threshing engines puffing their circles of smoke into the clear air, whilst the rumble of the machine as the sheaves pass through the rollers, mingles pleasantly with the various other sounds of country life, all tending to carry the traveller back to those home scenes which are usually associated with his happiest hours. Here, too, we see the mighty iron horse drawing his load along a line of railway, constructed under circumstances and in a manner which, but a few years ago, would have been looked upon with wonder, even amongst the greatest countries of Europe. Indeed, it is almost impossible for those who had not seen the country I refer to in its original condition, to

realize the amount of change and improvement which have been effected by the energy and industry of our race in the short space of twenty years, and it is difficult, even for those who have witnessed this gradual change, comprehend or grasp its wonderful results.

Take again the Province of Auckland. Here we find a chief city, also distinguished by the possession of handsome and substantial public and private buildings; its merchants, men of enterprise, carrying on extensive commercial operations with various parts of the world; its harbour not only filled with ships and vessels the property of Europeans and foreigners, but also teeming with small craft belonging to native proprietors, engaged in exchanging articles of food and export for others either of local or foreign manufacture. Outside of the city too, we see numbers of handsome country residences, and farms in a high state of keeping and cultivation, and occupying ground which was not long ago the battle field of some of the fiercest native tribes, and the scenes of barbarities at which humanity recoils.

The Province of Otago presents equal evidences of change. Here, too, we have a large and picturesque capital city, vying successfully, if not in many respects surpassing, the other cities of the colony in the elegance and substantial nature of its public and private buildings; its people distinguished not merely by their commercial enterprise and sagacity, but also by the higher characteristic of devotion to the cause of educational progress. Here, also, outside of the chief town, we find civilization spreading its arms over millions of acres, and gradually converting a wilderness into a smiling country, whilst thousands of busy and hardy men are daily engaged in exploring the recesses of its hills and valleys, and the ancient deposits of its river systems, in search of mineral wealth. Indeed, in the cases of Auckland and Otago, not less than in that of Canterbury, it is almost impossible to realize the extent of change which has taken place since they first became the scenes of systematic colonization.

But let us take another and even more extraordinary instance. I mean that of Westland, and the country to the north of it, forming part of the Province of Nelson, and lying to the westward of the Mount Arthur Range and the Spencer Mountains. The whole of this extensive tract consists of broken mountain ranges, attaining, on a base of thirty to thirty-five miles from the West Coast, a general elevation approaching 7000 feet, whilst in Mount Cook we find it rising to upwards of 13,000 feet, and in the Spencer Mountains to upwards of 9000 feet. From these ranges a large number of rivers flow to the coast, the principal ones being the Buller, with its great tributaries, the Maruia, the Inangahau, and the Matakaitiki; the Grey, with its tributary the Ahaura; the Teremakau, the Hokitika, the Waihau, flowing from the Mount Cook glaciers; the Haast, and the Arawhata; whilst a host of smaller ones help to carry off the abundant rain-fall by which this district, in common with the western slopes of these Islands generally, is characterized. The country in question is, moreover, densely clothed with forest, consisting chiefly of *Fagus*, after reaching an elevation of seven to eight hundred feet, whilst the alluvial deposits near the mouths of the rivers support various species of the *Coniferae* of New Zealand, with the usual dense undergrowth.

At a few places along this coast, in and previously to the year 1864, small settlements of natives existed, the people of which lived in great seclusion and poverty, subsisting chiefly on fish and small degenerate potatoes, whilst the whole district remained in the condition of an almost virgin country, showing but little sign of interference on the part of man. In the year 1847, shortly after the establishment of the Nelson settlement, Mr. Thomas Brunner, lately Chief Surveyor for the Province of Nelson, undertook to explore the West Coast of the settlement, and, accompanied by a small party of natives, he succeeded, after undergoing great fatigue and hardship, in reaching a point somewhere to the south of the Grey. He was actually absent for upwards of twenty months, during which time he had no opportunity of communicating with any other European; and, in the journal which he published, he described the country as being rugged, worthless, and unprofitable to a degree, and the rain-fall as utterly excessive. His description of its character, the length of time spent in his explorations, the extreme difficulties and hardships he encountered, were quite sufficient to deter any attempt to utilize it for purposes of settlement, and it remained an almost unknown land until visited, many years after, by Mr. James Mackay, in connection with its purchase from the natives. In 1861, in consequence of suggestions made by persons in Nelson, who were desirous of having further information in regard to its topography, geology, and natural productions, Dr. Haast was appointed by the Nelson Government to make a further exploration, and to report upon it. The result of his examination was embodied in a report presented to the Nelson Government, at the end of that year, in which, however, Dr. Haast made no suggestion of the rich auriferous deposits which have been since found upon the Grey, and to the north and south of that river. On the contrary, he says in his report that, "north of the Buller, in the Maruia, as well as in the whole course of the Grey and its tributaries, rarely leaving untried any spot which seemed likely, we searched in vain, unable to detect the least sign of the precious metal."

In 1864, reports which had for some time been current as to the existence of gold in payable quantities in the country to the south of the Grey River, were proved to be correct, and shortly afterwards the district in question was "rushed" by an immense body of miners from all parts of New Zealand and Australia. In the

course of a very short time towns sprang up, and a great trade was carried on at various points of the coast, but chiefly at Hokitika, Greymouth, Westport, Charleston, and other places, which, but a few years ago, had only been trodden by occasional bands of savages, engaged in a search for greenstone, or upon a mission of slaughter and cannibalism. The miserable remnants of pas, with their wretched half-starved native inhabitants, speedily gave way to the busy haunts of the digging population. The rivers, rarely visited even by the canoe of the savage, are now used as ports by large steam and sailing vessels. The forest in the vicinity of the towns is disappearing, to be replaced by grass paddocks. Good roads and railways are being substituted for the miserable bush track; millions of pounds' worth of the precious metals are extracted from the river courses and their ancient deposits, and exchanged for food and all the other various articles required for the use and the luxury of man, and the hardy diggers, who have set all this in motion, are gradually altering the whole face of the country under the influence of "the sacred thirst for gold."

It is, indeed, wonderful that there is scarcely a nook or cranny in the Middle Island—a country as large as England, though inhabited by a Population not exceeding that of a second-rate provincial town—in which, after thirty years occupation, some evidence of the existence of civilized man is not to be found; a fragment of a glass bottle—an empty match-box—a piece of woven cloth—or of manufactured leather—being often discovered in localities affording no other indication whatsoever that man had ever been there; whilst familiar European plants, weeds or flowers, as the case may be, occurring in the most sequestered valleys or upon the most rugged mountain slopes, show the presence of the invader and the effect of the new forces which have been brought into operation, and which are engaged in altering and modifying the original physical features of this country.

[After some further account of similar changes in other parts of the Islands, the lecturer proceeded as follows] :—

There are few subjects of greater interest to the biologist than the "replacement of species" (as it has been termed), which occurs when foreign organisms are brought into contact with previously undisturbed and purely native races. Now, there can be no doubt that whenever man transplants a vegetable organism, for example, from its native *habitat* to a foreign soil, he introduces a new force to act upon the indigenous flora, a force which experience has shown to be usually so exerted as to lead to the more or less rapid, but in the long run, certain displacement of some portion of that flora. Dr. Hooker, in his admirable paper on "Insular Flora," has shown how effectually this displacement has been carried out in small oceanic islands, instancing Madeira, St. Helena, and others, but he did not in that essay apply the theory to such extensive tracts of land as the islands of New Zealand.

[The lecturer then adverted to instances of "displacement," collected from the writings of Hooker, Marsh, and other authors, and proceeded as follows] :—

The most important point, however, to be noticed in this connection, and one which must be carefully borne in mind in all investigations into the character and extent of the changes to which I am now referring, is, that man has been either intentionally or unintentionally the chief instrument in bringing them about, and that it is only when he co-operates, if I may use the term, with the forces he sets in motion, that they produce any striking or rapid results.

It must further be borne in mind, that such operations, when civilized man engages in the work of colonization, are usually conducted on a very large scale, and this whether the result be intentional and contemplated, unintentional and unforeseen. And it must still further be observed, that man is naturally aided in this respect by the circumstance that vegetable organisms when naturalized in a new country, either as the result of design or accident, generally exhibit an increased luxuriance of growth. This is attributable, amongst other things, in the first place to the fact that they have been removed from the influence of those checks to undue increase which have gradually developed themselves in their natural habitat, whether under the operation of the laws governing the "struggle for life," or in consequent of their interfering with the cultivation of the soil; in the next place to the existence of that attribute to which Mr. Darwin has applied the term "prepotency;" and, moreover, to the circumstance that the indigenous vegetation is invaded by a new and unexpected force, against which it had not previously been armed. Until the Ngapuhi tribes had become possessed of firearms, the wars of the New Zealanders were conducted upon a general scale of equality; but the possession of this force gave to that tribe an increase of power which led to the most frightful results to other tribes. Bands of these heroes marched from one end of this Island to the other, spreading desolation and terror, and ultimately driving the whole native people to the alternative of either adopting a different system of living and of warfare, or of submitting to extinction. The European cardoon which broke out of some garden on the banks of the River plate acquired a gigantic structure, and rapidly spread, in impenetrable [*unclear: cricets*], over thousands of square miles of the Pampas. The *Anicharis* [*unclear: atudum*], a water plant not much inclined to spread in its native American [*unclear: habits*], has found its way into English rivers, and in some instances has not [*unclear: soly*] greatly retarded their currents, but has formed a serious impediment to navigation. The water-cress introduced

into the River Avon, in Christchurch, has spread to such an extent as to obstruct the flow of the river and greatly to [unclear: rise] its natural level, evils only counteracted by the annual expenditure of large sums of money. The Scotch thistle is spreading over both islands, and has already entailed upon the farmer and the squatter a serious addition to his expenses.

So far as New Zealand is concerned, there can be no doubt that what is taking place must be at the expense of the native flora, and must, even alone, have sooner or later led to the extirpation of many of the native plants. But when, in aid of these operations, we find the whole country roamed over by man himself, and by countless herds of animals which he has introduced, we may feel assured that the native life has but little chance against the invaders. Wherever we fire the forest or cut a track, we make room for the invader, and where the hardy European vegetable once begins to grow it usually retains its [unclear: haid]. I noticed recently, at sub-alpine elevations in the Middle Island, that *Inifolium pratense* was gradually displacing native herbaceous vegetation, a process the more certain in proportion to the treading which the soil receives from cattle and sheep. But, perhaps, one of the most noticeable facts is, that [unclear: saing] lines of highway, especially in the Canterbury Province, you scarcely [unclear: are,] for miles together, a single native plant in the hedge rows or fences, whilst the familiar wayside weeds of Europe are found as abundantly as they are in the mother country.

The author concluded his lecture by observing (in the words of an eloquent [unclear: thor]). "that the mysterious but undeniable movements which he had attempted to elucidate were ever going on, progressing on a grand and imposing scale, and altering the vegetable character of the whole country, showing, in indelible signs, the silent but irresistible force with which humble plants may prescribe a path to man, and that strange relation between them which makes [unclear: lants] of equal importance to his existence and to his welfare."

The author then apologized for not having extended his lecture to the case of the fauna as well as that of the flora, but pleaded his pressing engagements as his excuse. He, however, expressed a hope that on some future occasion he should be able to deal with the subject.

Note.

Since the above Lecture was delivered I have observed that Professor Rolleston is reported in *Nature* (No. 47, Sept. 22, 1870, p. 426) to have made the following remark in addressing the Biological Section of the British Association, in September last, namely, "To this I would add that experiments with a positive result, and that positive results in favour of the second hypothesis, if hypothesis it can be called, are being constantly tried in our colonies for us, and on a large scale. I had taken and written here of the *polygonum aviculare*, the "knot" or "cowgrass"—having learnt on the authority of Dr. Hooker and Mr. Travers (see *Natural History Review*, January, 1864, p. 124., Oct, 1864 p. 619), that it abounds in New Zealand, along the roadside, just as it does in England as a glaring instance, and one which would illustrate the real value of the second explanation even to an unscientific man and to an unassisted eye. But on Saturday last I received by post one of those evidences, which make an Englishman proud in thinking that whithersoever ships can float thither shall the English language, English manners, and English Science be carried, in the shape of the second volume of the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, full like the first, from beginning to the last page with thoroughly good matter. In that volume, having looked at its table of contents, I turned to a paper by Mr. T. Kirk on the Naturalized Plants of New Zealand, and in this, at p. 142, I find that Mr. T. Kirk prefers to regard the *Polygonum aviculare* New Zealand as indigenous in New Zealand. Hence that illustration which would have been a good one falls from my hands."

I regret to differ with Mr. Kirk in regard to *Polygonum aviculare* being indigenous in New Zealand. In common with others, who for upwards of twenty years have had large opportunities of observing the flora of this country over very extensive areas, I look upon it as an introduced plant. Dr. Hector and Mr. Buchanan in particular both concur with me on this point. The natives, moreover, who suffer much inconveniences from its spread, call it a "pakeha" or foreigner.—W. T. L. TRAVERS.

A Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone Being an Appeal on Behalf of the Ngatiraukawa Tribe.

BY T. C. WILLIAMS.

Printed by J. Hughes New Zealand Lambton Quay, Wellington 1873

To the General Public.

The Honorable Mr. Fox, the late Premier of New Zealand, commenced his [unclear: pasing]address the Crown in the Native Lands Court at Otaki, Thursday, 23rd April, 1868, as follows :—

"May it please the Court. Mr. Williams yesterday commenced by appealing to the sympathies of the Court;

and drawing a touching picture of himself as a sort of 'young man from the country,' who had unexpectedly met face to face with a great ogre of a Crown lawyer, who stood ready to put him down and eat him up. Sir, if any one has a right to claim the sympathies of the Court, it is I, and not Mr. Williams. Six feet odd without his shoes; in robust health and the full vigor of mature age; strong enough to grapple, [*unclear: pass*] only with the case before the Court, but with the biggest member of the [*unclear: between*] tribes; bom in New Zealand; brought up among the Native race; graduated in a Maori pa; better able to speak the Maori than the English language; versed in all Maori ways, and thoroughly acquainted with the Maori [*unclear: huge*] having spent the last three years of his life in finding, if not creating, the materials for his clients claims; is he not a champion worthy of such a [*unclear: nurse*] and thoroughly equipped at all points? On the other hand, who am I that I should fight with this Philistine?"

Though "graduated" myself "in a Maori pa," my father was as much [*unclear: fish*] "Englishman by birth and education" as the Hon. Mr. Fox; unlike Mr. Fox, in his youth he fought and bled under old England's flag; and to no man, I believe was the honor of old England dearer than to him, and, though men [*unclear: and*] the Hon. Mr. Fox may speak contemptuously of the Treaty of Waitangi, saying. "no doubt it was a great sham," my father would not have consented to translate the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and to "repeat in the Native [*unclear: mague*] sentence by sentence" all Governor Hobson said when he "assured the Natives in the most fervent manner that they might rely implicitly on the good faith of Her Majesty's Government in the transaction;" nor would he have consented to be the bearer of the Treaty to the Native chiefs on both sides of Cook Strait, did he not believe that the Treaty was intended to be other than "a great sham." When treating of this Treaty of Waitangi, though we may be permitted to bear in mind that one of the parties to the Treaty were "ignorant savages," it should also be borne in mind that the other party to such Treaty was, and is, Victoria of England—one who reigns mistress over a people, whose highest duty and privilege might appear that of right loyally setting an example of high Christian honor, integrity, and rectitude, in their dealings, to the Nations of the earth.

Notwithstanding all that has been written and said to the contrary, my experience tells me it is weariful uphill work trying to obtain justice for a Maori, more especially when men in high colonial position have determined that justice shall not be done, and one feels forcibly reminded under such circumstances, of the good old dame who made it her honest endeavour to stop out the Atlantic Ocean with a broom. I did my best in my own little way, to obtain justice for a number of Maoris in a certain case, I failed utterly. Since my "graduation," I have read of a certain King who, being oppressed with his people, after various attempts had failed, was disposed to give up in despair, but who took courage from watching the proceedings of a little spider. I am now myself endeavouring to imitate such little spider.

My case is this. A people when savages and independent were merciful to the prostrate. They are afterwards led to embrace Christianity and to subject themselves to the Dominion of a Christian Queen. Their having been merciful when savages was the cause of their ruin under the Christian's rule! My case is one of unscrupulous Anglo-Saxon greed and oppression triumphant over peaceable Maori submission.

That the Sovereign of the British Empire's "great name" should have "alighted justly and peacefully upon New Zealand in 1840, through the Treaty of Waitangi" (*vide* Parakaia's petition), Christian missionaries having been engaged to use their influence with their converts, to induce them to attach their signatures to the Treaty, to agree and subject themselves to its conditions. That a tribe of Maoris who, when such Treaty was signed, were undisputed owners—masters and possessors of a large tract of country whose title to their land at that time no man would have dreamed of calling in question, and who, when they signed the Treaty, were assured by a Christian missionary—requested to do so by Her Majesty's Representative fully authorized thereto by Her Majesty's instructions, conveyed to him by her principal Secretary of State"—that their lands would be guaranteed to them, and that "strict faith would be kept." That 30 years after that time such tribe should be told—because their fathers, when savages, were merciful to the prostrate—because they not only spared their lives themselves, but protected them, their wives, and little ones, against ruthless and cruel men who would have destroyed them all—because (to use Chief Judge Fenton's words to Mr. Travers, the counsel for the Maoris in the Native Land court Wellington,) they "did not kill and eat all the remnants of the original possessors"—because they treated such remnants with the utmost kindness because they handed over large tracts of country to such remnants, allowing them to deal with the same as independent tribes and chiefs—that, [*unclear: fore,*] their title to the larger portion of their country is bad, and such larger portion must be restored to the original possessors, such larger portion having been previously and judiciously purchased, on behalf of the Crown, from such original possessors—honorable and most determined ceders to honourable and most determined recipients—might be considered rather an [*unclear: fnified*] position for Her Majesty's Government and the Christian people of Great Britain to fill;—almost reminds one of those miscreants of the seas, who adopted the garb of the man of peace, that they might induce simple [*unclear: tasting*] islander's to "alight peacefully" upon the decks of their vessels.

The Colonists of New Zealand would scarcely be pleased, were a mightier than they to overshadow this land, and to be told, because they did not [*unclear: nearly*] destroy all the Waikatos, the Taranakis, the Ngatiawas, the [*unclear: Ngati-*] the Ngatimaniapotos, the Ngatihauas, the Ngaiterangis, the [*unclear: Whaka-*] with other tribes whose lands they have confiscated, that therefore their title to the New Zealand confiscated land is bad, and that such land [*unclear: what*] be restored to its original possessors. Such would not be so hard a measure as they have themselves, in their turn, meted out to loyal and peaceable subjects of Her Majesty of the Ngatiraukawa tribe of the Maori [*unclear: are*], dwellers in New Zealand. The colonists of New Zealand did not protect the tribes whose lands they have confiscated, the men with their wives and [*unclear: article*] ones, against ruthless and cruel men who would have destroyed them all.

Let me ask any who may take the trouble to peruse the following pages—who, after such perusal, may come to the conclusion there are grounds for believing that wrong and injustice have been done—any who are ready and willing to take up the cause of the despised submissive weak, as against the proud enlightened spoiler and oppressor—any who respect honor because it is honor—who love justice because it is justice—who abhor oppression because it is oppression—to join with me, one "graduated in a Maori pa," in urging upon Her Majesty's Government that they are *in honor bound* "to investigate carefully this wrong."

THOMAS C. WILLIAMS.

Wellington, New Zealand,

18th July, 1873.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone,

DOWNING STREET, LONDON.

Sir,—

I have the honor to address you upon a subject which I trust you may find not altogether beneath the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

I have taken the liberty of laying the whole matter before you in a printed form, that I may be able to make it more clear to yourself, and at the same time be in a position to distribute copies to influential men, and the various newspapers in this country.

The case to which I beg to call your attention, is that of the Ngatiraukawa people, a tribe of Maoris, who, at the time this country was colonized, laid claim to, and were admitted by all to be the masters and owners of all that country, situate in the Province of Wellington, as set forth on the map enclosed herewith, and lying between the Kukutauaki stream—nearly opposite the Island of Kapiti—to the south, and the river Wangaehu, to the north; and I beg leave most respectfully to state that, if you will take the trouble to cost your eye over the following pages, you may find there are good grounds for believing that Her Majesty's Government have, through their Representatives and Agents, most distinctly broken faith with these people. It is on their Behalf I now make this, my "Appeal unto Cæsar," and as the son of the Rev. Henry Williams,—who translated the treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and who "repeated in the Native tongue, sentence by sentence" all Governor Hobson said when he "assured the Natives in the most fervent manner that they might rely implicitly on the good faith of Her Majesty's Government in the transaction," and who afterwards, at the request of Governor Hobson, "fully authorized thereto by Her Majesty's instructions, conveyed to him by Her principal Secretary of State," carried the Treaty to the Native chiefs on both sides of Cook Strait—I venture to pray Her Majesty's Government—should what I am now about to lay before you, be found, after due inquiry to be true—to grant that these people, suffering and complaining, at the same time peaceful and forbearing, may have extended to them that which they were promised when they signed the Treaty in 1840, viz., Her Majesty's Royal protection; and to order in their case—in accordance with instructions sent out by the Earl of Derby (then Lord Stanley) when Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Governor Sir G. Grey, in a despatch dated 13th June, 1845,—"an honorable and scrupulous fulfilment of the conditions of the Treaty of Waitangi."

I will now, with your permission, proceed to show that the Ngatiraukawa tribe were the undisputed masters

and owners, at the time the Treaty was entered into, of all that country lying between the Kukutauaki stream to the south, and the Wangaehu river to the north, as set forth on the map enclosed; and also to point out to you the manner in which their rights have been dealt with by the Government of this country.

I have the honor to state that, when the claims of the dissentients of the Ngatiraukawa tribe to the purchase of that portion of the country known as the "Rangitikei-Manawatu Block," were heard in the Native Lands Court at Otaki in March and April, 1868, before Judges Smith, Rogan, and White, I acted as agent for the Natives, the Hon. Mr. Fox, the late Premier, appearing on behalf of the Crown; that I then had an opportunity afforded me of going fully into the case, and that I have lately received letter's from many of these Natives, requesting me to try and do something for them.

See Appendix, p. 155, *et seq.*

Besides the writers of these letters, there are many others who have had their land taken from them.

I have the honor to state that prior to the first invasion of this country by Te Rauparaha, and the Ngapuhi chief Tamati Waka (evidence respecting which I intend to lay before you), that country, since occupied by the Ngatiraukawa tribe, was in possession of three tribes,—the Ngatiapa, the Rangitane, and the Muaupoko; the Ngatiapa tribe occupying from the River Wangaehu towards the Manawatu and Oroua rivers—their principal place of residence being on the banks of the Rangitikei river; the Rangitane living on the banks of the Manawatu and Oroua rivers; and the Muaupoko occupying the country south of the Manawatu river—their favorite places of residence being around the Horowhenua and Papaetonga lakes. That these three tribes were almost exterminated before the arrival of the main body of the Ngatiraukawa tribe; that the Ngatitua, Ngatiawa, and a section of the Ngatiraukawa tribe were constantly hunting them down and slaying them, with the exception of a number of the Ngatiapa tribe, whom Pikinga, a slave wife of Rangihaeata, had been allowed to bring down from Rangitikei, and who were living as slaves with Rangihaeata and Matene Te Whiwhi, at and near to the island of Kapiti. That Te Rauparaha, who was closely related to Te Whatanui, the principal chief of Ngatiraukawa, invited that tribe to come down from Maungatautari, Patetere, and other parts of the Province of Auckland, and occupy a portion of the territory he had conquered, and that he afterwards formally handed over to them all that country lying between the Wangaehu river to the north, and the Kukutauaki stream to the south. That when Te Whatanui arrived with the main body of his people, he sent to the remnants of the three tribes, and told them to come out and settle among his people; that their lives would be spared. They then settled down among, and under the protection of the Ngatiraukawa, but in a state of complete subjection. That Te Rauparaha wished them to be utterly exterminated—more especially the Muaupoko, some of whom were killed by his people after they had settled down among the Ngatiraukawa. That after some time had elapsed, the members of these tribes were invited by the Ngatiawa tribe to a feast at Wainui, near to the Waikanae river; that Te Whatanui advised them to remain at their homes, under his protection; that, thinking a compliment was being paid to them, they, to the number of one hundred and fifty, principally Rangitane, attended the feast, and were all [*unclear: ordered,*] clearly showing that had it not been for the protection of the powerful Ngatiraukawa tribe, they would all have been exterminated, or have had to flee the district. The proof of this I will endeavor to lay before you in the the sequel.

I beg to call your attention to the map of the country attached, and to point out to you that that portion lying between the Rangitikei and Wangaehu rivers, amounting to 250,000 acres, was formerly restored to Ngatiapa by the Ngatiraukawa, in the presence of Mr. McLean, the then Land Purchase Commissioner, in 1848. That McLean, in 1849, purchased the Rangitikei block from Ngatiapa. The land lying between Turakma and Whangaehu rivers being then set apart with other smaller portions on the Rangitikei block, as sufficient reserves for the Ngatiapa tribe.

I would also beg to call your attention to the block called the Ahuoturanga or Upper Manawatu block, and to state that this large block of 250,000 acres of land was formally restored to the Rangitane tribe in 1858, by the Ngatiraukawa tribe, the western boundary being afterwards fixed by the latter—that this block was since purchased from the Rangitane tribe by Dr. Featherston, Superintendent of Wellington, and Land Purchase Commissioner.

That these two large blocks consisting mostly of fine country, amounting to 500,000 acres were quietly restored to the original possessors,—the Ngatiapa and Rangitane tribes—by their old masters, the Ngatiraukawa, the latter, the far more powerful and numerous tribe, retaining for themselves the country lying between the Ahuoturanga block and Rangitikei rivers, also the country between the Manawatu river and the Kukutauaki stream, amounting altogether (after excluding the mountainous country which comes down very close to the sea coast on this latter block) to about 425,000 acres. That out of this latter block the Ngatiraukawa had already set apart for the Muaupoko a portion of country far more than sufficient for their use and occupation, near the lake Horowhenua, as set forth on the map and marked No. 1. That members of the Ngatitua tribe have also claims to parts of the land lying between the river Otaki and the Kukutauaki stream. I also beg to state that the Ngatiapa have or had claims to the country inland of the Rangitikei block, and the

reserve lying between the Wangaehu and Turakina rivers, and that the Rangitane have also claims to the country on the other side of the Tararea range. Thus the Ngatiraukawa, besides protecting these people in former years, restored to the Rangitane and Ngatiapa 500,000 acres over and above any other country to which they might be able to establish a claim. Thai Ngatiraukawa the more powerful and conquering tribe, and who numbered more than four times as many as the Ngatiapa and Rangitane together, reserving to themselves about 425,000 acres, out of which had to be deducted the portion allotted to the Muaupoko, and any land to which the Ngatitōa could establish a claim between the Otaki river and Kukutauaki stream.

I beg to call your attention to the block on the north bank, and near the mouth of the Manawatu river, marked the Awahou Block, and to state that this block was sold to the Government, in 1858, by the Ngatiraukawa tribe, they fixing the boundaries of the block themselves.

I beg to call your attention to the block named the Manawatu-Rangitikei Block—being part of the country retained by Ngatiraukawa for the tribe—and I beg to state that when the Native Lands Act was passed in 1862, this block with other land belonging to the Ngatiraukawa was excepted from that Act. That in 1863, a quarrel arose between the Ngatiapa and the Ngatiraukawa and Rangitane tribes, owing to the old Ngatiraukawa chief, Nepia Taratoa, having allowed the Ngatiapa and Rangitane to join in some of the illegal leases granted over portions of the block to the settlers (though in some of the leases they were not allowed to join). That after many months' delay Mr. Fox's Government sent—to investigate the respective claims of the tribes—Dr. Featherston, the Superintendent of the Province, who had previously secured the appointment of Land Purchase Commissioner, and who, shortly before, had informed his Provincial Council that he was not without hopes that he would soon be able to purchase the block, "as already serious disputes had arisen between the tribes resident in the district as to which tribe was entitled to receive the rents of the runs leased to Europeans." That in Dr. Featherston's "Memorandum for Mr. Fox," written after his visit to the natives, dated 18th February, 1864, he states, that the Ngatiraukawa tribe wished the matter to be settled by arbitration. That the Ngatiapa objected, but handed over the whole block to himself for sale to the Crown. He adds, that he believes "the sale of the block presents the easiest, perhaps the only possible solution of the dispute"; and that "it would be well worth the while of the Province to buy up their interests."

I beg to state that whilst the negotiations for the purchase of this block were pending,—the cession of the whole of which to the Crown, Dr. Featherston declared to be the "only means of preventing bloodshed and an inter-tribal war,"—Dr. Featherston accompanied General Chute in his expedition up the West Coast, taking with him the Ngatiapa and their allies, when they were supplied with a large quantity of rifles and ammunition. That Ngatiraukawa, in 1855, petitioned the Assembly to have the restrictions removed from the Native Lands Act, in order that their lands might be brought under the operation of the Act, but that their prayer was not granted. That before the purchase money was paid for this block, the Ngatiraukawa sent several petitions on the Governor and the Assembly, praying that Dr. Featherston should not be allowed to purchase their land from other tribes, and that their title might be investigated before any purchase was made, but that little or no notice was taken of their petitions.

As I have already stated, the Rangitikei block, on the north side of this block, was purchased from the Ngatiapa tribe alone—and the Ahuoturanga block, on the other side, was purchased from the Rangitane tribe alone—and also the Awahou block, at one end of the block, was purchased from the Ngatiraukawa tribe—and I would now call your particular attention to the fact that Dr. Featherston purchased this, the centre block, paying down £25,000 for it at Parewanui, the Ngatiapa pa, on the 14th December, 1866, to some eight tribes; when, according to a report in the *Advertiser*—a newspaper published in Wellington—"The principal, if not the real, owners of land, the Ngatiraukawa, were conspicuous by their absence."

See Appendix, page 97.

That though seventeen hundred natives signed the purchase deed, only a section of the Ngatiraukawa joined in the sale, several of whom, including the chief Ihakara Tukumarū, had no land of their own in that particular block; another chief, Horomona Toremi, selling because he had quarrelled with his people—others again, joining in the sale because they were (*hoha*) weary of the whole question. That the land was then purchased from Lilies having no right to it; that being, as Dr. Featherston says in his report, the only means of avoiding bloodshed and an inter-tribal war," such selling tribes having been previously supplied with Government rifles and ammunition. That, from the time when the Ngatiraukawa tribe first occupied this country, until they handed over the land to the north of the Rangitikei river to the Ngatiapa tribe, there was no boundary between the respective possessions of the two tribes; that the same was the case with the Ahuoturanga block and the Rangitane tribe—a state of things which only existed when one was the dominant tribe, and the others (*pahi*) lived in subjection to them. That though this block had many years since—at the time of the conquest—been divided (as Mr. Searancke states in his report, at page 59 of the Appendix,) amongst the various *hapus* of Ngatiraukawa, the other tribes merely laid claim to the whole. That though seven *hapus* of Ngatiraukawa resided upon block, and other *hapus* also had claims to certain portions, which they often visited, and exercised

rights of ownership, no members of any other tribes (with the exception of a few Rangitanes) resided upon the block. That though seven of the eight tribes who joined in the sale to Dr. Featherston were in favor of the sale—some even insisting upon it—many hundreds of the Ngatiraukawa tribe opposed the sale throughout. That though the sellers simply signed a deed purporting to convey the whole block to the Crown, the non-sellers were called upon to prove in Court their right to the particular portion which they claimed.

I beg to state that after (as the Hon. J. C. Richmond, then Native Minister, says in his memorandum, subjoined, forwarded with petitions from Parakaia and others, by Sir George Grey to Her Majesty's Government) "allowing considerable delay in winding up the transaction, that as many as possible of the non-contents may come in,"—after several had signed having been told "all the tribes have met together, and sold the whole block to the Queen, whether you take the money or not the land is gone,"—after, as the *Wanganui Chronicle* of 18th July, 1867, says, "one can easily understand what sort of negotiations would go on during all these years. A deed of cession was carried round among the Natives, and every kind of persuasion used to induce them to sign it. Time after time it made its appearance, and naturally enough 'the sickness of hope deferred'—the unlikelihood of any investigation into title being obtained—broke down the resolution of numbers of those who felt that an injustice was being done them,"—the General Assembly introduced a clause into the Native Lands Act, allowing the claims of the Ngatiraukawa dissentients to the sale of the Manawatu-Rangitikei block to be heard in the Land Court. That when the claim of Parakaia and others to that portion of the block next to the Awahou block, and named Himatangi, was heard at Otaki, in 1868, the Court gave judgment :—That the Ngatiapa-Rangitane, weakened by the Ngatitooa invasion, under Te Rauparaha, were compelled to share their territory with his principal allies, the Ngatiraukawa, and to acquiesce in a joint ownership."

See Appendix, p. 114.

Such ruling, admitting it to be the correct one, should, looking to the numerical strength of the tribes, have entitled the Ngatiraukawa, not only to the whole of the Manawatu-Rangitikei block, but also to large portions of the Rangitikei and Ahuoturanga blocks; but these two last mentioned blocks had been previously handed over to Ngatiapa and Rangitane by Ngatiraukawa, and by them sold to Government, and the Government had already paid £5000 for the block, the title to which was under consideration. The Court further gave judgment :—"Our decision on this question of tribal title is that Ngatiraukawa and the original owners possessed equal interests in, and rights over, the land in question, at the time when the negotiations for the cession to the Crown of the Rangitikei-Manawatu block were entered upon. The tribal interests of Ngatiraukawa, we consider, vested in the section of the tribe which has been in actual occupation, to the exclusion of all others." By this latter clause, many members of the tribe who owned land in the block here thrown out. As I considered the judgment of the Court was entirely wrong, I withdrew from the Court; at the same time, I wrote to the Government, stating that I did not intend again to appear in Court on behalf of the claimants; but at the request of the natives I asked for a re-hearing of their claim, which was refused.

After many months' delay, a re-hearing of the claims of other dissentients to the purchase was granted in 1869, in Wellington, before Chief Judge Fenton and Judge Maning—Mr. Travers, solicitor, acting as counsel for the claimants,—when the Court gave judgment that Ngatiraukawa "had not by virtue of the conquest of Ngatiapa by themselves or others through whom they claimed acquired the dominion over the land in question,"

See Appendix, p. 119.

concluding its judgement as follows :—"And the Court finds also that the Ngatiraukawa tribe has not, as a tribe, acquired any right, title, interest, or authority, in or over the block of land which has been the subject of this investigation." The tribe, by this judgment (to which I propose again to allude), with the exception of some small reserves set apart for the resident Ngatiraukawa (the only residents on the block being members of that tribe), losing 250,000 acres of their country, which has, by Proclamation in the Government *Gazette*, Been declared to be the property of the Crown, and since re-sold by the Wellington Provincial Government. This block—added to the Rangitikei and Ahuoturanga blocks, restored by Ngatiraukawa to the original possessors, and the Awahou block sold to Government by the Ngatiraukawa—making 789000 acres lost to Ngatiraukawa, only 39,000 acres of which were sold by the tribe.

I beg to state that, the Ngatiraukawa were never driven away, as has been stated, from the homes of their fathers in the Auckland Province, many members of the tribe having remained there throughout after the migration. That by a judgment given by the Native Lands Court at Cambridge, in Waikato,

See Appendix, p. 132.

all members of the tribe who migrated to Cook Strait are excluded from participating in the ownership of the lands of their fathers (the greater portion of such land having been taken possession of by one tribe after they left it; taken from that tribe again and occupied by another)—the Court considering "that a tribe having conquered, and having undisputed possession of a district for many years previous to the foundations of the Colony, and up to the present time, are, according to Native custom and justice, entitled to be recognized as the

proprietors of the land." That their land is also taken from them in Cook Strait, because—though "having conquered and having undisputed possession of the district for many years previous to the foundation of the Colony"—the Judges of the Native Lands Court had discovered a flaw in their title. I, myself, heard Chief Judge Fenton say in Court, "These men (the Ngatiraukawa) had a perfect right to kill these people, and eat them too if they liked, but they did not do so; they are men; they are still alive." He afterwards said to Mr. Travers, the counsel for the Natives, "The fact is, Mr. Travers, it appears to me the flaw in your clients, title is that they did not kill and eat all these people." The Ngatiraukawa losing this land, under Queen Victoria's rule, because, when savages, they were merciful to the prostrate, and protected them against Te Rauparaha and others whose wish was to have destroyed them all; whereas, had they allowed Te Rauparaha to have his will, neither the Government nor the Lands Court would have had any excuse for depriving them of their lands.

The question, therefore, naturally suggests itself, where was the land which "the Queen of England confirmed and guaranteed the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of" in 1840 to the Ngatiraukawa tribe? "so long as they might wish and desire to retain the same in their possession—the tribe of whom Mr. H. T. Kemp, Native Secretary, in his report written in 1850, and which appears at page 44 of the Appendix, says, "The Ngatiraukawa, who came originally from Maungatautari, is the most powerful tribe in Cook Strait." If the Rangitikei-Manawatu block was a portion of such land, its having been purchased by Dr. Featherston, General Government Land Purchase Commissioner, from eight tribes, in defiance of the openly expressed "wish" of the Ngatiraukawa tribe to retain the same in their possession that they might deal with it as they pleased, must be admitted to have been a distinct breach of Her Majesty's Treaty of Waitangi.

I beg to call your attention to the smaller piece of land lying between the Oroua river and the Ahuoturanga block, being a portion of the country reserved by the Ngatiraukawa for themselves. Respecting this block, I am informed that Ngatiraukawa, since the judgment given by the Native Lands Court on the Manawatu-Rangitikei block, after submitting to much insolence from Hunia Te Hakeke, chief of Ngatiapa, agreed to a division—to Ngatiapa, about seven thousand acres; to Rangitane, about four thousand acres; and to Ngatiraukawa, about seven thousand acres.

I beg to call your attention to the block of land by the Horowhenua lake, and marked "Horowhenua Block" on the plan; and I beg to state that the portion of that block marked No. 1, was the land given to the remnants of the Muaupoko tribe by Te Whatanui and the chiefs of Ngatiraukawa, many years since; that the boundaries were then fixed. That the Muaupoko were perfectly content till, after the judgment given on the Manawatu-Rangitikei block Hunia Te Hakeke and Major Kemp (an aboriginal native, and a major in the Colonial Army) went, on more than one occasion, to Horowhenua, armed Government rifles and ammunition, and, in 1871, built a fighting *[unclear: himanchal]* as a challenge to Ngatiraukawa, behaving in the most insulting manner,—burning down some of the houses of the Ngatiraukawa people, and ill-treating an old woman, dragging her forcibly out of her house before burning it,—and rooting up and and destroying their crops. That Ngatiraukawa requested the Government to have these men taken up and punished, but that nothing whatever was done in the matter. I beg to state that Hunia and Major Kemp then laid claim on behalf of five tribes to the whole country left in the hands of the Ngatiraukawa. That when the Court, after long delay, sat at Foxton to investigate investigate the title, Kemp and Hunia were with difficulty induced to come into Court, they saying that they would prefer to fight. That the Court gave judgement on the 4th March, 1873, that Ngatiraukawa (with Ngatitua and Ngatiawa who were admitted by Ngatiraukawa) had acquired rights with certain exceptions over the block lying between the Manawatu river to the north, and the Kukutauaki stream to the south. "That such rights were not acquired by conquest, but by occupation with the acquiescence of the original owners." That the Court subsequently gave to Muaupoko, headed by Hunia and Major Kemp, the Horowhenua block of 52,000 acres, as set forth in the plan; giving them land (the two portions marked on the plan, and numbered 2 and 3) belonging to three *hapus*, or sub-divisions of Ngatiraukawa, who had been in undisturbed possession for upwards of forty years, and which included land of the descendants of Te Whatanui, the man who saved these people from utter extermination; one hundred acres being awarded "to his representative."

The remnants of the original possessors, who were saved by the Ngatiraukawa tribe, having thus been enabled, armed with Government rifles and ammunition, and with the assistance of the Government and the Judges of the Native Lands Court (over and above the two large blocks quietly restored to them by Ngatiraukawa amounting to 500,000 acres, and the portion of land given by Te Whatanui to Muaupoko), to re-conquer under the Queen's flag from Ngatiraukawa—first, the Manawatu-Rangitikei block, amounting to 250,000 acres secondly, those portions of the Horowhenua block, marked Nos. 2 and 3 on the plan; also, some 11,000 acres of the land between the Oroua river and the Ahuoturanga block—lands which had been in "undisputed possession" of the tribe "for many year's previous to the foundation of the Colony;" and the "full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession" of which they had been led to believe was "confirmed and guaranteed" to them by the Queen of England when they signed the Treaty in 1840. This causing the original inhabitants,

who were unable to occupy their country before the arrival of the Ngatiraukawa tribe to be much elated, and the latter tribe, who protected and saved them, to be equally depressed.

The Ngatiraukawa thus losing all their country with the exception of those two portions lying between the Manawatu river and the Horowhenua block, and between that block and the Kukutauaki stream,—on which land the mountains come very close down to the coast, leaving only a narrow belt of level country between the hills and the sea beach, large portions of which consist of swamps and sand hills. The country, which Mr. McLean says in a Despatch at page 46 of the Appendix, written in 1850,—“appears more peculiarly adapted for a Native reserve than for the purposes of English colonization.” The Ngatitōa tribe also having claims on that part of the land lying between the Otaki river and the Kukutauaki stream.

That you may understand the position that has been taken up by the Ngatiraukawa tribe, I may quote an extract from an article in the *Evening Post*, a newspaper published in Wellington, of date, 5th June, 1873

See Appendix, p. 151.

：“Now, with all deference to the superior knowledge of our official contemporary, this statement is hardly correct. In the first place, the Ngatiraukawa were never desirous of asserting their rights by force of arms. It is a well-known fact to every settler on the West Coast that they invariably behaved towards their blustering opponents with the greatest moderation and calmness, and always evinced an earnest desire to have the dispute settled amicably by arbitration. Even when Kemp's party, presuming upon their forbearance, proceeded to open violence and burned down one of their houses at Horowhenua (nearly smothering a feeble old woman in it), they never for a moment abandoned the cool and dignified position which they had taken up. And this was by no means the effect of fear, for they had numerous allies in different parts of the island only awaiting their summons to rush to their assistance.”

I now beg to call your attention to the following extract from a memorandum by Ministers, forwarded by Sir G. Grey to Her Majesty's Government dated Wellington, 17th April, 1867, and signed E. W. Stafford :—“the Crown of Great Britain has contracted sacred obligations in respect of that (the [*unclear*: original]) race, on the faith of which it assumed the possession of the country—obligation which no sophistry can annul, and which cannot, according to any standard of morality, be transferred to other persons. The Imperial Government has now altogether relinquished to the Colonial Government the fulfilment of these obligations.” And I beg respectfully to submit for your consideration : Whether the Colonial Government have or have not, in their dealings with the loyal and peaceable Ngatiraukawa tribe, members of such aboriginal race,—in so far as their rights with respect to their lands are concerned—fulfilled those “sacred obligations.”

I have the honor to state, that Mr. W. T. L. Travers, a barrister of the Supreme Court, acted as counsel for the Ngatiraukawa natives, when their claims to the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block were re-heard in Wellington, in 1869, before Chief Judge Fenton, and Judge Mailing. That Mr. Travers has written a memoir of Te Rauparaha, entitled “Some Chapters in the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha, chief of Ngatitōa.” (Read before the Wellington Philosophical Society.) I take the liberty of forwarding herewith two copies of Mr. Travers' memoir, extracts from which—being those portions bearing more particularly upon the matter in hand—appear in the Appendix, pages, 20 to 35. Although Mr. Travers may not be correct in every particular, his story gives a very fair idea of the manner in which tribes from the north invaded and took possession of this part of the Northern Island, down as far as Wellington, with a large portion of the Middle Islands; driving out, or exterminating the greater number of the original inhabitants, and reducing the remainder to state of a complete subjection.

Mr. Travers tells how Te Rauparaha, with Tamati Waka Nene (since known as the loyal chief of Ngapuhi in the north), first of all invaded this country, in 1817, destroying great numbers of the inhabitants. That Te Rauparaha then, with the advice of Tamati Waka determined to return and take permanent possession of the country. That, upon his arrival at his home at Kawhia, he collected his tribe together, and with a large body of the Ngatiawa tribe from Taranaki, again came down to the island of Kapiti and the main land in its vicinity. How, in revenge for the murder of a number of his people by the Muaupoko tribe (he himself, very narrowly escaping), he proceeded to destroy great numbers of that tribe and the Rangitane—how a great number of his people were killed at Waikanae, during the night, by the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko tribes, in revenge for their losses. How, “in consequence of this attack, Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, became (to use the words of Matene Te Whiwhi) ‘dark in their hearts with regard to Ngatiapa,’ and resolved to spare no efforts to destroy them, as well as the remnants of Rangitane and Muaupoko,”—how all the tribes inhabiting the southern parts of the Northern Island with a number of men from the Middle Island, assembled together, and attacked Te Rauparaha, at Wairoua, on the island of Kapiti, with the intention of destroying him and his people; how they were repulsed with great slaughter. That Te Rauparaha and his people then proceeded to destroy the Ngatiapa, Muaupoko, and Rangitane, without mercy. He states,

See Appendix, page 28.

“it would be useless for me to give anything like a detailed account of the incursions of the Ngatitōa into the country on the main land, often extending as far as Turakina, in which numbers of the original inhabitants

were either killed and eaten, or reduced to slavery; but it is perfectly clear that their power was completely broken, and that after Waiorua, Ngatitōa and their allies found no enemy capable of checking their movement."

Mr. Travers states that before Te Rauparaha left the ancient possessions of his tribe at Kawhia, for the purpose of settling at Kapiti, and upon the main land in its vicinity, he took the necessary steps to "enlist the sympathies and assistance of his relations at Maungatautari and elsewhere."

See Appendix, page 22.

That "during a visit he paid for this purpose to the Ngatiraukawa, he found their great chief, Hape Taurangi, in a dying state, and the circumstances which then occurred contributed greatly to the ultimate success of his designs." Further on, he states—"The whole tribe acknowledged him as their leader; a position which he occupied to his dying day." Again—"The influence he had obtained, however, materially aided him in ultimately inducing a large number of the tribe to join him in the conquest and settlement of the territory of the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko." At page 26, he states—"Te Rauparaha had of course become aware of the defeat of Whatanui and the Ngatiraukawa, in their attempt to reach Kapiti by the East Coast; immediately after the departure of the Ngatiawa he had sent emissaries to Taupo, in order again to urge upon the chiefs to join him in the occupation of the country he had conquered." At page 28, he states that Puaha, a Ngatiawa chief, with a section of Ngatiraukawa, joined Te Rauparaha; that Te Ahu Karamu, a Ngatiraukawa chief, joined him shortly after the battle Waiorua, with 120 men of his own immediate following, and then took part in many of the raids upon the original tribes which occurred after that event. That Te Whatanui, the principal chief of Ngatiraukawa, afterwards paid a visit to Te Rauparaha, in company with Te Heuheu, and the former after a long conference with the Ngatitōa chieftains, was "at last persuaded to bring down his people." At page 30, he states that Waitohi, a sister of Te Rauparaha suggested "that the Ngatiawa should all remove to Waikanae, and should occupy the land to the south of the Kukutauaki stream, whilst the country from the north bank of that stream as far as the Wangaehu river, should be given up to the Ngatiraukawa" and that "this suggestion was adopted by all parties." At page 31, he states,— "in about a year after the visit of Whatanui with Te Heuheu, the former returned to Kapiti with the main body of his tribe, this migration being known as the *heke mairaro* or '*heke* from below,' the north point being always treated by the Maoris as downward. From that time forth for some years, parties of the same tribe constantly recruited their countrymen on their settlements on the Manawatu, gradually extending their occupation over the whole country between Otaki and Rangitikei, although their chief stations were in the Horowhenua and Ohau districts; whilst the Ngatiapa, under the protection of Rangihaeata and Taratoa, occupied some country on the north of the Rangitikei, yielding tribute to both of these chiefs as a condition of their being left in peace."

Mr. Travers states at page 31,— "Rauparaha having thus completed his design of conquering the Middle Island, next turned his attention, at the finest request of the Ngatiraukawa, to avenging a defeat which the latter had sustained some time previously at the hands of the tribes occupying the [unclear: line] of the Wanganui river. In this defeat only a few of the chiefs had escaped the general slaughter, amongst whom were Te Puke and his younger brother Te Ao, both of whom succeeded in making their way to Kapiti. In consequence of this resolution, a war party, numbering nearly a thousand fighting men, under the most distinguished chiefs of the three tribes then united under the general leadership of Te Rauparaha, was despatched to by seige to Putikiwaranui, a great pa of the Wanganuis, which was occupied and defended by nearly double the number of the attacking force. The seige lasted nearly two mouths, during which many sorties were made, but the beseigers maintained their ground, and ultimately carried the enemies works by assault, slaughtering an immense number of them. Turoa and Hori Te Anaua (lately Known as Hori Kingi) the head chief, however escaped, but the fact that no attempt was ever made to avenge this serious disaster, is of itself the strongest evidence of the power of Te Rauparaha and his allies, and of the absurdity of supposing that his occupation of the country he had conquered could for a moment have been disturbed by the remnant of the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko tribes, which had still escaped the general destruction of their people." Mr. Wakefield also mentions this defeat, and in extracts from his work,

See Appendix, page 15.

says,— "Every family there at the present day, bears the hope and desire of revenge." He also says, speaking of the land about Cook Strait,— "The country had been conquered about fourteen years before by the Kawhia tribe. They had almost exterminated the Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa, who were the original occupiers." Further on he says,— "Te Rauparaha now sought and obtained assistance from the Ngatiraukawa," and he "then proceeded with their assistance to crush the remains of the aboriginal tribes."

As showing the strong position of the Ngatiraukawa tribe in those days, I would call your attention to the account given by Mr. Travers (in the extracts at page 32) of the fighting at Horowhenua, between the Ngatiraukawa and the numerous Ngatiawa tribe. He says, "the forces engaged on each side were numerous and well armed, the result being that large numbers were killed on both sides;" that Te Rauparaha being anxious to bring matters to a conclusion sent messengers to Te Heuheu for assistance, when that chief, "accompanied by

other chiefs of note from Maungatautari and Taupo," came to the assistance of Te Rauparaha and Ngatiraukawa "with nearly 800 well around fighting men."

I would call your attention to extracts from a letter from Sub-Protector George Clarke, junr., to Chief Protector of Aborigines, dated Wellington, 14th June, 1843.

See Appendix, page 13.

Mr. Clarke speaks of the Ngatitōa having "over-ran the country on each side of Cook Strait; driving out, or exterminating the original inhabitants," of the Ngatiawa "assisting in the destruction of the original inhabitants from Manawatu to Port Nicholson, and are able to muster from 4000 to 5000 individuals;" of the Ngatiraukawa, he says, "The Ngatiraukawa migrated about eleven years ago in a large body from Maungatautari, in the Waikato district, through the invitation of Te Rauparaha, and completed the conquest of the country from Wangaehu to Otaki, completely annihilating the original tribes that Te Rauparaha had not reduced to subjection. In consequence of the intrigues of Te Rauparaha, they were involved in a war with the Ngatiawa tribe. They are a powerful and warlike tribe, and have always remained the faithful allies and supporters of Te Rauparaha." And though Mr. Clarke is wrong in saying that the original tribes were completely annihilated by the Ngatiraukawa, such a statement coming from the Sub-Protector of Aborigines, shows how entirely the original owners of this land were lost to view, even three years after the colonization of the country, and that they were certainly not the possessors of the country in 1840. Mr. C. H. Kettle, gives somewhat similar evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons, 20th June, 1844, extracts from which appear at page 13 of the Appendix. I would also call your attention to a statement from Ngatitōa chiefs, which appears at page 35 of the Appendix, giving an account of the manner in which they, with the Ngatiawa, conquered this country, and of their having given the whole country from Otaki to Wangaehu, to Ngatiraukawa. Also, to a statement from Wi Tamihana Te Neke, a Ngatiawa chief.

See Appendix, page 38.

Mr. J. C. Richmond, in a memorandum subjoined, and which was forwarded by Sir G. Grey, to Her Majesty's Government, in 1867, says,— "An (landing tribe, the Ngatiraukawa, took possession, in about 1830, of a large tract of country, between Wanganui and Wellington, driving out the tribes which before inhabited it. After some years of slaughter and violence, the spelled tribes, the Ngatiapa and Rangitane, were suffered by the conquerors to return. They came back as slaves, but gradually resumed more and more of equality with the conquerors." The Wellington *Evening Post*, in an article which appears at page 144 of the Appendix, says,— "The tribes from the North pared down upon Cook Strait, killed many of the ancient inhabitants, and suffered the wretched remainder to live in a state virtually amounting to serfdom."

Mr. Travers, in his memoir, also gives an account of the conquest by Te Rauparaha and his allies, of the Middle Island. The Ngatiawa and Ngatiraukawa tribes, also invaded the country of the Ngatikahungunu tribe in Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay, in revenge for losses they had formerly sustained, when that tribe fled to Nukutaurua, north of Hawke's Bay. Mr. Sub-Protector Clarke alludes to this in his letter at page 14 of the Appendix. Mr. Native Secretary Kemp, also mentions it in extracts from his report, at page 45.

Archdeacon Hadfield (now Bishop of Wellington) in a letter which appears at page 100 of the Appendix, says,— "Ngatiraukawa were then (1839) in undisputed possession of the district. The previous owners, Ngatiapa, had been conquered by them (Ngatiraukawa), and were held in a state of subjection; some being actually in slavery at Otaki and Kapiti, others resided on the land as serfs employed in pig hunting, and such like occupations. They had ceased to be a tribe. They had no organization, no rights. Even that portion of the tribe which lived between Rangitikei and Wanganui was in a state of degradation. It was without *mana*." Mr. Wakefield mentions what occurred on the occasion of one of his visits to Rangitikei, he says,— "I observed the bushy leads of two natives, stealing a look at our proceedings from behind a low fern-covered ridge on the opposite bank. They disappeared immediately on my shouting to them. They were of the Ngatiapa tribe, but they had feared to cross over, thinking that we were a party of the Ngatiraukawa, to whom this pa belonged, and some of whom they described to be little scrupulous in plundering or tyrannizing over the remnant of the aboriginal tribe under very slight pretext." Further on, he says,— "a trading boat from Cloudy Bay to Wanganui had been wrecked near Rangitikei, and the crew had been drowned, including a Ngatiraukawa chief, named Koraria, who was a passenger. In consequence of some outrages committed on the body by the Ngatiapa natives, a party of the Ngatiraukawa had made an excursion across that river, had killed 100 pigs, and had taken the wife of Hakeke, the Ngatiapa chief, as a slave. But they had, moreover, *tapued* the beach between Otaki and Rangitikei; thus preventing the passage of native or white man, in either direction, for a considerable space of time."

See Appendix, page 16.

This occurred some time after 1840.

The following extract from a letter of Colonel Wakefield's to the Secretary of the New Zealand Company, shows that in 1839 the whole country from Wellington to Wanganui belonged to the Kafia (Ngatitōa), the

Ngatiawa, and Ngatirocowa (Ngatiraukawa tribe). The Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko are not mentioned.

"Letter from Colonel Wakefield to the Secretary of the Company.

"Teawaiti, Tory Channel, Sunday, 13th October, 1839.

"Thursday, 24th October. On looking at the accompanying map of those parts of the two islands bordering on Cook Strait, in which I have thus acquired possessions for the Company, and extending from the 38th to the 43rd degree of latitude on the western coast, and from the 41st to the 43rd on the eastern, you will readily conceive that I have not obtained a title to all the land included within those parallels. It is necessary, in order properly to appreciate the extent and value of the purchase, to know the different possessors and claimants of the above territory. The whole extent is owned by the Kafia, the Ngatiawa, the Ngatirocowa, and the Wanganui tribes. An immense portion on the southern island is uninhabited; but having been conquered by the Kafia people, is acknowledged to be theirs. Queen Charlotte's Sound and Wanganui, near Cape Farewell, are occupied by the Ngatiawas. On the northern island, within the above-named boundaries, the Kafia tribe has but few possessions; whilst the Ngatiawas possess and inhabit Port Nicholson, Waikanae, and other small portions.

The Ngatiawa

Evidently a misprint for Ngatirocowa.

occupy the district of Otaki—between Waikanae and Wanganui; and the last mentioned district is occupied by a numerous tribe of the same name.

In order, therefore, to complete the rights of the Company to all the land unsold to foreigners in the above extensive district, it remains for me to secure the cession of their rights in it from the Ngatiawas, and in a proportionally small tract from the Ngatirocowas and Wanganui people. As to the Ngatirocowa district, time will not allow me to treat with its actual possessors, even if the war in which they are engaged, and their unsettled state, permitted them to pay attention to the subject. The Kafia tribe has the same claim to that part of the country also, which it had to Port Nicholson and Queen Charlotte's Sound, and this claim I have, by to day's purchase, tired. I do not, however, lay much stress on the possession of claims on land which a numerous tribe holds by the strong title of occupancy."

As following the above, I may state that Colonel Wakefield sent a Mr. Amos Burr to make enquiry as to what tribe or tribes the country belonged between the Horowhenua lake and the Rangitikei river; that upon his return [*unclear: purchase*] Wellington, Mr. Burr wrote to Mr. Wakefield, stating that if he wished to purchase that land he would have to purchase it from Ngatiraukawa, as it belonged to that tribe. That in Mr. Commissioner Spain's report—written in 1843—upon a certain alleged purchase of that country, he says,—"Burr further states that the lands alleged to have been transferred on that occasion, were comprised within lines drawn due east to the hills, from the mouths of the rivers Rangitikei and Horowhenua." That the only question Mr. Spain was called upon to decide, was, whether the Ngatiraukawa tribe had, or had out, sold the land. No mention was made of either the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, [*unclear: are*] Muaupoko.

In addition to the above, a large amount of evidence can be brought forward as show the strong position of the three tribes, namely, the Ngatitua, the Ngatiawa, and the Ngatiraukawa, who were in possession of the land on both sides of Cook Strait at the time when this country was colonized, and who had been able to conquer the greater portion of the Middle Island—to defeat the Wanganuis, taking their principal pa, Putikiwaranui, a defeat which the Wanganui tribes never even attempted to avenge—also to invade the country of the Ngatikahungunu tribe on the East Coast, and drive them from their country; and might appear fully to bear out what Mr. Travers states, in his notes supplied [*unclear: ti*] me

See Appendix, page 11.

"A careful persual of a large mass of such documentary evidence, [*unclear: supled*] with *viva voce* accounts received from living witnesses, has satisfied [*unclear: as*], and would, I believe, satisfy any impartial inquirer, that the claims of the Ngatitua and Ngatiraukawa, upon the country from Kukutauaki to Wangaehu, were properly founded upon a complete conquest, followed by occupation *as of night*, down to the date of the colonization, and that the original occupants had been completely reduced to subjection, and could, at most, claim a limited interest in the soil, as having become incorporated into the ranks of the [*unclear: querors*]."

The Marquis of Normanby, in a despatch to Governor Hobson, the first Governor of New Zealand, says,—"I have already stated that we acknowledge New Zealand as a Sovereign and independent state." Again,—"But the Lmission of their rights, though inevitably qualified by this consideration, is binding on the faith of the British Crown."

See Appendix, page 1.

Lord John Russell, also in a despatch to Governor Hobson, says,—"In addition to this, they have been formally recognized by Great Britain as an independent state, and even in assuming the dominion of the country, this principle was acknowledged, for it is on the deliberate act and cession of the chiefs, on behalf of the people as large, that our title rests."

See Appendix, page 2.

If what Mr. Travers states (as quoted above) be correct' it, I [*unclear*: pressure] follows that the Ngatitōa and Ngatiraukawa were the tribes to whom the Queen of England "confirmed and guaranteed" "the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession" of all that land lying between the Kūkutaūaki stream and the Wāngaehu river, when they signed the Treaty, in 1840, "so long as" they might "wish and desire to retain the same in their possession," with the exception only (as Mr. Travers states, at page 9 of the Appendix) of "an allocation of sufficient territory for the purposes of necessary occupation" to the original possessors.

With respect to the statement that Ngatiraukawa protected the remnants of the original possessors of this country against Te Rauparaha and others, it has to be admitted that when the first parties of that tribe came to Kapiti, they assisted Te Rauparaha in his raids upon the country, and that all parties of the tribe, as they came down the coast, killed or made prisoners of any of the original inhabitants whom they happened to fall in with. But when the main body reached Kapiti, intending to take permanent possession of the country given over to them by Te Rauparaha, Te Whatanui made peace with the remnants of the original inhabitants, and took the Rangitane and Muaupoko under his own protection, the Ngatiapa being under the protection of Nepia Taratoa. In proof of this, I would call your attention to statements in letters from Natives.

See Appendix, p. 35, *el seq.*

The Ngatitōa chiefs say,— "Ngatiraukawa then made peace with those people, with Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa, and now, for the first time, they came down from the trees up the mountains—Muaupoko and Rangitane to Te Whatanui, Ngatiapa to Horomona Te Remi and Nepia Taratoa—and settled down among Ngatiraukawa. We then went and killed Takare, Paipai, and Rautakitaki, among the garments (*weruweru*,) of Ngatiraukawa. Friends, listen. This was the last of our killing. They were protected by Ngatiraukawa. Te Rauparaha would have destroyed them all; lest the weeds should spring up." Paora Nikahere says,— "When Ngatiraukawa migrated to Kapiti, I was then a slave. I heard Te Rauparaha say to Whatanui, 'All the remnants of Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko, must be destroyed.' Te Whatanui replied, 'Cease to kill; let the remnants be saved but they lived like slaves (*taurekareka*) among the Ngatiraukawa." Wi Tamahana Te Neke, the Ngatiawa chief, says,— "This is certain, that these two tribes were constantly killing the former inhabitants. They did not make peace with them. Afterwards, Ngatiraukawa came, when they protected them against these two tribes; but though Ngatiraukawa settled here, Ngatiawa did not cease to Kill them." Tamihana mentions the murder, by Ngatiawa, of a number of these people. He says,— "Great numbers of Rangitane, Ngatiapa, and Muaupoko were killed." Mr. Travers also speaks of the murder of these people by Ngatiawa; that Te Rauparaha was the instigator, and that Te Whatanui cautioned the Muaupoko not to attend.

See Appendix, page 34.

I may state that Hunia Te Hakeke, the principal chief of Ngatiapa, gave an account of this same murder in the Lands Court at Otaki. He also stated that Whatanui cautioned the unfortunate people against going, and that Te Rauparaha instigated the Ngatiawa to invite them to the feast, and afterwards to murder them Ihakara Tukumarū, a Ngatiraukawa chief, in his letter at page 39 of the Appendix, says,— "Therefore Te Rauparaha said, 'All these tribes must be destroyed.' The word of Whatanui went forth—'No; let them live leave them as servants for Ngatiraukawa.' That was the word that protected these tribes against Te Rauparaha and his tribes." Karanama, another chief, says, "Those chiefs, Te Rauparaha, Rangihaeata, (and others) became dark in their hearts, and determined to exterminate these tribes, that none should remain; this was the fixed determination of the chiefs of Ngatitōa; but it has Rauparaha who was the most determined. But when Ngatiraukawa came, Whatanui made peace with them, then Ngatitōa were dark." He also mentions a number of Muaupoko being killed, and adds,— "Whatanui again metttled them down," and "He (Te Rauparaha) retained his ill towards them, Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa, till the time of his death." Mr. Wake-field, also says,— "That Te Rauparaha only spared the lives of the few Muaupoko now existing in that neighbourhood, at the urgent entreaty of Te Whatanui, a great chief of the Ngatiraukawa, to leave them as slaves for him."

See Appendix, page 15.

Mr. Kemp, says,— "Horowhenua was the favorite residence of the late Te Whatanui, one of the principal chiefs of Ngatiraukawa, and to him the individuals composing the tribe (the Muaupoko) in a great measure owe their existence."

See Appendix, page 44.

Mr. Travers, says,— "In the words of Te Keepa, 'Whatanui took them under his protection, and promised that nothing should reach them but the rain from Heaven.' Again, he says,— "The latter (Te Rauparaha) unwillingly yielded to the wishes of his great kinsman, and from that time ceased directly to molest these unfortunate people, who were suffered again to occupy part of their original territory in the neighbourhood of lake Horowhenua; not as a tribe, however, but simply in the character of tributaries, if not actual slaves to Te Whatanui. In the words of Matene Te Whiwhi, 'Rauparaha was anxious to exterminate Muaupoko, but Whatanui interfered.'"

See Appendix, page 34.

The Rev Samuel Williams, states, in a letter to myself, at page 48 of the Appendix—"Rauparaha and Rangihaeata were furious at the idea of Ngatiapa, whom they styled the remnant of their meal, attempting to deal with the land, and blamed Ngatiraukawa in unmeasured terms for having stopped them in their work of extermination, saying that had they been allowed to do as they wished, the difficulties of that time would never have arisen." He also states,— "several members of the conquered tribes told me that they owed their lives to Ngatiraukawa. That Te Rauparaha would have killed them all, had not Te Whatanui, one of the principal chiefs of Ngatiraukawa befriended them. They always spoke of him as a father." The Rev. S. Williams has also stated to me, that when he first visited the Muaupoko, in 1847 they said to him—"It was not the Missionaries, but Te Whatanui who first brought to us glad tidings of salvation. Te Rauparaha would have killed us all, but Whatanui protected and saved us; that old man must have seen Jesus Christ, he was to us so good and kind." Tamihana Rauparaha, son of old Te Rauparaha, on one occasion, said to myself,— "It serves the Ngatiraukawa right their losing their land, they should have taken my father's advice and have killed all these people; but, instead of doing so, they protected them, and have since handed over to them large tracts of land." Wi Parata, a Maori member of the House of Representatives, in a statement which appears at page 105 of the Appendix, says,— "the desire of Ngatitoo that is, of Te Rauparaha, was to have destroyed all these people, but Whatanui and all Ngatiraukawa were kind to them, and protected them against Te Rauparaha." Rawiri Te Wanui, in a letter at page 106, says,— "It was Rauparaha's wish to have destroyed them all—not to let any escape—Ngatiraukawa saved them from death—made slaves and servants of them." Nopera, a chief of Ngatitoo, said to me, only a few weeks since, at Waikanae "Ngatiraukawa protected these people; had it been left to us, we would have served them as we served those people over yonder" (pointing to the Middle Island).

I may state that the Bishop of Wellington, and the Rev. S. Williams, have a distinct recollection of what old Te Rauparaha himself, and other old chiefs who are since dead, have often said to them when speaking upon this subject; there are also other witnesses, both European and Maori, who can be brought forward to prove the utterly helpless condition of these unfortunate people before the colonization of the country; that great numbers of them were in actual slavery, and the others living under the protection of Ngatiraukawa; and that, though occasionally in after years, individual acts of tyranny may have been practiced upon them, it was a great boon than otherwise to these people, their country having been taken possession of and occupied by the then numerous and powerful Ngatiraukawa tribe.

I would now call your attention to Mr. McLean's report, written in 1849, of the purchase of the Rangitikei Block from the Ngatiapa tribe.

See Appendix, p. 39

I trust I have already made it clear to you that the Ngatiraukawa tribe, with a section of Ngatitoo (who own part of the land between Otaki and the Kuketauaki stream), were in undisputed possession, in 1840, of all the country lying between the Wangaehu river to the north, and the Kuketauaki stream to the south.

Archdeacon Hadfield (now Bishop of Wellington), in a letter which appears in the Appendix, at page 102, says,— "The joint participation by two different tribes of the ownership of land, is a kind of tenure absolutely unknown to Maori custom, and utterly repugnant to their whole system. I defy any one to produce a single instance of any such joint tenure. When two tribes lived intermingled, either one was the acknowledged superior, and the other the inferior, or there were well defined boundaries to their respective possessions." At page 12 of the Appendix, are opinions given relative to the tenure by which the natives hold their land; one given in 1843, by George Clarke, Protector of Aborigines; the others in 1861, before a Committee of the House of Representatives, by Archdeacon Hadfield, and the Rev. J. Hamlin. Mr. Hamlin, says,— "If the conquered people return to their lands by permission of the conqueror, the land does not become theirs, unless a transfer of the land is made to them by the conquerors."

I regret that I have not been able to procure a copy of Sir. McLean's report of his meeting with the chiefs of Ngatiraukawa, (whom he speaks of as "the conquering chiefs,") when they formally surrendered all claim to the lands to the north of the Rangitikei river as far as Wangaehu, leaving the Ngatiapa to deal as they pleased with it. But the Rev. Samuel Williams, in a letter at page 48 of the Appendix, says,— "When the Rangitikei block of land was offered for sale by Ngatiapa in 1848 and 1849, D. McLean, Esq., Land Purchase Commissioner, called upon me at Otaki, where I was residing, and asked me to help him in obtaining the consent of Ngatiraukawa, together with Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, to the sale, without which he said he could not effect the purchase. I promised him my assistance, and for that purpose entered fully into the subject with the natives. Rauparaha and Rangihaeata were furious at the idea of Ngatiapa, whom they styled the remnant of their meal, attempting to deal with the land, and blamed Ngatiraukawa in unmeasured terms for having stopped them in their work of extermination; saying that, had they been allowed to do as they wished, the difficulties of that time would never have arisen. The subject caused considerable excitement amongst the Ngatiraukawa, but I urged them to act a general part towards those who had been so harshly treated in past years; and, [unclear: affair] repeated discussions amongst themselves, they at length agreed to allow Ngatiapa to sell their land on the north

side of the Rangitikei river, and keep all the purchase money, on condition that they were not to deal with any of the land to the south of the river." He adds,— "I do not, however, consider that either party understood that Ngatiapa were, by this arrangement, entirely debarred from occupying portions of the south bank of the river if they wished to do so, or from receiving a portion of the proceeds in the event of Ngatiraukawa disposing of it." (Mr. Williams since explained this more fully in Court, he said,— "It rested entirely with Ngatiraukawa to give or to withhold; that it would depend upon how the Ngatiapa behaved themselves, but that they certainly would have no right to sell any land to the south of the Rangitikei river.") He also says, in his letter,— "The Commissioner expressed his gratification at the generous manner in which Ngatiraukawa acted, more particularly in not accepting any of the purchase money; of which Ngatiapa had previously expected them to take a large share." Mr. McLean's report shows that the whole of the purchase money was paid to Ngatiapa.

See Appendix, pp. 42, 46, and 47.

Mr. Walter Buller, in his letter written in 1863, which appears in the Appendix at page 47, says,— "It appears that when the Ngatiapa, in 1849, surrendered the land lying between the Wanganui and Rangitikei rivers, they compromised the conflicting Ngatiraukawa claims (of conquest) by conceding to the latter the right of disposal over the territory lying south of the Rangitikei river &c." Archdeacon Hadfield also alludes to this in his letter at page 101. He also says,— "Ngatiapa attempted to lay claim to the south side by building a hut there; this was forthwith destroyed by Te Rangihaeata, and the attempt was thus crushed in the bud." Matene Te Whiwhi, in his letter at page 49, says,— "The Ngatiraukawa quietly handed over the other side of Rangitikei to Ngatiapa for them to sell to Mr. McLean, which made that sale complete." Wi Parata, a Member of the Assembly, says in his letter at page 105,— "I know that when Rangitikei sold, the other side of Rangitikei, on towards Turakina, was, after due consideration, divided off to Ngatiapa by Ngatiraukawa." Rawiri Te Wanui, in a letter at page 106 of the Appendix; the Ngatiraukawa non-sellers in their letters and protests, at page 88 and following pages; also [*unclear*: Neple] Taratoa's son and daughter, in their statements at page 70; all speak of their having allowed Ngatiapa to sell the land to the north of the Rangitikei river.

Mr. McLean, in concluding his report, says,— "I am glad to observe that many of the chiefs in this neighbourhood congratulate the Government on the successful termination of the present purchase, notwithstanding the opposition evinced by various tribes when the negotiations were first undertaken."

Mr. McLean, towards the conclusion of his report, after giving the character of the Ngatiapa tribe, adds,— "But the cession of their country, &c;" in his report at page 46, he says,— "The sums expended among the Rangitikei tribe for their land. But since their treaty with the Government for the cession of their country, &c.;" at page 40, he says,— "I therefore gave these natives to understand that, as ample reserves were already provided for them, I could not allow of those unnecessary ones;" at page 42, he says,— "From the desire of the natives to possess the whole of the land between the Turakina and Wangaehu rivers, I considered it advisable to acquiesce in their wishes, as the place is peculiarly adapted, from its well-defined natural boundaries, for a reserve; and from its extent, will also render it a sufficient and desirable situation for the eventual settlement of the whole tribe."

Mr. H. T. Kemp, Native Secretary, in his report written in the following year. 1850, at page 43 of the Appendix, after stating that Ngatiraukawa "is the most powerful tribe in Cook Strait; and inhabit all that country lying between Kukutauaki (a small stream two miles north of Waikanae) and the main river of Rangitikei. The claim of the Ngatiraukawa to the whole of the district before mentioned, is, I believe, undisputed," says,— "The Ngatiapa are a remnant of the original people, and have held but little intercourse with the Europeans. They are still rude and uncivilized, and look with a jealous eye on their old conquerors, the Ngatiraukawa, by whom they were recently permitted to sell the land on the north side of the river. The whole of the Ngatiapa scarcely amount to more than 300 souls, including Turakina and Wangaehu, for whom a sufficiency of land has been reserved."

In Mr. McLean's despatch to the Colonial Secretary, written in 1850, (the same year as Mr. Kemp's) he says,— "I shall address you a separate despatch in reference to arrangements which, subject to His Excellency's approval, I propose to carry out with the natives respecting their reserves in the Rangitikei district; in the mean time, I would earnestly advise the Government against encouraging, or in any way sanctioning the leasing by the natives to Europeans anxious to make terms with them, of their large reserve marked red on the enclosed sketch, and situated between the Turakina and Wangaehu river's; as I conceive that such a measure, even if consented to by a portion of the natives, would seriously injure and interface with their future welfare and prosperity as a tribe." The above need no comment.

Mr. McLean, in his despatch written in 1851, to the Colonial Secretary says,— "There is a fine rich district of land situated between the Rangitikei and Manawatu; the acquisition of which, in the course of a few years, will be found very desirable. The remaining portion of the coast from Manawatu, to a stream forming the boundary between the Ptaki (Otaki) natives, and those of Waikanae, appears more peculiarly adapted for a native reserve that for the purposes of English colonization." With respect to the above, I may be permitted to

state that Mr. McLean has repeatedly said to a gentleman of my acquaintance, one possessing great influence with the tribe, that he would like the Ngatiraukawa to sell all their country lying between the Rangitikei and Manawatu rivers, and so remove the ill-feeling that existed against them for holding so much land; and he would also like the Government to

See Appendix, page 46.

set apart the land lying between the Manawatu river and Kukutauaki stream, as a permanent reserve for Ngatiraukawa. Ihakara Tukumarū, in a letter to Mr. McLean, at page 140 of the Appendix, says,—“You have perhaps forgotten your word about the Ngatiraukawa reserve.”

I now beg to call your attention to Mr. McLean's report, written in 1856,

See Appendix, page 49.

of the purchase by himself, (several years after he purchased the Rangitikei block from the remnant of the Ngatiapa tribe,) of eight million acres of country in the Middle Island. I may state that portions of the Middle Island had been previously purchased from the conquering Ngatitōa and Ngatiawa tribes. And you will observe that in the purchase of this eight million of acres, whilst the conquering tribes are recognized as being the owners of the whole country, the remnants of the original possessors are dealt with very summarily; shewing a very striking contrast to the manner in which the respective rights of the conquering and conquered tribes to the lands in possession of, and occupied by, Ngatiraukawa, have been dealt with by the Government. Mr. McLean in this report, speaking of one tribe, says,—“To the Rangitane one hundred pounds (£100) was now paid in full satisfaction of all their claims.” To the Ngatikuia “were paid one hundred pounds (£100) in extinction of their title, &c.” To a remnant of the Ngaitahu living in remote and, as yet, almost inaccessible part of the country,” he recommends, “as a matter of justice,” that “a reserve of three or four hundred acres should be secured to them, together with a small amount of compensation for their claims.”

I am not aware how far south the rights of the Ngatitōa were recognized [*unclear: over*] the lands in the Middle Island; but, as the tribe were willing to sell, the Government would scarcely care to limit such rights. In Mr. Travers' Memoir of Te Rauparaha at page 60, is a copy of a letter from the *runanga* or [*unclear: memori*] council of natives of the Ngaitahu tribe living near Kaiapoi, in the Canterbury Province, to Patterson, then Maori Member for the Southern Maori Electoral District. They say,—“Do you publish it to the Assembly, so that the great doctors may examine this disease : the disease is the sale by Ngatitōa of this land. Had the defeat of the people at this land been equal to that of the people of Rangitikei and Manawatu by Te Rauparaha and Ngatiraukawa, where the people were killed and the land was taken possession of, and has been kept up to this time, then it would have been right that we should [*unclear: after*] under this affliction. But, as for the defeat of the natives of Kaiapoi, the Maori *runanga* consider that it is very clear that the battles in which the Kaiapoi natives were defeated were not followed up by occupation on the part of the victors.”

I now beg to call your attention to extracts from letters and reports from District Commissioners, Messrs. G. S. Cooper and William N. Searancke, to the Chief Commissioner;

See Appendix, p. 56, *et seq.*

giving an account of the time when, and the manner in which, the Ahuoturanga or Upper Manawatu block was “formally returned” to Te Hirawanu and the Rangitane tribe, by the chiefs of Ngatiraukawa. Mr. Cooper speaking of the Forty-mile or Tamaki bush in the Hawke's Bay Province, in a letter dated Ahuriri, 29th November, 1856, says,—“From I can elicit from natives at Heretaunga, I am inclined to think the Manawatu people will not listen favourably to overtures for its purchase, so long as the question relating to lands in dispute between themselves and the Ngatiraukawa on the West Coast, remains in its present state.” Mr. Cooper says much the same in his letter dated 29th March, 1857, with this addition, But under all the circumstances, I trust that His Excellency the Governor will see the propriety of expending a moderate sum to satisfy the Manawatu fives, more especially as the discussions to which such a payment would give rise might possibly lead to the sale by Ngatiraukawa of their claims by conquest; and thus the acquisition of the valuable and important districts, lying between the Manawatu and Rangitikei rivers, might be facilitated; whilst all obstacles in the way of acquiring the Forty-mile bush would be removed.” Mr. James Grindell, in his journal,

See Appendix, page 57.

forwarded by Mr. Searancke to the Chief Commissioner, says,—“I found Te Hirawanu and his people. * * * They were determined not to sell any land on the east of Tararua, (viz., in the Seventy-mile bush,) until they had disposed of all their lands on the west side.”

Mr. Searancke, in his report to the Chief Commissioner, dated 27th September, 1858, at page 60 of the Appendix, states,—“On the 19th [*unclear: ultima*] I arrived here, and, after a few days' delay, proceeded, in company with Nepia Taratoa, Ihakara, and about forty others of the chiefs and principal men of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, up the Manawatu river to Raurawa, the settlement of Te Hirawanu, the chief of the Rangitane and Motuahi tribes.” He states further that at a numerous meeting of natives (the Ngatiapa being present) the whole of the upper part of the Manawatu was formally returned to Te Hirawanu by the first throe

named tribes,"—"Ngatiraukawa, Ngatitehihi and Ngatiwaratere" (all of Ngatiraukawa). "They fully consenting to his selling the whole of it to the Government; Nepia Taratoa, the chief of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, more particularly wishing him to complete the sale at once." Mr. Searancke further states how, at the request of Nepia, he met him, with Te Hirawanu and all his tribe, and "after several days' dispute, succeeded in getting the boundary amicably settled." Again he says,—"I have found Nepia, since my arrival here, of very great assistance in settling disputed boundaries, and in many ways by his influence used id my favour."

Mr. Searancke, in his report to Mr. McLean at page 64, speaking of the Upper Manawatu block, says,—"In September 27th, 1858, I had the honor of reporting to you on the negotiation for the purchase of this block. I then succeeded in obtaining the consent of all the leading chiefs of the Ngatiraukawa tribe to the sale, and the waiving by them of their claims on it." Further on he says,—"Or by Te Hirawanu himself in the pride of his heart at becoming the acknowledged and undisputed owner of so much land." Again,—"The more so when I recollect the eagerness of Te Hirawanu and his friends to sell, previous to the Ngatiraukawa waiving their claims." Mr. Searancke, in a report of date 12th November, 1858 (a copy of which I have by me) speaking of Te Hirawanu and his tribe, says,—"And who, through accidental circumstances, have been again put in full possession of the land of their forefathers." Matene Te Whiwhi, at page 49 of the Appendix; Wi Parata, at page 105; and Rawiri Te Wanui, at page 106; all speak of the Ahuoturanga block having been quietly handed over to Hirawanu and the Rangitane by Ngatiraukawa. Dr. Featherston, in his speech to his Provincial Council at page 69 of the Appendix, speaks of his having purchased this block, comprising some 250,000 acres, chiefly of rich alluvial land." I have not seen any report of the purchase, but from what I have seen, and from what the natives have told me, I am in a position to state that the land was purchased from, and the money paid to, Hirawanu and the Rangitane tribe.

With respect to the Awahou block, Mr. James Grindell in his journal, and Mr. Searancke in his reports, See Appendix, p. 57, *et seq.*

show that the land was purchased from Ihakara and the Ngatiraukawa tribe, neither the Rangitane nor Ngatiapa interfering at all in the matter. The only mention made of the Ngatiapa is in Mr. Searancke's report to Mr. McLean, at page 63, where he states,—"Awahou block,—fifty pounds (£50) : This is a second payment on this block; was made to the Ngatiapas by desire of Ihakara, and will be deducted from the gross amount agreed upon." Ihakara Tukumarū, the principal seller of this block says, in his letter at page 71 of the Appendix,—"Secondly, when Awahou at Foxton was sold, it was Ngatiraukawa alone who sold it. Kawana Hunia and Kepa (Kemp) Rangihwinui then came, and asked that some money should be given to them from the sale, under the *mana* of Ngatiraukawa. Ngatiraukawa then consented, and gave them £50. Had they demanded it under their own *mana*, no money would have been given to them."

I now beg to call your attention to documents at page 65, and following pages of the Appendix, having reference to the Manawatu-Rangitikei block. I trust I have made it clear to you that, after Ngatiraukawa had waived all claim to it, the Rangitikei block to the north of the river was purchased from the Ngatiapa, and all the purchase money was paid to that tribe. That the Ahuoturanga or Upper Manawatu block was, after having been "formally returned" to them by Ngatiraukawa, purchased from, and the purchase money paid to, Te Hirawanu and the Rangitane tribe; also, that the smaller Awahou block—part of the Manawatu-Rangitikei country—was purchased from, and all the purchase money paid to, Ngatiraukawa, with the exception of £50, paid to Ngatiapa by request of Ihakara. The fact that the Rangitikei and Ahuoturanga blocks could not be sold till Ngatiraukawa arranged the boundaries of and waived their claim over those two blocks, and that they were in a position to deal with the smaller Awahou block—being a portion of the country lying between the rivers Manawatu and Rangitikei—without any reference to any other tribe; clearly show that they were, at that time, admitted on all sides to be the superior tribe, and justly entitled to deal with the remainder of the Manawatu-Rangitikei country as they pleased.

Archdeacon Hadfield (now Bishop of Wellington), who has been intimately acquainted with the history and affairs of the Ngatiraukawa tribe since 1839; and the Rev. S. Williams, who resided at Otaki for some seven years—from 1846 to 1853—and who is generally admitted to be one of the best authorities in New Zealand on native matters—have repeatedly told me that until the last few years, any question as to the clear and indisputable title of Ngatiraukawa to the whole of the country between the Ahuoturanga and Rangitikei blocks never once crossed their minds; and that they consider, by Ngatiapa and other tribes having been allowed to deal with that land, a great wrong and injustice has been done to the Ngatiraukawa people. Wi Parata, a Maori Member of the Assembly, in his statement at page 105 of the Appendix says,—"To my knowledge, that block of country lying between Rangitikei and Manawatu belonged to Ngatiraukawa alone." Mr. Kemp, Native Secretary, in his report at page 44 of the Appendix, written in 1850, speaks of the undisputed claim of the Ngatiraukawa to all the country lying between Kukutauaki and the Rangitikei river.

I beg to state that the fact of Nepia Taratoa, the great Ngatiraukawa chief, having permitted Ngatiapa and Rangitane to join in some of the leases granted over portions of the Manawatu-Rangitikei block (leases which

were entirely illegal), has been made a great point against the Ngatiraukawa. The facts of the case are very simple. After Ngatiraukawa had waived their claim to the Rangitikei block, the Ngatiapa sold that block to the Government. The Upper Manawatu block, handed over to Rangitane, and which they afterwards sold to Government, though land of good quality, is not suitable for sheep runs; and when Ngatiraukawa commenced to grant leases to the Europeans over the country retained for themselves, Ngatiapa and Rangitane came to Nepia and asked that a portion of the rents should be given to them; not only did Nepia agree to this, but he also allowed some of them to sign their names to certain of the leases. The Ngatikauwhata *hapu* did the same, whilst others again, of the *hapus*

A *hapu* is a subdivision of a tribe.

of Ngatiraukawa, would not allow these people to join in their leases. The Hon. Mr. Fox, in a memorandum dated Rangitikei, 19th August, 1863, says,—“It is believed that most, if not all, of the leases were originally arranged with Nepia Taratoa, the principal chief of Ngatiraukawa; though members of other tribes are also parties to them, or some of them.” Archdeacon Hadfield, in his letter at pages 101 and 102 of the Appendix, speaks of Ngatiapa having been “permitted” by the late chief Nepia Taratoa, “to receive some part of the money paid as rent for lands illegally leased by Englishmen.” Mr. Noake, R.M., in his letter to the Native Minister,

See Appendix, page 73.

says,—“The rents were formerly paid to Napu (Nepia), the Ngatiraukawa chief; who used to give some of the money to the Ngatiapas.” Taratoa, son of Nepia Taratoa, gives a very fair account of these transactions in his statement, which appears at page 69 of the Appendix. He also says,—“My father intended that they should have a portion of the money alone, not of the land. The land was to be for my father and his tribe alone. My father was simply treating, as he always had treated, with kindness, these people, Ngatiapa and their friends. When Nepia died, Ngatiapa were covetous, and wanted all the money for themselves. Ngatiraukawa then became angry, and refused to allow Ngatiapa to join at all.” Nepia's daughter says, at page 70,—“But with respect to the leases, they had been allowed by my father to join in the leases, but in the money alone, not in the land. I am fully aware, and quite positive, that it was my father's fixed determination that the land should be retained for his people alone—for Ngatiraukawa.” I may state that Parakaia and his people did not allow the rent for Himatangi to be paid to Ngatiapa; and though their land was included in one lease with other land leased by Nepia and others, they had all the rent for Himatangi, until 1863, paid to themselves. The [*unclear: sapus*] occupying the inland portion of the block also received all the rents of their portion of the country, as related by Henere Te Herekau, in his statement respecting these three *hapus*, which appears at page 157 of the Appendix. Ihakara Tukumarū also states in his letter, which appears at page 71, that he and Taikapurua did not give any of the rent when asked for it, to Hakeke of Ngatiapa.

I may say myself, that Ngatiraukawa (some of them) having allowed these people to join in their leases, though a generous, was, no doubt, a very unwise act, and, like all their acts of generosity shown to the original possessors, has been made free use of against them by the Government, and in a court of law. There is reliable evidence of the fact that, for many years after the country was first occupied by Ngatiraukawa, Nepia filled the position of guardian to the Ngatiapa, which was no doubt a peculiar position to fill, and that Ngatiapa had been in the habit of looking up to Nepia as a father, as well as their (*rangatira*) chief, and that his son speaks the truth when he says,—“My father was simply treating as he always had treated, with kindness, Ngatiapa and their friends.” At the same time, I feel certain that neither Nepia Taratoa nor any other of the Ngatiraukawa people ever intended for one moment that Ngatiapa should have any right to the land itself; their having allowed Rangitane to join in the leases as well as Ngatiapa, should alone be accepted as sufficient proof of this, and as showing how extremely confident Nepia and others must have felt in their own minds as to their unquestionable title to the land, which they then had no idea of disposing of. A further proof of this, is the fact that no sooner did Ngatiapa attempt, after Nepia's death, to assert a claim to the land, than Ngatiraukawa at once refused to have anything further to do with them, when, unfortunately for the Ngatiraukawa title, the Ngatiapa determined to sell. Archdeacon Hadfield, in his letter at page 102, says,—“This act of his (Nepia's), which was done without the sanction of the tribe, could not possibly be construed into a formal transfer of the land.” Again he says,—“Shortly after Nepia's death, Ngatiapa, began to assert a claim based on his liberality.”

The *Wanganui Chronicle*, in a leading article dated 16th July, 1867 says,—“Matters moved on very comfortably with these tribes for a time—they let their land to Europeans and had the rents divided among them in a way which gave satisfaction to all parties—a result mainly attributable to the talent and influence of a single chief, Nepia Taratoa. The death of this noble Maori took place early in 1863, and was speedily felt among the tribes, who became disorganised and began to dispute and quarrel. The division of the European rents was one cause of feud; and from conflicting claims on this point were started still more difficult questions touching the ownership of the land itself. But the Ngatiapa saw their chance, and took advantage of the death of Nepia, to advance, by degrees, claims which had not before been heard of; and the total absence of any legal authority encouraged them to persevere in these claims, until the Ngatiraukawa were reduced to the necessity

either of abandoning what they conceived to be their just rights, or fighting in defence of them. And this feeling, it should be carefully noted, did not find expression until more than a year after the Native Lands Act of 1862 had provided for the Maoris elsewhere the means of settling similar disputes."

One might almost have supposed that Ngatiraukawa having protected these people in former years, then having given up large tracts of fine country to them, amounting to 500,000 acres—more than they retained for themselves—an act of generosity which caused the Hon. Mr. Fox to exclaim, "I am amazed at the generosity of these people. They have given up large tracts of land which they might have sold themselves, and taken all the purchase money"—with the fact of their having remained loyal and peaceable throughout the disturbances occasioned by the Wairau massacre, the fighting at the Hutt and Wanganui, and the disturbed state of the country for many years past, should have entitled them to some consideration at the hands of the Government. The sequel will show what amount of consideration has been extended to them.

I would now call your attention to an extract from Dr. Featherston's speech to his Provincial Council, in 1862, at page 65 of the Appendix, wherein he states,—"You will be glad to learn that this Province has at last been relieved, both of the heavy expense and of the mischievous obstructiveness of the Land Purchase Department; His Excellency having been pleased to devolve upon myself, as Superintendent, the duty of purchasing such lands as the natives may from time to time be disposed to alienate." I would also call your attention to the clause in the Native Lands Act which excluded the greater portion of the land of the Ngatiraukawa tribe from the operation of the Act.

See Appendix, page 65.

Also to an extract from Dr. Featherston's speech to his Council, at page 66 of the Appendix, wherein he states,—"Nor am I without hopes that after this portion, estimated to contain 250,000 acres, is obtained, the remainder of the country will follow; for already serious disputes have arisen between the two tribes resident in the district, as to which tribe is entitled to receive the rents of the runs leased to the Europeans." I also beg to call your attention to Dr. Featherston's "Memorandum for the Hon. Mr. Fox," written in 1864.

See Appendix, p. 66.

which he states that Ngatiraukawa wished the matter to be settled by arbitration, but that Ngatiapa "declared they never would consent to arbitration," adding, "we hand over the whole block to you for sale. We all consent to this, and will agree to nothing else." Dr. Featherston himself says,—"What I mean when I say that the sale of the block presents the easiest, perhaps the only possible solution of this quarrel, is simply this," &c; again,—"And it would be well worth the while of the Province to buy up their interests." I would also call your attention to an extract from Dr. Featherston's speech to his Council written four months after he wrote the above memorandum for Mr. Fox,—"With respect to the remainder of the Manawatu district, whilst I am unwilling to raise undue expectations, I feel very confident that events are gradually, if not rapidly, tending to the only possible solution of the long pending dispute between the Ngatiapa on the one side the Ngatiraukawa and Rangitane on the other—viz., the cession of the block to the Crown."

See Appendix, page 69.

The above clearly shows that Dr. Featherston the Superintendent of Wellington, and Land Purchase Commissioner, had made up his mind from the first, to make use of the quarrel amongst the native as a means to an end—viz., "the cession of the block to the Crown," and that his having been appointed by the Hon. Mr. Fox to act as arbitrator in the dispute was, to use an expression of his own, "a mere farce." In the words of the *Wanganui Chronicle*, in an article upon this subject, of date 13th July, 1867—"He has labored ably and indefatigably to acquire this block of land for the Province; he has set his heart upon it."

I beg to call your attention to a letter written in 1864 by certain chiefs to Dr. Featherston, at page 71 of the Appendix, offering this block of land for sale to the Government "as the only means of finally settling our difficulty," adding—"this is the individual act of a few; the general consent of the tribe has not yet been obtained to the proposed sale." I also beg to call your attention to the petition from Ngatiraukawa to the Assembly, at page 72 of the Appendix, praying that their lands may be brought under the operation of the Native Lands Act, and to state that their prayer was not granted.

I would call your attention to a letter from Mr. M. Noake, R.M., to the Native Minister, of date 11th May, 1865,

See Appendix, p. 73.

wherein he states,—"I have the honor to report that a Ngatiapa chief, Hunia Te Hakeke, came to me, asking me to prevent the settlers having runs on the disputed land, from paying rents. He informed me that if they persisted in doing so, war would be the result, and that immediately." I would also call your attention to a letter dated 10th June, 1865, from Ngatiapa to Dr. Featherston, praying for arms and ammunition; and to the fact that the signatures are witnessed by Mr. Walter Buller, R.M., Sub-commissioner to Dr. Featherston. They say,—"Father Featherston. * * * Now listen, if the hand of the Ngatiraukawa should touch the sheep or the cattle of the pakeha, the difficulties will greatly increase, because then fighting will be sure to arise. * * * Here

is another matter. We are glad on account of Mr. Buller's visit, and the opportunity we have had of meeting him. He visited our new pa at Turakina, and we then applied to him to obtain from the Government guns and powder for the protection of our three pas. Do not suppose that we want to use this ammunition against the Ngatiraukawa. Not so."

See Appendix, p. 74.

I would call your attention to extracts from a speech delivered by Dr. Featherston to the electors of Wellington on Wednesday evening, 21st February, 1866; delivered less than two months before he purchased the Manawatu-Rangitikei block as "the only means of avoiding an inter-tribal war.

See Appendix, p. 75.

I may be pardoned for saying that Dr. Featherston's remarks with respect to hatching native policies for a race which you cannot possibly preserve," bear a striking contrast to what Lord John Russell says in his Despatch to Governor Hobson, of date, 9th December, 1840,— "To rescue the natives of New Zealand from the calamities, of which the approach of civilized man to barbarous tribes has hitherto been the almost universal herald, is a duty too sacred and important to be neglected, whatever may be the discouragements under which it may be undertaken."

See Appendix, p. 3.

There is also this difference; that whereas, the one were the sentiments entertained respecting the Maori race by British statesmen at the time when they obtained peaceable possession of these islands through the influence and instrumentality of Christian missionaries, the others are the sentiments entertained respecting this unfortunate race by many of those to whom Her Majesty's Government and the British people have of later years "altogether relinquished the fulfilment" of their "sacred obligations."

I would now beg to call your attention to Dr. Featherston's report on the purchase of the Manawatu-Rangitikei block, extracts from which appear at page 76, and following pages of the Appendix. He says that on 27th March, Ihakara, after stating emphatically his determination to sell the disputed block, "warned Dr. Featherston that there would, at the commencement of the meeting, be strong opposition from a section of his tribe." That on the 29th March he had a meeting at Turakina with about forty of the principal Ngatiapa claimants, nine months after receipt of their letter, asking for "guns and powder," when he states,— "Governor Hunia made a still more violent speech against the other tribes; openly boasted that they (the Ngatiapas) had now plenty of arms and ammunition, and could easily drive off their opponents and that they would now prefer an appeal to arms to any other course. He almost intimated that they had, during the West Coast campaign, reserved their ammunition for that purpose. * * * Although the discussion lasted for several hours longer, nothing definite was arrived at, the whole of the natives present declaring that they would not take a penny less than £40,000, and that the other tribes should not share the payment with them; that their great desire was to fight, and take the land by right of conquest. It * * * On the morning of the 5th April there were about seven hundred natives present. * * * Ihakara said, * * * His offer to sell the land to Mr. McLean had not been listened to by the tribe, and he had on that account resolved to retain Rangitikei. He would have continued to oppose the sale of the land had he been able to discover any other way out of the difficulty. There were only two ways open to him—one was to fight the Ngatiapa, and take forcible possession of the soil; the other was to sell the land to the Queen, and to let the Ngatiapa sell also. * * * Henare Te Herekau urged that a further attempt should be made to get the exception clause in the Native Lands Act repealed, and to have the question of title in this case investigated and adjudicated on by the Native Lands Court. In this proposal he was supported by Parakaia Te Pouepa, from Otaki. * * * April 7. * * * Many, who at the outset had declared against the sale, were now avowedly favourable to it; and it was evident that the spirit of opposition had been in a great measure crushed by the resolute determination of Ihakara and the other leading chiefs to effect a sale of the block. April 14. * * * Ihakara and the leading selling chiefs were more earnest than before in pressing the sale of the block, while Hunia Te Hakeke openly declared that if the meeting should break up without the sale having been effected he would return at once to pa-building, and would decide the title by a trial of strength with the Ngatiraukawa. Parakaia again brought forward his scheme for a settlement of the question (by a reference to the Land Court), but the proposal was scouted by the Ngatiapa. It was tacitly admitted by Aperahama [unclear: it] Huruhuru and Nepia that, although they were now opposing the sale, they could not suggest any other way of settling their quarrel with the Ngatiapa."

Dr. Featherston, after ridiculing alike the idea of settling the question [unclear: le] arbitration, or by a reference to the Lands Court, says,— "He now gathered that the six tribes assembled before him were all but unanimous in scouting every one of these proposals, and were more than ever convinced that the only possible solution of the dispute was, to use their own words, an absolute sale of the whole of the land in dispute to the Crown; and after having for many days patiently heard all they had to say, he had no hesitation in expressing his entire concurrence in that conviction. * * * They had declared that they had said all that they had to say, and now called upon him to declare whether or not, as the only means of preventing bloodshed, he was prepared to

accept the block and complete its purchase." He goes on to say—"Neither did he mean that a small section of one tribe should be allowed to forbid some six or seven tribes disposing of a block which they were anxious to sell. However much he might insist upon having the consent of the tribes, of all the real and principal claimants, he would be no party to such a manifest, injustice as would be implied by one or two men, probably possessing little or no interest in the land, forbidding the tribe selling it; or in a small section of one tribe opposing the wishes of some half dozen tribes; especially when the carrying out of the decision of the majority was the only means of avoiding an inter-tribal war. * * * He would, therefore, call upon every one of the tribes to declare publicly before this meeting by their chiefs whether or not the tribes consented to the sale." It appears from the report that the tribes were all unanimous in favour of the sale, with the exception of the Ngatiraukawa, of whom Ihakara "insisted upon the purchase being completed," and that "Dr. Featherston then said his course was clear. Five of the six tribes were unanimous in their determination to sell, and of the Ngatiraukawa, only a small section opposed the sale. * * * He felt therefore, so confident that the deed would ultimately be executed by all the real claimants, that he had no difficulty in publicly announcing his acceptance of the block, and in congratulating them upon this long-standing feud being thus amicably settled and finally adjusted.

"[This announcement was received with great applause, not a few of the opponents exclaiming, 'Rangitikei is fairly sold, is for ever gone from us!']

I may state that Ihakara, the Ngatiraukawa chief, has since told me himself, that he and his *hapu* sold any land they ever possessed between the rivers when the Awahou block was sold. He also gave me as his reason for selling, that the tribe had refused to carry out his suggestion that they should pride the block, and give a portion to Ngatiapa, another to Rangitane, also a portion to himself. "They told me" he said,— "I might take that part of the block for my portion where the waves of the sea break." Therefore, he tied,— "I determined to sell, and quite agreed with Dr. Featherston that the whole block ought to be sold to prevent bloodshed."

I beg to call your attention to letters and protests from Ngatiraukawa non-sellers,

See Appendix, p. 88, *et seq.*

extracted from a number that were laid before both Houses of Assembly. Also to two letters, at pages 94 and 95, from Hunia and others of Ngatiapa, in which they say,— "You know, because you have distinctly seen, that the land of the Ngatiraukawa is at Maungatautari. Friend, Dr. Featherston, mine and Mr. Buller's work is at an end—the writing the names tie people. * * * What do we care about that man Parakaia causing [*unclear*: ouble]; if he is able to cause trouble among the native tribes, his body will death, as it has been settled by all the tribes, the consent of my work to you."

I beg to call your attention to a Despatch subjoined, from Governor Sir G. Grey, K.C.B., forwarding six petitions for presentation to the Queen from member's of the Ngatiraukawa tribe; also to Memoranda from Ministers, enclosed with the petitions; also to an account given by the natives of what passed at an interview between Sir G. Grey and themselves;

See Appendix, p. 84, *et seq.*

also to a letter from Mr. Puckey, Interpreter.

See Appendix, p. 87.

You will perceive that Mr. Richmond and Mr. Puckey question the correctness of the natives report; whilst Rawiri Te Wanui, in his letter at page 88 insists that their account is an accurate one. Mr. Richmond, in one of his Memoranda, says,— "As to the Ngatiraukawa lands at Maungatautari, [*unclear*: le] (Sir G. Grey) argued that Parakaia's claims, which he was preferring in the Native Lands Court, were of the same character as those of the Ngatiapa which he refused to recognize in Rangitikei." With respect to the above claims, I may state that, whereas the Judges of the Land Court decided that these people had no claim to the lands of their fathers at Maungatautari,

See Appendix, p. 132.

they gave their judgment almost entirely in favour of Ngatiapa, with respect to the land at Rangitikei.

See Appendix, p. 119.

(A Judge of the Land Court told me that no claim of any of these people was recognized at Maungatautari, unless at the particular request of the resident Ngatiraukawa).

Sir G. Grey, in his despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated Government House, 17th December, 1863. says,—

"MY LORD DUKE,—

"4th. I ought to mention to your Grace that I believe I was the first to recommend the forfeiture of lands by those natives who took up arms against us, and I did so for the following reasons :—Because such a proceeding is to conformity with their own customs. It will affect lands of those who have forced us into war, and leaves

secure to the native owners who have remained at peace, their large landed possessions in other parts of the island. They will thus, from contrast, see the advantages secured by being protected by British rule, and the punishment which follows wanton attacks upon the European race and their properties. At the same time, from enactments recently made, the well-disposed natives who retain their lands can deal as they please with them.

" I have, &c.,

" (Signed) G. GREY."

He also, in his reply to a letter from the Aborigines Protection Society, dated Government House, Auckland, 7th April, 1864, says,—

"SIR,—The object of the local Government, therefore, has been to secure to that numerous part of the native population who have taken no active share in the present war, the whole of their landed possessions; and also, by laws framed expressly for this object, to give to the lands held by such natives a value greater than they have previously had for their owners, by, in all respects, giving them equal rights in their landed possessions with those enjoyed by their European fellow-subjects; the intention in this respect being to show that the rights of peaceable citizens, of whatever race, are carefully respected; and to give the natives so valuable a stake in the country that they are not likely hereafter to hazard it lightly.

" I have, &c.,

"(Signed) G. GREY."

In 1867, Sir G. Grey sends for Parakaia; "His Excellency appealed to his patriotism and asked concessions as a matter of favour." He asks Parakaia "not to push them (the Government) into difficulties at Rangitikei." He says,— "What I now desire is, that you should consent to the sale of Rangitikei—give it up to Dr. Featherston. If you persist in retaining it, you will quarrel among yourselves about it. * * Those tribes, Wanganui, Ngatiapa and Ngatikahungunu, are angry because you refused to sell Rangitikei. I am grieved, very much grieved, about this, Parakaia."

See Appendix, p. 84.

Sir G. Grey, in his Despatch to Her Majesty's Government forwarding the petition from these people, says,— "On the other hand, it is alleged that it would be impossible to give any decision in this case which would not be challenged by the disappointed party, and which would not give rise to such a feeling of bitterness as might involve the country in serious disturbances; and as the local Government and the General Assembly are now responsible for the peace of the country, it would be difficult to interfere with their deliberately formed views on this subject." The Hon. Mr. Cardwell wrote to Governor Sir G. Grey, in a Despatch dated 26th April, 1864,— "I conclude by expressing an earnest hope that the operations in which General Cameron has been engaged may have already terminated the war, and shall rejoice when I am able to congratulate you on having succeeded, by the wisdom of your measures and those of your Government, by the skill of that distinguished commander, and by the valor of the Queen's troops and seamen, in restoring the blessings of order and good government to the country intrusted to your care."

Mr. J. C. Richmond, the Native Minister, in his Memoranda enclosed with the petitions from members of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, says,— "An invading tribe the Ngatiraukawa, took possession, about 1830, of a large tract of country between Wanganui and Wellington, driving out the tribes which before inhabited it. After some years of slaughter and violence, the expelled tribes, the Ngatiapa and Rangitane, were suffered by the conquerors to return. They came back as slaves. * * * On the death of Nepia Taratoa, a Ngatiraukawa chief of great influence, who seems to have acted as moderator, differences as to their share of the rents grew violent. The Ngatiapa, fortified by the alliance of their powerful neighbours the Wanganui, claimed the whole of the rents for themselves and the Rangitane." Again he says,— "It is doubtful whether the quarrel might not be renewed if an extensive part of the block proportioned to their numbers were at present laid off for them. * * * It would be impracticable to make any award to the non-contents in this case which would not be challenged by the sellers; who, though they have parted with their own interest in the land, might view its occupation by the other natives with great bitterness. One side alleges conquest as its ground, the other the power to re-conquer. Both appeal to Christianity, one to clinch the *status quo* at the time of its introduction, the other to claim the restoration of territory then newly taken from them." He also says, in another of his Memoranda,— "I added myself * * * That he, Parakaia, knew that we could not put him in possession of his claims now, without bloodshed." (He might also have added that Parakaia knew that the Government had supplied his opponents, at their own request, with "guns and powder"). I may state that Ngatiraukawa did not want to be put in possession of their land, as they, and they alone had been in possession between thirty and forty years. (Mr. Richmond, in his Memoranda above, says,— "they took possession about 1830.") They only asked that they might be

protected in their rights. Mr. Richmond must have forgotten he was dealing with the rights of a people of whom we find it written in a Memorandum by Ministers in 1860 in defence of the [*unclear*: Waita] war,—“The grand desire of the British colonists in respect of the natives, is to the Maori people rendered amenable, in their dealings, to British law. * * * That all the inhabitants of New Zealand should be subjected to the control of one equal law.” Again, in a Memorandum by Mr. Weld in reply to Sir William Martin,—“The practical issue now is, whether the natives are peaceably to appeal to the justice of the British Government for the recognition of their rights, or whether, if they think those rights are infringed, they are to resort to force of arms.” In Mr. Richmond's Memorandum—“One practical issue now being tried is, whether the natives are in future trust to the justice of the British Government for the recognition of their rights, or to force of arms.” In “Article the Second” of the Treaty of Waitangi,—“Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests and fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession.” “In Article the Third,” “In consideration thereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the natives of New Zealand Her Royal protection, and imparts to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects.” Again, in the instructions to Sir George Grey,—“You will honorably and scrupulously fulfil the conditions of the Treaty of Waitangi.”

See Appendix, p. 4.

I beg to state that Mr. Richmond is wrong when he says the non-contents are about a tenth of the claimants. That I handed in to the Lands Court at Otaki a list, supplied to me by the natives, of some 800 names of men, women, and children of Ngatiraukawa who were opposed to the sale (Dr. Featherston in his speech speaks of 1000 claimants).

See Appendix, page 117.

Considering the many and various influences brought to bear against them, the only wonder is that so many of them held out so long. Eight of the tribes to whom Dr. Featherston paid the money at Parewanui were unanimous in favour of the sale. The same was the case with Ihakara and his *hapu* of Ngatiraukawa. Had Mr. Richmond, the Native Minister, studied the judgment given by King Solomon in the case of the two mothers with the one child, he might possibly have come to the conclusion that these people who held out to the last, only asking for a fair hearing of their claims, were the real owners of land, rather than those tribes who so stoutly insisted upon the sale, and who having (as Mr. Richmond states in his Memorandum) “alleged their power to reconquer,” showed they had no right whatever as British subjects to the land. All these people asked was a fair hearing of their claims, and to be protected in their rights against men who had conspired together to deprive them of their property. The Governor of the country “appeals to their patriotism, is altogether conciliatory, and asks concessions as a matter of favour.” “Give it up to Dr. Featherston.” “Those tribes, Wanganui, Ngatiapa, and Ngatikahungunu, are angry because you refused to sell Rangitikei. I am grieved, very much grieved, about this Parakaia.” The Native Minister—“I added myself * * * That he (Parakaia) knew we could not put him in possession of his claims now without bloodshed,” enabling them thus, “from contrast, to see the advantages secured by being protected by British rule.”

I trust you will extend your pardon to me, a native of New Zealand, when I say there are those in this country, good men and true, who are disposed to make some little excuses for the Maoris for having set up a King of their own, when they bear in mind the manner in which they had been mishonoured, or their government wholly neglected—many of them knowing nothing of the advantages of British rule, excepting only through their experience with the Land Purchase Commissioners. They are disposed to make little excuses for these people, on the grounds that they believe the letter disposed among them were honestly searching after some system of government for themselves, that the poor fellows were seeking for “Royal Protection.”

I now beg to call your attention to Dr. Featherston's speech to his council,

See Appendix, p. 95.

where he says,—“When I last met you, I announced that I had entered into an agreement with the various tribes claiming a title to the Manawatu-Rangitilei block, by which I hoped to set at rest the formidable land dispute which had for several years threatened the peace of the Province. After intimating that the great native meeting at Takapu, on the banks of the Manawatu, I had formally accepted the cession of the disputed block to the Crown as the only means of finally and for ever removing the cause of strife, I informed you that the final deed of surrender had yet to be executed, that it would require to be signed by between one and two thousand claimants, and that several important questions had yet to be settled—namely, as to what tribes the purchase money was to be paid, what proportion each of the tribes should receive, and what chiefs should be appointed to receive and distribute the money. It is satisfactory to me to be able to state that the deed of cession has been duly executed, nearly seventeen hundred claimants having signed it, and that the questions just adverted to have been finally and amicably settled.” He also, speaking of the meeting at Parewanui when he paid the purchase

money to the nine tribes says,—“The Parewanui meeting in December last, probably the largest gathering of natives ever held in this Province;” and “I, nevertheless, felt that the alternative was one of peace or war, that if the meeting should break to without the completion of the purchase, the rival tribes would at once [*unclear*: ass] their conflicting claims by force of arms, and the whole of the West Coast district would be speedily plunged into a general native disturbance.” (I may here state that the above is very different to Mr. McLean's of his quiet meeting with the Ngatiapa tribe, when he paid them the money for the block to the north of the river, after Ngatiraukawa had waived their claim

See Appendix, p. 39.

). Dr. Featherston also says, (as showing how he intends to deal with any perverse Ngatiraukawa non-sellers),—“I stipulated, however, with the Ngatiraukawa chiefs that a liberal sum out of their share should be set apart for the outstanding claimants of that tribe, and this was accordingly done. Since the payment of the purchase money, upwards of one hundred and fifty of these (mostly remote) claimants have given their consent to the sale and signed the deed. There is, however, still a small number of Ngatiraukawa dissentients to whom, in the event of their persisting in their refusal to accept the sum set apart for them, it may be necessary to make an award in land to the extent of such claims as are admitted by the sellers.”

At page 98 of the Appendix are articles from the *Wellington Independent*, in which are given the names of the nine tribes who were present at Parewanui when the purchase money was paid to the natives, viz., the Ngatiapa, Rangitane Ngatiraukawa, Wanganui, Muaupoko, Ngatitua, Ngatiawa, Ngatikahungunu, and Ngatiupokoiri. It is also narrated how “Governor Hunia, as the representative of the Ngatiapa tribe and their allies, and Ihakara, as the representative of the Ngatiraukawa, headed a procession to the flagstaff, holding between them the tin case containing the Manawatu deed of cession, which they placed on a table at the foot of the staff.” (No mention is made of the fact that neither Hunia nor Ihakara had any right to sell any portion of the country alluded to in the deed.) We are told how “the tribes then chanted a song of farewell to the land, with its forests and lakes, its cultivations and its fisheries, and parted for ever with it (according to their own expression) ‘under the shining sun of the day.’” We are told how Dr. Featherston said,—“That before handing over the £25,000 in final completion of the Manawatu purchase, he had a pleasing duty to perform towards a chief who had taken an active part in the long, difficult, and tedious negotiations now successfully concluded. He was anxious to give Governor Hunia, in the presence of the assembled tribes, some token of his approbation.

He had decided in his own mind that the signet ring which he was about to present to him was the most appropriate token, because of its symbolic associations. It was hardly necessary for him to explain that in the holy institution of matrimony, the ring is the pledge or token of the solemn vows that are made at the altar; and that, in like manner, he desired to symbolize the establishment of a firm and lasting friendship between the Ngatiapa and Ngatiraukawa tribes. His Honor then placed the ring on Governor Hunia's finger with the words,—“Let this ring be a token that there is no longer [*unclear*: mity] between the tribes, and that henceforward they will live together on terms of mutual good will, in friendship with, the Pakeha, and in loyalty to our Gracious Queen! And, Governor Hunia, long may you live to wear it!”

In the *New Zealand Advertiser's* report of the transaction we find,

See Appendix, p. 96.

—“The principal if not the real, owners of the land, the Ngatiraukawa tribe, were conspicuous by their absence. * * * Probably when the history of the Manawatu purchase is written, it will be admitted that never has a Government so systematically countenanced an injustice, as this attempt at forcible purchase; and never have a body of men, supposed to be on the eve of rebellion, shown more patience in peaceably asserting their own rights than the Ngatiraukawa tribe.”

I now beg to call your attention to a letter from Archdeacon Hadfield (now Bishop of Wellington), at page 100, and following pages of the Appendix, in which he furnishes some information concerning the rights of the tribes connected with the Rangitikei-Manawatu district, more particularly to those portions where he states, at page 102,—“In my opinion Ngatiapa had no kind of right to the Rangitikei-Manawatu block of land.” Again, at page 103,—“But Ngatiraukawa resting on their clear and undisputed possession ever since the Treaty of Waitangi, &c.” I would also call your attention to a letter from Wi Parata, a Member of the Assembly, at page 105; also to a letter from Rawiri Te Wanui on the same page; and more particularly to a letter at page 107; addressed to the colonists of New Zealand, and signed Ngatiraukawa, which was published in the *Wellington Advertiser*. The letter concludes, “Cease from withholding the law.”

I beg to state that the persons who have taken the most active part against the Ngatiraukawa tribe are Dr. Featherston and the Hon. Mr. Fox; yet in Mr. Fox's Memorandum dated 5th May, 1864, in reply to a letter from the Aborigines Protection Society we find,—“4. As regards the question of the confiscation of Maori lands, against which a protest is raised, Ministers beg to make the following observations :—

“In the first place, it is a custom which has been always recognized by the Maoris themselves. In their wars,

a conquered tribe not only forfeited its lands, but the vanquished survivors were reduced to a tributary position, and large numbers to personal slavery. The Government of New Zealand have always recognized such a title as valid; and a very large proportion, if not an absolute majority, of the purchases of land from the Maoris have been made on the basis of a recognition of this right of conquest." And Dr. Featherston in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives the 7th August, 1860 when speaking upon the subject of the Waitara purchase and war, said,—"It follows that whatever rights, especially territorial, the natives possessed at the time the Treaty was made, the Government is bound to respect and preserve inviolate."

I would also call your attention to the following which appears in the statement of the proceedings of the Compensation Court, at the sittings held at New Plymouth. "Present: Francis D. Fenton, Esq., Chief Judge; John Rogan, Esq., Judge; Horne Monro, Esq., Judge :—

"JUDGMENT IN CASE OF THE NON-RESIDENT CLAIMANTS AT OKURA.

"We do not think that it can reasonably be maintained that the British Government came to this Colony to improve Maori titles, or to reinstate persons in possession of land from which they had been expelled before 1840, or which they had voluntarily abandoned previously to that time. Having found it absolutely necessary to fix some point of time at which the titles, so far as this Court is concerned, must be regarded as settled, we have decided that that point of time must be the establishment of the British Government in 1840; and all persons who are proved to have been the actual owners or possessors of land at that time must be regarded as the owners or possessors of that land now."

I would call your attention to the Hon. Mr. Fox's very close and very peculiar connection with the Rangitikei-Manawatu purchase from first to last. In 1862 we find Mr. Fox with his colleagues, inducing the Assembly to exclude this block from the operation of the Native Lands Act. In 1864 we find Mr. Fox, the Minister, sending Dr. Featherston, the Land Purchase Commissioner, to arbitrate between the tribes. In 1868 we find Mr. Fox, the "coming man," appearing in Court against the natives. In 1869 we find Mr. Fox, the Premier, ordering a notice to be published in the *Gazette*, declaring the native title extinguished over the block;

See Appendix, p. 129.

also writing to Dr. Featherston, thanking him, on behalf of the Government, for the great ability with which he had acquired "for colonizing purposes, one of the most valuable districts in the colony." Again in December, 1869, we find Mr. Fox, the Premier, commended for his firm and decided action, when the unfortunate Miritana for interfering with the survey of his land was forcibly arrested, "handcuffed," and sent to prison.

See Appendix, pages 144 and 155.

I would call your attention to the following, which appeared in a published report of Mr. Fox's closing address for the Crown in the Native Lands Court at Otaki :—"When Rauparaha chose to subjugate a tribe, he knew well enough how to do it. See how he treated the tribes on the other side of the straits. Here is the description of a traveller there in 1840,—'As we proceeded, we found a party of aboriginal natives, they were made prisoners four or five years ago by Rauparaha and the Kawhia people. They have their residence at Titirangi at the entrance of Admiralty Bay, and are slaves to the Kawhia chiefs. These people received us with fear and trembling, holding their lives at the mercy of the chiefs, one of whom was with us. We encamped near them at night and found them very different from the free people we had seen. They are scarcely allowed to possess anything beyond the means of existence, and pay a heavy tribute yearly to their masters.' (Wakefield's Journal, Parliamentary Papers, 1844, Appendix).

"In 1846, I myself had the fortune to see the last miserable remnant of these victims of Rauparaha's strong arm when he chose to exert it. They were then reduced to some ten souls, who haggard, starved, and miserable, crawled out of the bush to the camp fire of our travelling party.

"How unlike the condition of the Ngatiapa as described in this Court by Nopera, who tells us that when they cursed a great chief of the Ngatiraukawa, by likening his sacred head to a pumpkin, he did not seek to avenge himself, because the Ngatiapa were an independent tribe, and co-equal with his."

Mr. Fox might have known that had the tribes been co-equal, the consequences would have been serious, besides which "great chiefs" were not in the habit of speaking in such a manner of one another. When I asked the natives the meaning of this, they said that Ngatiraukawa wanted Nepia to chastise Ngatiapa for their insolence, when Nepia said to his people,—"Did you ever see a big dog take any notice of the snarls of a little dog?" But Mr. Fox's meaning is plain,—that because Ngatiraukawa protected these people, and did allow Te Rauparaha to treat them as cruelly as he did the original tribes of the Middle Island, the land which Ngatiraukawa had reserved for themselves must be taken from them, and restored to the original possessors, and through them handed over to the Crown.

As showing the great unfairness to the natives by a man in Mr. Fox's position appearing in the Native Lands Court, I beg to call your attention to an extract from a speech of the Hon. Mr. Stafford's (then Premier) in the Assembly, in 1867, wherein he states,

See Appendix, p. 112.

—"He would tell the honourable gentleman that, so long as he had the honor to be one of the advisers of the Crown, he would take such action as circumstances might require, even if it should be to suspend the operation of the Judges of the Native Lands Court, whenever such a course was for the public interest—aye, even if the Judges were swept away altogether."

The Hon. Mr. Fox (who was at that time alluded to in all the newspapers in the Colony as the "coming man"), in an extract from his speech in the Native Lands Court at Otaki,

See Appendix, p. 113.

gives as "grave reasons" why excessive liberality should not be exercised towards the claimants,— "A body of seventeen hundred natives, who affect to have sold the land in question to the Crown, watch with intense interest a decision which may vindicate their honor, or cover them with shame and confusion. The credit of the purchasing Government is no less at stake."

I beg to call your attention to extracts from Dr. Featherston's speech to his Provincial Council, at page 109 of the Appendix; also to the judgment of the Native Lands Court on the claim of Parakaia and others, to Himatangi a portion of the Manawatu-Rangitikei block.

See Appendix, page 113.

You will perceive that the Court, after finding that "the Ngatiapa-Rangitane, weakened by the Ngatitao invasion under Te Rauparaha, were compelled to share their territory with his principal allies the Ngatiraukawa, and to acquiesce in a joint ownership," (passing by the fact that the Ngatiapa-Rangitane had already dealt with more of the country than having a regard to the peculiar circumstances and the numbers of the various tribes they were entitled to expect), proceeded to give judgment on the whole block, as follows :—"Our decision on this question of tribal title is, that Ngatiraukawa and the original owners possessed equal interests in, and rights over, the land in question, at the time when the negotiations for the cession to the Crown of the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block were entered upon," the Court thus awarding half the whole block to the Ngatiapa and Rangitane; (which added to the 500,000 acres they had already received made 625,000 acres given to them out of the Rangitikei, the Ahuoturanga, and Manawatu-Rangitikei blocks; and only half of the Manawatu-Rangitikei Block, to Ngatiraukawa; excluding at the same time all of the Ngatiraukawa tribe who were not in actual occupation, making it appear that the judgment was prepared rather with a view to meeting the requirements of the "public interests" than to doing justice with respect to the rights of the natives over a block of land for which the Government of the country had already paid some £25,000. (It should here be borne in mind that the country to the south of the Manawatu river, and Ahuoturanga block, belonged originally, more particularly to the Muaupoko tribe, who were almost exterminated by Te Rauparaha).

I now beg to call your attention to extracts from Dr. Featherston's speech to his Council (delivered two months after the judgment given by Chief Judge Fenton and Judge Mailing), which appear at page 115 of the Appendix. He says,— "Gratifying as it is, to be able to announce that this valuable block of land will shortly be at the disposal of the Province for colonizing purposes, it is not less so to be able to state that after a long and exhaustive investigation before the two ablest Judges of the Land Court, the Manawatu purchase has been completely vindicated, and that the statements thereon, which from time to time I have made to the Council, have been in every particular substantiated and confirmed."

"The decision of the Court is the more satisfactory considering that it was delivered by Judges specially named by the natives themselves, or by those acting for them; and Judges who, from their position and experience, were eminently qualified to adjudicate on so important a case."

(With respect to the above, I may say that there are only six Judges of the the Native Lands Court; that the case was heard at Otaki in 1868, before three of the Judges; and was re-heard in Wellington in 1869, before two of the three remaining Judges of the Court.)

Dr. Featherston also says,— "To show how complete is the vindication of the purchase, I would point out to you that not only are my published views, as to the tribal and territorial status of the Ngatiapa, confirmed by the decision on the the issues submitted to the Court, but that even in the details of my proposed arrangements with the Ngatiraukawa, the Court has completely endorsed the fairness and justice of my proposals. As I have previously informed the Council, there was a small number of *bonâ fide* Ngatiraukawa dissentients to whom I considered it necessary to make an award in land; to these non-sellers, I proposed giving 6,000 acres in full satisfaction of their claims, and it is a significant fact that, omitting the 200 acres awarded to Wiriharai—who was admitted by the Crown as an act of grace—this is the Exact aggregate quantity awarded by the Court to the several sections of Ngatiraukawa claimants. Apart from this, I may mention, that out of over a thousand claimants, only sixty-two were admitted by the Court, that being the exact number of recognised dissentient claimants whose names were, on a previous occassion, laid before you. I need hardly assure you that it is very gratifying to me personally to find the whole of my views upheld by the highest native tribunal."

Possibly you also may regard the above as very significant.

I beg to call your attention to the decision of the Court, delivered by His Honor Chief Judge Fenton on the

issues in the Native Lands Court, in Wellington, 23rd August, 1869,

See Appendix, p. 119.

when the claims of the Ngatiraukawa dissentients to the purchase of the Rangitikei-Manawatu block were heard in Court. Also to the judgment of the Court delivered by His Honor Judge Mailing, 25th September, 1869.

See Appendix, p. 120 *et seq.*

I would call your particular attention to the following, which appears in Mr. Mailing's judgment, at page 122,— "But what was no doubt fully as much in favour of the Ngatiapa tribe, and which may probably have been the cause of their not having been eventually subjugated, was the fact already noticed, that Rauparaha on his return from the north, after having invited the Ngatiraukawa to come down, had made peace with the Ngatiapa, thereby waiving any rights he might have been supposed to claim over their lands and indeed from that time for a long period afterwards, friendly and confidential relations undoubtedly were maintained between Te Rauparaha and his tribe, and the tribe of Ngatiapa, which were only broken off, more by accident than by design of either party, in consequence of a few men of the Ngatiapa having been killed in an attack made by the Ngatitooa and others on a fort belonging to the Rangitane tribe, in which these Ngatiapa men happened to be staying at the time, and whose death was afterwards avenged by the Ngatiapa, after which peace was again established between them and Te Rauparaha."

Mr. W. T. L. Travers, in his *Life of Te Rauparaha*, says, that after the attack above mentioned, made by Ngatitooa and others on a fort belonging to the Rangitane tribe, the Ngatiapa, with the Rangitane and Muaupoko. "led by Te Hakeke, fell upon the Ngatitooa, at Waikanae, during the night, killing upwards of sixty of them. * * * In consequence of this attack, Rauparaha and Rangihaeata became (to use the words of Matene Te Whiwhi), 'dark in their hearts in regard to Ngatiapa,' and resolved to spare no efforts to destroy them, as well as the remnants of Rangitane and Muaupoko."

See Appendix, page 26.

Mr. Travers, also states, that after this again, some 2000 warriors assembled between Otaki and Waikanae, consisting of men from some ten tribes, amongst them the Ngatiapa, from Wangaehu, Turakina, and Rangitikei; and attacked Rauparaha and his people at Waiorua, on the Island of Kapiti, when they were repulsed with great slaughter. That Te Rauparaha and his people after the battle, "lost no opportunity of wreaking vengeance on the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko, the remnant of whom they ultimately reduced to the condition of the merest tributaries, many of the leading chiefs, including Te Hakeke, becoming slaves. It would be useless for me to give any thing like a detailed account of the incursions of the Ngatitooa into the country on the main land, often extending as far as Turakina, in which numbers of the original inhabitants were killed and eaten, or reduced to slavery."

See Appendix, pages 27 and 28.

I may state that a full account of the fight at Kapiti, and subsequent expeditions of the Ngatitooa, was given in the Court before Judges Fenton and Maning; and that when Nopera, a Ngatitooa chief, and one of the principal witnesses for the Crown, was asked in Court,— "Did not Te Rauparaha, after the fight at Kapiti, make peace with the Ngatiapa?" he made answer (addressing the Interpreter),—"Young man, I have kissed the book, I must not tell a lie; there never was any peace made between Te Rauparaha and Ngatiapa."

Mr. Maning, by having entirely omitted all mention of the above facts, which are simply matter of history, and by having stated the very contrary, I submit, proves his judgment to be utterly worthless.

Mr. Maning also says in his judgment,— "The policy, however, of Te Rauparaha, has been evidently from the beginning, after having made the Ngatiapa feel his power, to elevate and strengthen them as a check on his almost too numerous friends, the Ngatiraukawa, who, were it not that they were bound to him by a great common danger, created by himself in placing them on lately conquered lands, he would never have trusted. * * * It is, however, sufficient that we have the fact, that, influenced by whatever motives, Te Rauparaha did not at any time give or grant any lands of the Ngatiapa estate, between the Manawatu and Rangitikei rivers, to the Ngatiraukawa tribe, nor is there any evidence to show that he ever acquired the right to do so."

The above, I submit, like a good many other statements in Mr. Maning's judgement, amounts to simply an inversion of facts. The Ngatiapa were certainly not aware themselves of Te Rauparaha's kindly intentions towards them. I may state that after Hunia Te Hakeke, the principal chief of Ngatiapa, had at request, given a full account of the murder of a number of the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko, by Ngatiawa, at Wainui, I asked him "who instigated the Ngatiawa to murder these people?" when he replied with much warmth,— "It was Te Rauparaha." Mr. Maning's statement,— "It was the pride and pleasure of Raukawa to hunt and kill all helpless stragglers whom they might fall in with," I might be pardoned for saying, almost reads as though he himself took a "pride and pleasure" in displaying his *animus* against those natives who had the misfortune to be non-sellers.

When the Court in giving its decision on the first of the issues,— "Did Ngatiraukawa, prior to 1840, by virtue of the conquest of Ngatiapa by themselves or others through whom they claimed, acquire the dominion

over the land in question, or any or what part or parts thereof?" says "No!" I maintain the answer ought most certainly to have been "Yes!" And I respectfully submit that it would be impossible to make use of the English language to convey a more erroneous or utterly false impression to men's minds, than the following concluding statement in Mr. Mailing's judgment, "And the Court finds also that the Ngatiraukawa tribe has not, as a tribe acquired any right, title, interest, or authority, in or over the block of land which has been the subject of this investigation".

I have the honor to state, that some time after the judgment given by Judges Fenton and Maning, on the claims of the Ngatiraukawa dissentients, after one native had been sent to prison, and two others fined for interfering with the surveyors, the Hon. Mr. McLean, Native Minister, went up to the Manawatu-Rangitikei country, at the urgent request of the Wellingtons Provincial Government; and that he then induced those of Ngatiraukawa who had been admitted by the Court with the three *hapus* occupying the inland portion of the block, and whose claims had been entirely ignored by the Court, to agree to some compromise. It should be borne in mind that this was done after several years of litigation and contention—after the Commissioner and the Court had decided against them—after they were thoroughly wearied out, and ready to take almost anything that might be given to them. As Mr. McLean is a gentleman supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with the history of all the past transactions with the tribes on the West Coast, and moreover, the gentleman who purchased 8,000,000 acres of country in the Middle Island, from the conquering chiefs residing on both sides of Cook Strait, his having been selected by the Government to use his position and influence with these "conquering chiefs," to induce them to compound their wrongs, was no doubt a very wise selection. And I may add, that Mr. McLean gave the natives a few thousand acres over and above the land that had been awarded to them by Dr. Featherston and the Court—and that the only question now before the Assembly, is, whether the General on Provincial Government shall bear the loss of the land given to the natives by Mr. McLean.

I beg to call your attention to a report, at page 153 of the Appendix, of the slaughter on the Manawatu-Rangitikei block, of upwards of 400 sheep the property of a Mr. Gotty—and to the fact that this occurred some fifteen months before the proclamation was issued in the Gazette, notifying that the native title was extinguished over the block. I may state that the natives informed me at the time that Dr. Featherston ordered the sheep to be killed; and two gentlemen who happened to be riding past, and saw the Ngatiapa engaged killing the sheep in a most cruel and brutal manner, state, they were told by the Ngatiapa men themselves, that Dr. Featherston ordered them to kill the sheep. It also appears from the newspaper report, that Dr. Featherston was the chief mover. There can be no doubt, that had it not been for the great patience and forbearance displayed on the occasion by the Ngatiraukawa people, the consequences might have been very serious. And it appears passing strange that this should have occurred within a few miles of the capital of the Colony—shortly before the Assembly met in Wellington—and upon a block of land which the Ngatiraukawa tribe had always believed to be theirs but which the Government of the country had been compelled to phase from a great number of tribes, "as the only means of avoiding an after-tribal war," and that no notice whatever should have been taken of such a very remarkable transaction by the Government. Mr. Gotty lost his sheep; the Ngatiapa were again triumphant; and the Ngatiraukawa had once more to submit to grievous insult and oppression.

Dr. Featherston, in his speech to his Council, one month after the native title had been declared to be extinguished over this block, says,—"I regret to inform you that the same parties by whose unprincipled opposition the settlement of this question has been so long delayed, and the peace of the Province so repeatedly jeopardised, are still persisting in their attempts to excite the native to prevent the survey of the land. Until these parties find themselves liable to the pains and penalties of the Disturbed Districts Act, as I trust they shortly will, it is hopeless to expect them to cease from their vile intrigues." It is worthy of note that the "parties" by whose "vile" proceedings the "peace of the Province was jeopardized" upon this occasion (but who were not "liable to the pains and penalties of the Disturbed Districts Act)," It the very same who were the chief actors in the interesting scene enacted at Parewanui, shortly before the money was paid over to the nine tribes in the interests of peace. But Dr. Featherston, and his interesting "protégé" would appear, like many before them, too soon to have forgotten their matrimonial vows, and from—"Let this ring be a token that there is no longer enmity between the tribes, and that henceforward they will live together on terms of mutual good will, in friendship with the Pakeha, and in loyalty to our Gracious Queen! And, Governor Hunia, long may you live to wear it!"—too soon to have descended so low, so very low, as even to "cutting the throats" of upwards of 400 innocent and unoffending sheep, when in charge of Ngatiraukawa. I am happy to be in a position to add that Governor Hunia still "lives to wear" the ring.

I beg to call your attention to extracts from the *Wellington Independent*, at pages 154 and 155 of the Appendix, giving an account of the arrest of Miritana, a Ngatiraukawa chief. I may state that the history of this man (a British subject) is a remarkable one. When a savage, he, with his people, protected the Ngatiapa against Te Rauparaha and others who wished them all to be exterminated. Some years after the colonization of the

country, he and his people, formally restored to their old slaves and subjects, the Ngatiapa, upwards of 250,000 acres of fine country; an act of generosity which caused the Commissioner, Mr. McLean (now the Hon. D. McLean, Native Minister to "express his gratification at the generous manner in which Ngatiapa acted, more particularly in not accepting any of the purchase-money, of which Ngatiapa had previously expected them to take a large share;" and the Hon. Mr. Fox since to exclaim,—"I am amazed at the generosity of these people they have given up large tracts of country which they might have sold themselves, and taken all the purchase-money." In process of time, a certain Superintendent of a Province, with their old slaves again, covet the land of this man and his people. When the Government of the country (a country in which there had previously been a large outpouring of British and Colonial blood and treasure—in which whole tribes had been expelled from their homes, numbers of them slain, and millions of acres of their land confiscated to the Crown, avowedly for the purpose of asserting the supremacy of law), purchases the land of this man and his people from their old slaves and several other tribes, as the only means of "preventing bloodshed," and "avoiding an inter, tribal war." The poor man, not exactly accepting the measure as one of "the advantages secured by being protected by British rule," attempts to interfere with the survey of his land, when he is at once forcibly arrested, "handcuffed," and sent to prison; and we find the Premier, the Hon. Mr. Fox, highly commended for his "firm and decided action" in the matter.

I beg to call your attention to letters at page 155 and following pages of the Appendix, from Ngatiraukawa natives, who lost their land in the Manawatu-Rangitikei Block; asking me to try and do something for them. Also, to a letter at page 155, from the Native Office, informing them that no land will be given to them out of the Rangitikei-Manawatu block.

With respect to the letter from Rawiri Te Wanui, of the Ngatimaetaki, *hapu* of Kingi Te Ahoaho, I beg to state that Kingi Te Ahoaho was a leading man of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, who took a prominent part in the discussions when the land to the north of the Rangitikei river was handed over to Ngatiapa. That for several years after the tribe took possession of this country, Kingi, with his *hapu*, occupied land on both sides of the Rangitikei river. That in 1839 they were engaged in a war with the Ngatiawa tribe near to Otaki; that after peace was made, Kingi, with his *hapu* remained at Otaki, that they might be near to the residence of Mr. Hadfield the missionary; that since that time they were constantly in the habit of returning to their land and exercising rights of ownership. That the Ngati-raukawa tribe have always admitted their right to the land they claim. That Bishop Hadfield, Matene Te Whiwhi, and others, have told me that they had a perfectly clear and good title. There can be no doubt that they were, in 1810, and until lately, the acknowledged owners of the land. These people say—"We none of us gave our consent to the sale of the land; nor did we receive any of the money; nor did we sign our names to Dr. Featherston's deed of purchase of that land." Yet every acre of their land situate near to the mouth of the Rangitikei river, and amounting to 18,600 acres, has been taken from them. One of the grounds for taking their land from them is because they did not occupy it. But the Government did not apply that rule of the right of the conquering chiefs over the lands of the Middle Island; nor has such a rule been applied elsewhere with respect to the greater portion of the Maori lands. The Government would, I imagine, have as good a right to confiscate all the land in New Zealand the property of absentees, as to take these people's land from them. There can be no doubt that they have always considered the land to be theirs, and that they have lost it.

Hare Hemi Taharape, who writes on behalf of himself and 50 men, women, and children; also Akapita Te Tewe, who writes on behalf of himself and 25 others; have claims on the block, which were admitted by Ngatiraukawa when the Court sat at Otaki; by the decision of the Court, that non-residents had no claims, they were thrown out. The same was the case with the Ngati-wehiwehi *hapu*, whose statement appears at page 158. They were admitted by the Ngatikauwhata *hapu*, one of the *hapus* who were admitted by the Court, to be joint owners with them of the land near the Orua river.

At page 156 is a letter from the three *hapus* known as Parakaia's *hapus*, the owners of the Himatangi block; the title to which was investigated at Otaki, when I acted as their agent, and when (though these people, and they alone, were in occupation of the block, and though this block adjoins the Awahou block, sold exclusively by the Ngatiraukawa), half the block was taken from them and they were awarded some 5000 acres. What their position is at the present time with respect to this land I cannot make out, nor do they seem to know themselves. Dr. Featherston, in his speech to his Provincial Council, 22nd November, 1869, says,

See Appendix, page 116.

—"And it will scarcely promise you to be informed that the block of 5000 acres which was awarded Parakaia and his *hapu* by the Otaki Court, and which he neglected to take up within the period prescribed by the Act, thereby allowing the award to lapse, reverts to the Crown under the subsequent judgment of the Court, which excludes the Ngatiraukawa, except the three resident *hapus*, from the country lying between the Rangitikei and Manawatu rivers." Whatever may be the intentions of the Government with respect to these three *hapus* and their land, I have no hesitation in saying that there would be no difficulty in proving before any

impartial inquirer that they have an undoubted right to the whole of the Himatangi block of some 11,000 acres.

At page 157 of the Appendix is a statement from Henere Te Herekas of the case of three *hapus* of Ngatiraukawa—Ngatipikiahū, Ngatitu wharetoa, and Ngatimaniapoto. It appears that some of these people had been in occupation of some country further inland, when, on account of some disturbance with natives of another tribe, Ngatiraukawa sent for [*unclear: them*] and gave them part of the Manawatu-Rangitikei block, amounting to 20,000 acres, and that others of Ngatiraukawa joined them there. That this occurred in 1846, two years before the Rangitikei block was handed over by Ngatiraukawa to Ngatiapa. There are 250 of these people, men, women, and children, and though they received all the money on account of their leases, and none of them joined in the sale of the block to Dr. Featherston, their land has all been taken from them, with the exception of 3000 acres since returned to them. I may state that I went into the particulars of their case when at Otaki, attending the Lands Court, and that I believe them to have a perfectly good claim to the whole of the block of 20,000 acres.

With respect to the three *hapus* who were admitted by Chief Judge Fenton and Judge Mailing—the Ngatikahoro, the Ngatiparewahawaha, and the Ngatikauwhata—I beg to state that they were the owners of the greater portion of the block; that many of them signed the purchase deed; that many again did not, but opposed the sale throughout. What proportion those who signed the deed bear to those who did not sign, I am not in a position to state, not having discussed the question with them since the Court sat at Otaki, more than five years since. But in all fairness, I submit, it should be borne in mind the circumstances under which their signatures were obtained. It will, I believe be admitted that nothing tends more to unsettle the minds of these people than having their title to their land disputed. The country originally belonged to the Ngatiapa and Rangitane tribes (the country south of the Manawatu river more particularly belonged to the Muaupoko). The Ngatiraukawa took possession years before the date of the colonization, at the time when the Ngatiapa and Rangitane were entirely unable to occupy it themselves, and subsequently allotted to the original possessors a very liberal share, which they afterwards sold to the Government. The original possessors, now backed by the Wanganuis, and armed with Government rifles and ammunition, claim the portion reserved by Ngatiraukawa for themselves, and are determined to effect a sale. The Government of the country recognize the claims of the original possessors and of other tribes, and are equally determined to effect a purchase, and to allow no investigation into the question of title; besides which the rents are impounded. Some of the Ngatiraukawa, who have themselves to land in the block, having already sold their land between the rivers, agree to the sale; others again join because they are weary of the whole question, and anxious at almost any sacrifice to effect a compromise; one principal chief, Tapa Te Whata, with his immediate followers, signed under promise of large reserves, which he afterwards told me he never received. Another chief, Horomona Toremi, because he had quarrelled with his people; others signed the deed and took a portion of the purchase money, having been told,—“All the tribes have met together, and sold the whole of the land to the Queen, whether you take the money or not, the land is gone.” (Atareta, daughter Nepia Taratoa, principal chief of that country, in her letter at page 70 of the Appendix, says,—“I never signed my name to Dr. Featherston's deed of purchase, and all that has been given to me is one hundred acres.”)

The tribe finds in array against it the Governor of the country and his Ministers, as shown by the Despatches and Memoranda, the General Assembly, the Superintendent of the Province, with the great body of settlers, who are, naturally enough, anxious to obtain the land; also, the original possessors and the surrounding tribes, who, having been crushed or defeated in former years by Te Rauparaha and his allies, are now, twenty-seven years after the [*unclear: ionization*] and armed with Government rifles and ammunition, anxious to achieve a great triumph over the Ngatiraukawa people.

The question, as to whether or not it is advisable that they should be allowed to retain more land in their possession than they can properly make of themselves, I submit, is wide of the question as to the justice or otherwise of the manner in which they have been dealt with. There are many Europeans who own large tracts of land in the country, but who make very little use of it. The land of these people was excepted from the operation of the Native Lands Act. They have shown themselves disposed to be liberal, both by their treatment of the original possessors, and by their willingness to lease their lands. The question should be, have they been treated, as they had a right to be treated, as loyal and peaceable subjects of the Queen of England? If not, then. I submit, another question naturally suggests itself, how far a purchase of their lands effected under such circumstances, has any fair right to be recognised as a purchase at all.

I beg to call your attention to letters and telegrams at page 133, and following pages of the Appendix, relating to the Horowhenua disturbance, extracted from a number laid before the Assembly. Also, to articles from the *Evening Post* and *Wellington Independent*, newspapers published in Wellington, as page 114 and following pages. Also, to the judgment of the Lands Court on the tribal title to the land lying between the Kukutauaki stream and the Manawatu River.

See Appendix, p. 145.

Also to the judgment on the smaller Horowhenua block.

See Appendix, p. 148.

I beg to call attention to letters addressed to myself

See Appendix, p. 159, *et seq.*

from some of the owners of those portions of the Horowhenua block marked No. 2 and 3, which were taken from Ngatiraukawa and given by the Court to Muaupoko, headed by Major Kemp and Governor Hunia, in addition to their own portion marked No. 1. Watene Tiwaewae gives a plain statement, in his letter, of their case from first to last. The facts are simple. After the judgment given by Chief Judge Fenton and Judge Maning on the title to the Manawatu-Rangitikeri block, in 1869, the Muaupoko, at the instigation of Hunia, chief of the Ngatiapa, and wearer of the ring, began to lay claim to land in possession of Ngatiraukawa; in 1870, Hunia again went to Horowhenua, armed, and made a disturbance, building a large house called *Kupe* on land belonging to Ngatiraukawa. The matter was then investigated by a number of chiefs from different tribes, who decided that the Muaupoko boundary should be removed so as to include the house *Kupe*, the Ngatiraukawa giving up a portion of their land. In 1871, Hunia and Major Kemp went again armed to Horowhenua and built a fighting pa, and burnt down some of the houses occupied by the Ngatiraukawa people, destroying some of their fences and crops, and behaving in the most insulting manner; and afterwards laid claim on behalf of five tribes—the Muaupoko, Rangitane, Ngatiapa, Wanganui, and Ngatika-hungunu (the tribes who were vanquished by Te Rauparaha and his allies, and who lately sold the Manawatu-Rangitikeri block)—to the whole of the land left in the hands of the Ngatiraukawa. When the Court, after long delay, sat at Foxton to investigate the title, they were with much difficulty induced to come into Court. On 4th March, 1873, the Court gave judgment on the large block, that sections of the Ngatiraukawa tribe (together with Ngatitoto and Ngatiawa, whose joint interest was admitted by the claimants), had acquired rights over the said block (with certain exceptions),—"That such rights were not acquired by conquest, but by occupation with the acquiescence of the original owners," amounting to a decision that the original possessors had never been conquered. The Court afterwards, in giving judgment on the Horowhenua block, gave to Muaupoko, headed by Kemp and Hunia, in addition to their own portion marked No. 1, the portion of the Horowhenua block marked No. 2,—which originally belonged to Te Whatanui, the man who saved these people—and the portion marked No. 3, belonging to two other *hapus* of Ngatiraukawa; land which had been in their possession for upwards of 40 years. Governor Sir G. Grey, in one of his despatches to Her Majesty's Government, says,—"*I ought to mention to your Grace that I believe I was the first to recommend the forfeiture of lands by those natives who took up [unclear: arms] against us, and I did so for the following reasons :—Because such a proceeding is in conformity with their own customs. It will affect lands of those who have forced us into war, and leaves secure to the native owners who have remained at peace, their large landed possessions in other parts of the island. They will thus, from contrast, see the advantages secured by being protected by British rule, &c.*"

I submit that there could be no plainer condemnation of the course pursued if the Government in purchasing the Manawatu-Rangitikeri block from the Ngatiapa and others, and of the judgment given by Chief Judge Fenton and Judge Maning in the Native Lands Court on the tribal title to that block, the subsequent behaviour of these men at Horowhenua. The title of the Ngatiraukawa was in both cases the same; as Mr. Travers says, at page 11 of the Appendix,—"*Properly founded upon a complete conquest, followed by occupation, as of right, down to the date of the colonization.*" The manner in which these miscreants are treated bears a strong contrast to the manner in which the Ngatiraukawa people have been treated by the Government throughout, as shown also in the case of the forcible arrest of Miritana. The *Wellington Independent*, in an article upon the disturbed Districts Act, at page 153 of the Appendix, says,—"*The terms of this Act are threatened to the Maoris and Pakeha-Maoris who are resisting the survey of the Rangitikeri-Manawatu block. If Maoris submit their claims to the judgment of a Court, they ought to be prepared to abide by its decision; but if they will not do this, we must simply make them. This is just the time when the Government can act with decision and authority. Inspector Brannigan and 100 men ought to be able to seize all the suspected persons on the Manawatu block in twenty-four hours.*" These men go to Horowhenua with Government arms, they build a fighting pa as a challenge to Ngatiraukawa, they burn down their houses, break their fences and root up their crops; and all that is done to them, the Native Minister, to mollify them, does his best to have Watene removed from home of his fathers, because, as Mr. Clarke says in his telegram to the Hon. D. McLean at page 140 of the Appendix,—"*He is a cause of irritation to Hunia and Kemp;*" the Court gives a judgment which amounts to a decision that they had never been conquered, and afterwards awards them land to which they had no manner of right whatever. If loyal and peaceable natives do not, most undoubtedly *these* men have been enabled "from contrast, to see the advantages secured by being protected by British rule."

I beg to call your attention to the letter at page 133 of the Appendix, from Matene Te Whiwhi and 36 others to the Native Minister, complaining of the conduct of Hunia and the Ngatiapa at Horowhenua, and praying that the Government guns may be taken from them; they say,—"*It is through his having possession of those guns that Kawana Hunia is so arrogant.*" Also, to letters at page 135 of the Appendix, from Hunia and the Muaupoko

to the Native Minister, suggesting that the dispute should be left to the Maoris Hunia says,—“If any man of the Muaupoko is touched by the Ngatirauka, Te Kepa (Major Kemp) and I will turn our eyes in that direction.” Also to the letter at page 134, from this same Major Kemp to the Hon. Mr. Fox, in which he asks the Premier to interfere and stop the survey at Horowhenua by Ngatiraukawa and Ngatitōa,—“Lest trouble should arise amongst us, and the negotiations with the King party be interfered with; and that we may be free to define a policy relative to the King movements, either of peace or war.”

Watene says in his letter,—“Horowhenua was then (1870) investigated by chiefs of certain tribes; that *runanga* decided that the house *Kupe* should be the boundary. After that investigation, Kemp and Hunia came, in 1871, with their people and burnt my house, which was occupied at the time, and injured the head of a woman; they came with guns in their hands, and build a pa.” The *Evening Post*, in an article dated 5th June, 1873,

See Appendix, p. 151.

says, The matter at one time was referred, by mutual consent, to the arbitration of a number of tribes which assembled at Horowhenua for that purpose, on which occasion a block was awarded to the Muaupoko, about half the area of that given to Kemp by the Native Lands Court. This would have been accepted by the Muaupoko proper, but Kawana Hunia and Kemp refused to abide by the decision, and extending their claims to the whole coast became more clamorous and unreasonable than ever. They persisted (as they themselves state) in their resolution to maintain their claims by force if necessary.”

The *Evening Post*, in an article dated 10th July, 1872, says,

See Appendix, p. 144.

—“The conquerors have been, until recently, in uninterrupted occupation of the district. But the effects of civilization have combined to put the conquered occupiers on sufferance, and claimants by ancestry, in a position of equality, if not of superiority, to the occupiers and claimants by conquest.

Only in the middle of last year, some of the discontented conquered used force to dispossess Watene and some other descendants of the conquerors from the birthplaces and the burial-places of their fathers. A Major in the Colonial army Kemp, and Governor Hunia, a protégé of Dr. Featherston, were at the head of this raid, both of them directly aiding and abetting in the burning of a house and the beating and otherwise ill-treating of a woman, and in pulling her out of a house in which she declared she would stay until she was burnt in it.

Government and parliament were both appealed to in vain.” The *Evening Post* [*unclear: tions*] this again in its article at page 151. The *Wellington Independent*, in its article at page 149, also alludes to this.

In several of the letters and telegrams, mention is made of the houses having been burnt, and of these people having their guns with them. In No. 36, mention is made of the fences having been broken, and the potatoes [*unclear: oted*] up. The Native Minister, in his reply to telegram No. 39, from Matene Te Whiwhi, informing him of Watene's house having been burnt by Hunia and Kemp, and that they went there with guns in their hands, says,—“It is natural that you should be distressed on account of this work of burning the house.” Mr. Knox, in his telegram No. 44, to the Native Minister, says,—“Hunia has a strong determination not to allow Ngatiraukawa to have any claim to the Horowhenua district, and is prepared to prevent occupation of the disputed land by force of arms.” Major Edwards, in telegram No. 48, says,—“Hunia boasts he will take the land, and hold it, by force of arms.” In his letter No. 55, he says,—“That Ngatiapa is much better armed than Ngatiraukawa, added to the wish of the latter to keep the peace, and trust to the law alone for protection, has been the cause of their remaining passive under the great provocation they have received.” Whilst the Native Minister, in his telegram No. 45, to Matene Te Whiwhi, says,—“I have written a letter to Te Keepa and Hunia, telling them they are not to fight. I am waiting for their answer;” Major Kemp and Hunia tell Major Edwards, in telegram No. 51, forwarded for the information of the Native Minister,—“We will continue to wait for the consent about the boundaries. That the disputed boundaries lire to be left unoccupied. A word omitted : If the Ngatiraukawa do not consent to the arrangement about the boundaries, I suppose that will put an end to the purpose you came for.” The Hon. D. McLean, in reply to Major Kemp, says,—“It will be right for both you and Kawana Hunia to respect the law, so that the people may be saved.”

Mr. Clarke, in telegram No. 96, to the Native Minister, says,—“If I could only get Watene to leave Horowhenua, the natives would quiet down, as he is a cause of irritation to Hunia and Kemp.” Hunia and Major Kemp, in telegram No. 109, to the Native Minister, say,—“By this our minds are disturbed and disordered. You said you would be strong to remove Watene from off disputed land.” The Native Minister, in telegram No. 114, to Major Kemp, says,—“I have spoken to Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana about Te Watene.” In No. 115 to Mr. Clarke, he says,—“Use your endeavours with Ngatiraukawa, for Te Watene to remove from Horowhenua for a time.” On the other hand, Hohuate Te Ruirui, in letter No. 98, to the Hon. D. McLean, says,—“But let the Government be strong in asking these persons who carry guns, build pas, burn houses, and cause all evil by their thoughts, to move.”

The only natives having any interest in this land, are the remnant of the Muaupoko, and the Ngatiraukawa.

Yet Hunia and Major Kemp, in their telegram No. 107, to the Native Minister, say,—“We have settled about going to Wellington. Meeting of Wanganui, Ngatiapa, Mangawhero, Ngarauru, and Apokoiri, have agreed to this. On Mete's return from up-river, principal chiefs will be chosen to go to Wellington—30 or 40 in number. Will the Assembly be long sitting? When will it be over? Please reply to-day, for my consideration.” The Native Minister, in his reply (Ko. 114) says,—“In a fortnight's time I would be better able to see you and the Wanganui chiefs.” In telegram No. 130, “From all the Council of Wanganui,” they say,—“You would not like 400 of the Wanganui to come to Wellington; this is the reason we ask you to come here.”

I may state that I have been told of the strange behaviour of Hunia and Major Kemp when the Court was sitting, or rather endeavouring to sit, at Foxton; but I prefer quoting from the newspaper report. The *Wellington Evening Post*, of date March 10, 1873,

See Appendix, page 146.

says,—“From the violent and continued opposition offered by the five tribes, represented by Major Kemp and Kawana Hunia, to the claims of the Ngatiraukawa people, and their attempts to interrupt the proceedings of the Court, some considerable apprehension existed that, in the event of a decision adverse to their interests being given by the Court, &c. At that time the natives in opposition strained every nerve to get the Court adjourned indefinitely. Threats, intimidations, and every imaginable artifice was adopted by them; but all to no purpose.” Again, in an article of date 24th March, 1873,

See Appendix, p. 147.

—“Some of whom wearied the Court for four solid days, and in one case, we are informed, the witness spun out his story for nearly five days; calling to mind facts of which he personally knew nothing, but had derived from the mere hearsay of his ancestors and his own invention.” Again,—“We are informed on good authority that Kemp and his followers, who are in possession of Government arms and ammunition, threatened to use them in the event of matters proving unfavourable to them.” At the conclusion of the article,—“In order to please a few men, whose claims are merely those which were admitted by generous conquerors, and who now believing themselves to be backed and supported by Government, are endeavouring to accomplish their ends by threats of violence.”

The *Evening Post*, at the conclusion of a very ably written article upon these questions, of date 5th June, 1873,

See Appendix, p. 151.

speaking of the Horowhenua judgment, says,—“Even Major Kemp is not satisfied, although he has been awarded a large block of land, upon the greater portion of which none of his [*unclear: estors*] or relations have resided for a period beyond the memory of the [*unclear: est*] settler; it having been continually occupied and cultivated by Ngatiraukawa, since their migration to this coast.”

At page 145 of the Appendix is a copy of the judgment of the Court upon the question of the tribal title to the land lying between the Manawatu river the north, and the Kukutauaki stream on the south. The statement that appears in this judgment with respect to the title of Ngatiraukawa, “that such rights were not acquired by conquest, but by occupation, with the acquiescence of the original owners,” is very similar to Judge Mailing's Statement in his “elaborate and interesting judgment” on the Manawatu-Rangitikei block, where he says the Ngatiraukawa “made a quiet intrusion [*unclear: ra*] to the lands of the Ngatiapa.”

At page 148, is the judgment of the Court on the Horowhenua block, Ngatiraukawa appearing as claimants, and the Muaupoko as counter-claimants; and the judgment of the Court in favor of the counter-claimants.

Among the reasons for giving judgment in favour of the counter-claimants, “We find that Muaupoko was in possession of the land at Horowhenua when Te Whatanui went there, that they still occupy these lands, and that they have never been dispossessed of them.”

Mr. Travers finds otherwise in his story of Te Rauparaha;

See Appendix, pp. 33, and 34.

he says,—“In lie words of Te Kepa Rangihwinui (better known as Major Kemp), son of Tunguru, one of the chiefs of the Muaupoko, who had been concerned in the [*unclear: urder,*]—‘Whatanui took them under his protection, and promised that nothing should reach them but the rain from heaven;’ meaning that he would stand between them and the long-nursed and ever-burning wrath of Te Rauparaha, The latter unwillingly yielded to the wishes of his great kinsman, and from that time ceased directly to molest these unfortunate people, who were suffered again to occupy part of their original territory in the neighbourhood of Lake Horowhenua; not as a tribe, however, but simply in the character of tributaries, if not actual slaves, to Whatanui. In the words of Matene Te Whiwhi,—‘Rauparaha was anxious to exterminate Muaupoko, but Whatanui interfered. Some had been taken prisoners, but others were living dispersed in the mountains. When they came to Horowhenua, they came like wild dogs; if they had been seen, they would have been caught and killed.’” The Ngatitua chiefs, in their statement at page 37 of the Appendix, say,—“Ngatiraukawa now made peace with these people, with Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa, and now for the first time they came down

from the trees up the mountains." Tamihana Te Neke, at page 38, says,— "When that party arrived, there were no people dwelling on this coast only shags and sea-gulls on the sea beach. The remnants of the inhabitants had fled to the mountains. That party came to Waikanae; they then returned and occupied the coast, because it was clear, those of the former inhabitants who had escaped having tied to the forest." Mr. Kemp in his report,

See Appendix, p. 44.

speaking of Horowhenua says,— "It is also interesting in skirting the lake to see the remains of the old pas, and to hear the accounts given of the manner in which they were attacked and destroyed by Te Rauparaha." There can be no doubt that before Te Whatanui settled at Horowhenua, the pas of these people were all destroyed, and the remnant of the tribe, men, women, and children, were all living in the forest in terror of their lives; the poor creatures had then no Government rifles and ammunition.

We also find in the judgment,— "The claimants appear to rely principally on the residence of Te Whatanui at Horowhenua, and there can be no doubt that at the time when that chief took up his abode there, the Muaupoko were glad to avail themselves of the protection of a powerful Ngatiraukawa chief against Te Rauparaha, whose enmity they had incurred. We find further, that Te Whatanui acquired by gift from Muaupoko a portion of land at Raumatangi." That a Maori chief, in those times (as Judge Mailing says) of rapine, violence, and war—when men could only preserve their lives, and the trifling amount of property which, under such a state of things could exist, by a constant exhibition of military strength—should be in a position to protect the unfortunate Muaupoko against a man like Te Rauparaha, "whose enmity they had incurred," and at the same time be in a position to "acquire by gift from Muaupoko a portion of land at Raumatangi" may appear (as Judge Mailing also says) a strange inconsistency to Europeans not much acquainted with the peculiarities of Maori thought and action. I may here state that the rightful owners of sections No. 2 and 3, Horowhenua block are not the Owners of Raumatangi.

The Court further finds—"It would appear that Te Whatanui took the Muaupoko under his protection, and that he was looked up to as their chief; but it does not appear that the surrender of their land by the Muaupoko was ever stipulated for as the price of the relations which subsisted between that tribe and Te Whatanui." Te Rauparaha, with the Ngatitua and Ngatiawa chiefs, were able to sell millions of acres of the Middle Island. No original owners have risen up in Court, or otherwise, to oppose their claims to their land from south of Wellington to the Kikutauaki stream. The Hon. Mr. Fox tells us, in his closing address for the Crown, in the Native Lands Court at Otaki,— "When Rauparaha chose to subjugate a tribe, he knew well enough how to do it. See how he treated the tribes on the other side of the Straits. It In 1846, I myself had the fortune to see the last miserable remnant of these victims of Rauparaha's strong arm, when he chose to exert it. They were then reduced to some ten souls, who, haggard, starved, and miserable, crawled out of the bush to the camp fire of our travelling party." Te Whatanui, with Ngatiraukawa, acted differently, and with a different result.

At the conclusion of the judgment, we find it recorded of Te Whatanui; the man of whom Mr. Wakefield tells us

See Appendix, p. 16.

—"While he is known as a renowned leader in war, he has also the reputation of great mildness and justice;" the man who, Major Kemp himself tells us, promised the Muaupoko, "that nothing should touch them but the rain from heaven;" the man whose word went forth—"Cease to kill; let the remnants be saved;" the man of whom the Muaupoko themselves told the Reverend Samuel Williams,— "It was not the missionaries but Te Whatanui who first brought to us glad tidings of salvation;"—we find it recorded of him in a Christian Court of Justice,— "We consider that his claim at Horowhenua will be fairly and substantially recognized by marking off a block of one hundred (100) acres at that place, for which a certificate of title may be ordered in favour of his representative;" respecting which 100 acres, we are told—"The greater portion of that land is swamp; it is not a fit place for the habitation of man;

See Appendix, p. 160.

thus clearly showing the case of this people,—the owners of No. 2 and 3 sections, Horowhenua block that their fathers having been merciful to the prostrate when savages, was the cause of their own ruin when under Queen Victoria's rule.

On behalf of these people, I pray Her Majesty's Government to grant a searching investigation into the question as to the condition and position of these various tribes at the time the Treaty of Waitangi was signed (in 1840), viz., of the Ngatitua, the Ngatiawa, and Ngatiraukawa on the one hand; of the Ngatiapa, the Rangitane, and Muaupoko on the other; also, into the question as to whether or not it be true that Te Rauparaha wished the latter tribes to be exterminated, and that no peace should be made with them, but that Te Whatanui, with Ngatiraukawa, protected and saved them; also, into all the circumstances attending the sale to the Crown of the Rangitikei block, the Upper Manawatu or Ahuoturanga block, and of the Awahou block; also into all the questions in connection with the illegal leases granted by the natives over the Manawatu-Rangitikei block; also, into the whole question of the purchase of the Manawatu-Rangitikei block, and the correctness or other wise of

the judgments of the Native Land Court on the tribal title to such block; also into the conduct of Major Kemp, a major in the Colonial army, in going with armed men to Horowhenua, building a fighting pa, and burning down the houses of peaceable men of the Ngatiraukawa tribe; also, into the question as to the correctness or otherwise of the judgments of the Court on the tribal title to the Manawatu-Kukutauaki block, and the title to the smaller Hon whenua block; and if after due inquiry it should be found that injustice has been done to these people, to grant that such reparation and restitution may be made to them as may appear to Her Majesty's Government under the circumstances, to be fitting and meet.

I make this appeal to yourself, feeling assured that unless Her Majesty's Government interfere, justice will never be done to these people. I make this appeal to yourself, under the full assurance that Her Majesty's Government and the British people, whilst desirous of respecting and maintaining their Treaties with the great powers of Europe and the powerful people and Government of the United States of America, would at the same time stoop as rigidly to respect a Treaty, although made with so insignificant a people as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Islands of New Zealand.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

THOMAS C. WILLIAMS.

Wellington, New Zealand,

18th July, 1873.

P.S.—I beg to state, that I may be slightly in error when I say, at pages 7 and 8, that Ngatiraukawa only reserved to themselves some 425,000 acres. That I may have been misled as to the quantity of open land in the block lying between the Manawatu river and the Kukutauaki stream. It is possible the total acreage of the land reserved originally by the tribe, after excluding the mountainous country on this block, may amount to 450,000 acres; the land belonging to Muaupoko and Ngatitōa included.—T.C.W.

PRESENTED TO BOTH HOUSES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY COMMAND OF HIS EXCELLENCY.

Copy of a despatch from Governor Sir G. Grey, K.C.B., to the Right Hon. the Duke of Buckingham.

"No. 44. Government House, Wellington, "6th August, 1867.

"MY LORD DUKE,—

"I have the honor herewith to transmit, for presentation to the Queen, the petitions noted in the margin, which have been addressed to Her Majesty by certain members of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, praying that some person may be sent out from England to investigate the reason why the General Assembly of New Zealand has excluded a block of land at Rangitikei, which they claim, from being subject to the operation of the Native Lands Court, so that their title to this land cannot be judicially investigated. This proceeding of the General Assembly they complain of as an injustice; and they appear to desire that some impartial person should investigate the subject, and, I presume, pronounce on the justice of their claims.

- I enclose at the same time copies of two Memoranda which I have received from my responsible advisers, in which they explain the circumstances connected with this transaction.
- Your grace will observe that they state that the Petitioners have been repeatedly assured that full justice shall be done them; that the land in dispute has not yet even been surveyed, except to define certain reserves for the sellers of it; and that they hope ultimately that a just and satisfactory settlement of the case will be made.
- I should have desired that, if possible, these claims should, in the usual way, have been submitted to the decision of a legally constituted Court, empowered after hearing the parties in the case, to have pronounced a judicial decision regarding it; and that the natives should in this manner have been taught to

- submit all their disputes, however complex, to a judicial tribunal.
- On the other hand, it is alleged that it would be impossible to give any decision in this case which would not be challenged by the disappointed party and would not give rise to such a feeling of bitterness as might involve the country in serious disturbances; and as the Local Government and the general Assembly are now responsible for the peace of the country, it would be difficult to interfere with their deliberately formed views on this subject.
- My belief is, that a strong and influential party in the Assembly and the country, will carefully watch this case, which has obtained considerable [*unclear*: *otoriety*], and that it is extremely improbable that any injustice can be done

to the natives in the matter. The fact of their addressing the inclosed petitions to the Crown shows that they fully understand their rights, and the constitutional manner of protecting them.

" I have, &c.,

" (Signed) G. GREY."

"His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos."

Petitions noted in the margin—(1), Parakaia; (2), Hare Hemi Taharape; (3), Pumipi Te Kaka; (4), Paranihi Te Tau; (5), Rawiri Te Wanui; (6), Te Hoia.

To our Mother the Queen of England.

This is my petition, the petition of Parakaia te Pouepa, a Maori, of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, living at Otaki, New Zealand:

In the year 1860 we wrote to your Majesty, making known to you our grief caused by the proceedings of Governor Browne at Waitara, and praying you to send a Governor to investigate that act of injustice of the Government

Our cry at that time went forth from our love to another people, the Ngatiawa, at Taranaki, and their lands.

I now cry unto your Majesty on behalf of my people and our own land, which land is being taken from us by Dr. Featherston.

We have always borne in mind that your great name alighted justly and peacefully upon New Zealand in the year 1840, through the Treaty of Waitangi, that the chiefs of New Zealand then ceded to your Majesty the Sovereignty of this island, and we feel assured that your Majesty the Great Queen of England will now on your part protect us, your children, and our lands.

I now write to you respecting the land of my people, lying between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers, in the Province of Wellington.

My tribe, the Ngatiraukawa, gained possession of that country by conquest, in the year 1830, before your Majesty's Sovereignty alighted upon this island, and we have always held possession up to the present time.

I wish to make known to you the regard we showed to former Governors of yours, who came from your presence. In the year 1847, Rangitikei was sold to Governor Grey; in the year 1858, Manawatu was sold to Governor Browne; in the year 1858, also, the Ahuoturanga was sold to Governor Browne. These are large blocks of land that were ceded to your Governors. The desire to sell of those people, Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and a portion of my own tribe, was thus gratified; this portion which I and my people are retaining is comparatively small.

I wish to make known to you our kindness and liberality to those tribes whom we had conquered, and who were spared by us when Te Rauparaha urged us to destroy them all. Rangitikei, a large extent of country, we restored to Ngatiapa; Ahuoturanga, also a large extent of country, we restored to Rangitane. Now those tribes and the Government have joined to take forcibly from us this our reserve. These are our houses and our plantations that are being taken—the means of support of my people.

In the year 1862, the Governor and the Assembly established a Court for investigating Maori lands.

I wish to make known to you that it was only the land of my people, of Ngatiraukawa, that was excluded from that Court.

In the year 1863, Ngatiapa came to disturb my people. They came with guns in their hands—my people also rose up with guns in their hands. I wrote to Governor Grey and Mr. Fox, the Minister, requesting them to send Mr. McLean to investigate (*whakawa*) Rangitikei. I received a letter from Mr. McLean, wherein he expresses his willingness to do so. But Dr. Featherston came instead, in the year 1864. When he came we had ceased contention, and were patiently awaiting the arrival of Mr. McLean, the man whom we preferred as judge between us. All Dr. Featherston did in his capacity of Judge was to try and buy the land for himself, and to give his support to Ngatiapa, followed by his false statement that he saved these tribes from death.

In the year 1865, my people petitioned the General Assembly to alter the Law excluding our lands, that our

titles might be investigated in a Court of Justice, but the Assembly would not listen to them.

In the year 1866, Dr. Featherston came again, and made a determined effort to purchase our land. We did not give our consent. He then used the following threatening words to me and my people :—"This land is in my lands; 800 of Wanganui, 200 of Ngatiapa, 100 of Rangitane and Muaupoko have consented. All these tribes went with me to fight against the tribes who are contending with the soldiers of the Queen. They have all agreed that this land shall be sold to me; they are the great majority; you are but a few. You shall not hold back this land.' When my people heard his threatening and taunting words they were overwhelmed (paralyzed) with shame and fear. I replied, 'Friend, what title have the hundreds of those tribes that you have enumerated, to this land; only after investigation in a court can this land be justly sold to you.' He replied, 'Parakaia, the jurisdiction of that Court will never be extended to this land.'

After hearing these words of Dr. Featherston, a number of us went to Wellington to the Governor, to the Assembly, to the Ministers also, and entreated them to allow our titles to be investigated according to law. On the first occasion thirty-five of us went, on the second occasion fourteen, on the third occasion twenty-four. When the others became weary, I still persevered by myself alone. But they would not grant our prayer. Then I said to myself, 'Alas! for the treaty of Waitangi, whatever can have become of it [*unclear*: it].

In the month of December, 1866, Dr. Featherston paid money to some of my own tribe, the great majority of whom had no title to our land; he also paid money to tribes from a distance who had no title whatever to our land; he then told my people,—'All your land has now become the property of the Queen.'

Therefore, I, your humble servant, pray your Majesty to send persons to investigate carefully this wrong, to protect me and my people, and to raise up the Treaty of Waitangi, which has been trampled under foot by the Government of New Zealand.

"PARAKAIA TE POUÉPA.

Otaki, New Zealand,

July 4, 1867."

Enclosure 8, in No. 44.

Memorandum by Mr. J. C. Richmond.

"My knowledge of Maori is not sufficient to enable me to speak with precision, but my impression of the whole meeting is totally different from Parakaia's report. His Excellency appealed to his patriotism, was altogether conciliatory, and asked concessions as a matter of favour. He used no threat that I heard; and as to the Ngatiraukawa lands at Maungatautari, he argued that Parakaia's claims, which he was preferring in the Native Lands Court, were of the same character as those of the Ngatiapa, which he refused to recognise in Rangitikei; and that he looked to the Government for the fair consideration of those Maungatautari claims, and ought, therefore, not to push them into difficulties at Rangitikei.

I added myself, that the Government were resolved, as far as they were concerned, not to have land claims brought against the owner's will. That he(Parakaia) knew we could not put him in possession of his claims now without bloodshed; but if he persisted in maintaining them, they would remain with him so far as they were right, though he might be many years kept out of possession.

"J. C. RICHMOND.

"18th July, 1867.

"PS.—Parts of His Excellency's address to Parakaia were in English, in order that I might fully understand them; and Mr. Puckey translated them to Parakaia.—J. C. R."

For Report to which this Memorandum refers, see Appendix, p. 84.

Enclosure 10, in No. 44.

Memorandum on the Petitions of Parakaia, Paranihi, and Rawiri Te Wamu, to the Queen.

"The history of the Manawatu-Rangitikei land dispute is far from a singular one in New Zealand. An invading tribe—the Ngatiraukawa—took possession, in about 1830, of a large tract of country between Wanganui and Wellington, driving out the tribes which before inhabited it. After some years of slaughter and violence, the expelled tribes, the Ngatiapa and Rangitane, were suffered by the conquerors to return. They came

back as slaves, but gradually resumed more and more of equality with the conquerors, inter-[unclear: ferried] with them, and cultivated the land. After the colonization of the [unclear: slands] land purchases were made within the district by the Crown, and leases of an irregular kind were given by the native occupants to private Europeans.

In these transactions, the Ngatiapa and Rangitane took a part. The conquering tribe received but a small share of the proceeds of the first important sales. The leases were chiefly granted by them; but the Ngatiapa and Rangitane received an increasing share of the rents.

On the death of Nepia Taratoa, a Ngatiraukawa chief of great influence, who seems to have acted as Moderator, differences as to their shares of the rents grew violent. The Ngatiapa, fortified by the alliance of their powerful neighbours, the Wanganui, claimed the whole of the rents for themselves and the Rangitane.

The Ngatiraukawa, on their side, ignored all but their own claims, [unclear: tisting] on their right of conquest, and further alleging that an understanding had been arrived at previous to the former sales; that the unsold land was theirs exclusively. The quarrel was rapidly approaching a climax, and the tribes were in arms to ascertain their rights, when in 1863, Dr. Featherston was requested by the Colonial Government to endeavour to effect some compromise. After some time spent in negotiations, and a fruitless offer of [unclear: tration], a sale to the Crown of the whole disputed land, the money paid to be distributed equitably among the tribes, was proposed by the Ngatiapa and Rangitane.

For a long time the Ngatiraukawa held back from the proposed arrangement. Peace was in the mean time preserved; and at last a majority of the Ngatiraukawa including Ihakara, a leading man among them, accepted the terms. A portion of the tribe still refused to accede, among them the petitioners. The purchase money was fixed at £25,000, two-fifths to be given to each of the large tribes, and one-fifth to Rangitane. This money has been paid.

The petitioners have been repeatedly assured by the Government of full justice. Surveys have not as yet been made, except to define certain reserves for the sellers; a share of the purchase money is reserved for the non-contents, and large allotments of land will in any case be set aside for them. It has, however, been thought advisable to allow considerable delay in winding up the transaction, that as many as possible of the non-contents may come in. It is doubtful whether the quarrel might not be renewed an extensive part of the block proportioned to their numbers were at present laid off for them.

It must be understood that the exact definition of a Maori land claim is rarely, perhaps never, possible. It would be impracticable to make any award to the non-contents in this case which would not be challenged by the sellers, who, though they have parted with their own interests in the land, might view its occupation by the other natives with great bitterness.

The case is one, in short, of compromising an insoluble quarrel between half civilized men, whose titles all rest on violence of a comparatively recent date, and who are only half weaned from regarding violence, even now, as the ultimate appeal.

One side alleges conquest as its ground, the other the power to reconquer. Both appeal to Christianity, one to clinch the *status quo* at the time of its introduction, the other to claim the restoration of territory then newly taken from them.

The non-contents are about a tenth of the claimants. After a time their claims may be allowed and dealt with on some simple arithmetical basis, having regard to their relative numbers. No other mode of estimating their claims will approach nearer to justice.

"J. C. RICHMOND.

Wellington,

20th July, 1873."

Appendix.

The Marquis of Normanby to Captain Hobson, R.N.

Downing Street, 14th August, 1839.

SIR,—

Your appointment to the office of Her Majesty's consul at New Zealand, having been signified to you by

Viscount Palmerston, and his lordship having conveyed to you the usual instructions for your guidance in that character, it remains for me to address you on the subject of the duties which you will be called to discharge, in a separate capacity, and under my own official superintendence.

* * * I have already stated that we acknowledge New Zealand as a sovereign and independent state, so far at least as it is possible to make that acknowledgement in favor of a people composed of numerous, dispersed, and petty tribes, who possess few political relations to each other; and are incompetent to act or even to deliberate in concert. But the admission of their rights though inevitably qualified by this consideration, is binding on the faith of the British Crown. The Queen, in common with Her Majesty's immediate predecessor, disclaims, for herself and for her subjects, every pretension to seize on the islands of New Zealand, or to govern them as a part of the dominion of Great Britain, unless the free and intelligent consent of the Natives, expressed according to their established usages, shall be first obtained. Believing, however, that their own welfare would, under the circumstances I have mentioned, be best promoted by the surrender to Her Majesty of a right now so precarious, and little more than nominal, and persuaded that the benefits of British protection, and of laws administered by British judges, would far more than compensate for the sacrifice by the Natives of a national independence, which they are no longer able to maintain, Her Majesty's Government have resolved to authorize you to treat with the aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any parts of those islands which they may be willing to place under Her Majesty's dominion.

* * * You will, I trust, find powerful auxiliaries amongst the missionaries, who have won and deserved their confidence, and amongst the older British residents who have studied their character, and acquired their language. * * *

If it should be necessary to propitiate their consent by presents or other pecuniary arrangements, you will be authorized to advance at once, to a certain extent, in meeting such demands, and beyond those limits you will reserve and refer them for the decision of Her Majesty's Government.

All dealings with the aborigines for their lands must be conducted on the same principles of sincerity, justice, and good faith, as must govern your transactions with them for the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereignty in the islands. * * *

" I have, &c.,

(Signed) NORMANBY.

Captain Hobson, R.N.

Lord John Russell to Governor Hobson.

Downing Street, 9th December 1840.

SIR,—

* * * The aborigines of New Zealand will, I am convinced, be the objects of your constant solicitude, as certainly there is no subject connected with New Zealand, which the Queen, and every class of Her Majesty's subjects in this kingdom, regard with more settled and earnest anxiety. At the same time you will look rather to the permanent welfare of the tribes now to be connected with us than to their supposed claim to the maintainence of their own laws and customs. When those laws and customs lead one tribe to fight with, drive away, and almost exterminate another, the Queen's sovereignty must be vindicated, and the benefits of a rule extending its protection to the whole community must be made known by the practical exercise of authority. Yet, amongst the many barbarous tribes with which our extended Colonial Empire brings us into contact in different parts of the globe, there are none whose claims on the protection of the British Crown rests on grounds stronger than those of the New Zealanders. They are not mere wanderers over an extended surface, in search of a precarious subsistence, nor tribes of hunters or of herdsmen, but a people among whom the arts of Government have made some progress; who have established by their own customs a division and appropriation of the soil; who are not without some measure of agricultural skill and a certain subordination of ranks, with usages having the character and authority of law. In addition to this they have been formally recognised by Great Britain as an independent state, and even in assuming the dominion of the country this principle was acknowledged, for it is on the deliberate act and [unclear: ession] of the chiefs, on behalf of the people at large, that our title rests. Nor should it ever be forgotten that large bodies of the New Zealanders have been instructed by the zeal of our Missionaries in the christian faith. It is, however impossible to cast the eye

over the map of the globe, and to discover so much as a single spot where civilized men brought into contact with tribes differing from themselves widely in physical structure, and greatly inferior to themselves in military prowess and social arts, have abstained from oppressions and other evil practices; in many the process of extermination has proceeded with appalling rapidity. Even in the absence of positive injustice, the mere contiguity and intercourse of the two races would appear to induce many moral and physical evils fatal to the health and life of the feebler party. And it must be confessed, that after every explanation which can be found of the rapid disappearance of the aboriginal tribes in the neighbourhood of European settlements, there remains much which is obscure, and of which no well ascertained facts afford the complete solution. Be the causes, however, of this so frequent calamity what they may, it is our duty to leave no rational experiment for the prevention of it unattempted. Indeed, the dread of exposing any part of the human race to a clanger so formidable, has been shown by the Marquis of Normanby in his original instructions to you, to have been the motive which dissuaded the occupation of New Zealand by the British Government, until the irresistible course of events had rendered the establishment of a legitimate authority there indispensable. * * * * *

To rescue the natives of New Zealand from the calamities of which the approach of civilized man to barbarous tribes has hitherto been the almost universal herald, is a duty too sacred and important to be neglected, whatever may be the discouragements under which it may be undertaken.

"I am, &c.,

" (Signed) J. RUSSELL."

Governor Hobson.

[INSTRUCTIONS.]

Victoria R.

Instructions to our trusty and well beloved William Hobson, Esq., our Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over our Colony of New Zealand, &c. Given at our Court at Buckingham Palace, the 5th day of December, 1840, in the fourth year of our reign.

61. And it is our further will and pleasure that you do to the utmost of your power promote religion and education among the native inhabitants of our said Colony, or of the lands and islands thereto adjoining; and that you do especially take care to protect them in their persons and in the free enjoyment of their possessions, and that you do by all lawful means prevent and restrain all violence and injustice which may in any manner be practised or attempted against them. * * *

Despatch from Lord Derby (then Lord Stanley) when Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Sir George Grey, June 13, 1845.

"I repudiate, with the utmost possible earnestness, the doctrine maintained by some, that the treaties which we have entered into with these people are to be considered as a mere blind to amuse and deceive ignorant savages. In the name of the Queen I utterly deny that any treaty entered into and ratified by Her Majesty's command was, or could have been made in a spirit thus disingenuous, or for a purpose thus unworthy. You will honorably and scrupulously fulfil the conditions of the Treaty of Waitangi."

The Treaty of Waitangi.

Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, regarding with Her Royal Favor the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property, and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order, has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand, and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress, to constitute and; appoint a functionary properly authorized to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands. Her Majesty, therefore, being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects, has been graciously pleased to empower and authorize me, WILLIAM HOBSON—a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, Consul—and Lieutenant-Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be, or hereafter shall be, ceded to Her Majesty, to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the First.

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess, over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

Article the Second.

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the Individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Pre-emption over such lands the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the Third.

In consideration thereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her Royal protection, and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British subjects.

W. HOBSON, Lieutenant-Governor.

Now, therefore, We, the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, being assembled in Congress at Victoria, in Waitangi, and We, the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand, claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof : in witness of which, we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi, this sixth day of February, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.

Extract from a Despatch from Lieutenant-Governor Hobson to Sir George Gipps.—(Parl. Papers, May 11, 1841, page 8.)

Her Majesty's ship Herald, Bay of Islands,

February 5th, 1840.

"The business of the meeting then commenced by my announcing to the chiefs the object of my mission, and the reasons that had induced Her Majesty to appoint me. I explained to them in the fullest manner the effect that might be hoped to result from the measure, and I assured them in the most fervent manner that they might rely implicitly on the good faith of Her Majesty's Government in the transaction. I then read the Treaty, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose. In doing so I dwelt on each Article, and offered a few remarks explanatory of such passages as they might be supposed not to understand. Mr. H. Williams, of the Church Missionary Society, did me the favor to interpret, and repeated, in the Native tongue, sentence by sentence, all I said."

Extract from a Despatch from Lieutenant-Governor Hobson to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.—(Ib. pages 15 and 16.)

Government House, Russell, Bay of Islands,

25th May, 1840.

"I commissioned Captain Symonds, of the British Army, and the following gentlemen of the Church Missionary Society, namely, the Rev. Mr. Henry Williams, Rev. Mr. Brown, Rev. Mr. Maunsell, and Rev. Mr. William Williams, to secure the adherence of the chiefs of their respective districts to the Treaty of Waitangi. For this purpose I furnished to each a signed copy of that treaty, with instructions, the copy of one of which I have the honor to transmit. The districts in which these gentlemen were requested to act comprise the whole of

the Northern Island, with the exception of the northern extremity called Kaitaia, to which I despatched Mr. Shortland, the Acting Colonial Secretary, with a suite of two gentlemen of the Government, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor, of the Church Missionary Society, to secure the allegiance of the chiefs in that quarter, who are some of the most powerful in the Island; and I am happy to report to your Lordship that Mr. Shortland succeeded to the fullest extent. * * * * At various periods subsequent to the sailing of the Herald I received from Captain Symonds, Mr. Maunsell, and lastly from the Rev. Messrs. Williams, reports of the entire success of their respective missions."

Instructions of Lieutenant. Governor Hobson to the Reverend Henry Williams, Rev A. N. Brown, Rev. R Maunsell, Rev. W. Willians and the Rev. R Taylor.—(lb. page 17.)

Waimate,

23rd. March, 1840.

"REVEREND SIR,—

Availing myself of your kind offer, and fully authorized thereto by Her Majesty's instructions conveyed to me by her Principal Secretary of State, I hereby authorise you to treat with the principal Native chiefs in the southern parts of these Islands for their adherence to the Treaty which was executed at Waitangi on the 6th February, 1840. I have the honor to enclose a copy of the Treaty, which I have signed, and to request you will obtain the signatures thereto of such high chiefs as may be willing to accede to its conditions, first explaining to them its principle and object, which they must clearly understand Wore you permit them to sign.

"(Signed) W. HOBSON,
"Lieutenant. Governor.

Rev. Henry Williams, Paihia.

Lieutenant-Governor Hobson to Major Bunbury.—(lb. page 17.)

Paihia,

25th April, 1840.

"Mr. Henry Williams of the Church Missionary Society (formerly a Lieutenant in the Navy), kindly undertook to treat with the chiefs on the West Coast and on both sides of Cook's Strait, for which purpose I furnished him with a vessel which I chartered.

"(Signed) W. HOBSON,
"Lieutenant. Governor.

Major Bunbury, 30th Regiment.

Rev. H. Williams to the Lieutenant-Governor.—(lb. page 105.)

Paihia, 11th June, 1840

" SIR,—

I have much pleasure in forwarding to your Excellency the Treaty committed to my care for the signature of the chiefs in Cook's Strait.

On my arrival at Port Nicholson I experienced some opposition from the influence of Europeans at that place, and it was not until after the expiration of ten days that the chiefs were disposed to come forward, when they unanimously signed the Treaty.

The chiefs of Queen Charlotte's Sound and Rangitoto, in the neighbourhood of Port Hardy, on the south side of the Strait, as also those chiefs on the north side of the Strait, with whom I communicated as far as Whanganui, signed the Treaty with much satisfaction. * * *

"(Signed) HENRY WILLIAMS,

To Captain Hobson, R.N.

Major Bunbury to Lieutenant-Governor Hobson.—(Ib. page 109.)

Her Majesty's ship 'Herald,' 28th June, 1840.

"June 19.—We arrived off the island of Kapiti; several canoes were leaving the Island, and, on my preparing to go on shore, fortunately the first canoe we met had on board the chief Rauparaha I was so anxious to see. He returned on board with me in the ship's boat, his own canoe, one of the most splendid I have yet seen, following. He told me that the Rev. Mr Williams had been there, and had obtained his signature to the Treaty.

The following notes have been supplied to me by Mr. W. T. L. Travers, who acted as Counsel for the natives on the re-hearing of the Manawatu case in Wellington in 1869 before Chief Judge Fenton and Judge Maning, and who has since written a memoir of the life and times of Te Rauparaha. Mr. Travers explains to me that his knowledge of the case was, at the time he acted as counsel, very limited; but that since, when writing his memoir of Te Rauparaha, he had occasion to enquire more fully, and thereby obtained more accurate information upon the subject.

T. C. W.

Points to be considered in connection with criticism of the judgments of the Native Lands Court in the several Manawatu cases, as affecting the rights of the Ngatiraukawa.

1st. What is the duty of the Court in regard to the evidence of title?

Upon this point, inasmuch as the Ngatiraukawa and their allies rest their title upon conquest and subsequent continued occupation as of right, after over-coming and in spite of every opposition on the part of the previous possessors, the Court ought to determine the meaning of the word "conquest" as generally applied in such cases. I conceive that it would be held to mean "the forcible taking and subsequent settled occupation of territory, by a foreign people, in spite of, and after overcoming the opposition of the existing possessors of the soil."

Such, for example, amongst civilized nations, were the conquest and occupation of England by the Romans, and the conquest and occupation of the northern parts of Spain by the Moors. The conquest, in each of these cases, I has never been disputed, notwithstanding the original possessors were enabled, at a future time, to resume possession of the conquered territory by forcibly ejecting the conquerors.

Such, in the case of uncivilized peoples, are the numerous instances of Conquest recorded as having occurred amongst the aboriginal tribes of North America and the various parts of Asia, of which abundant accounts are to be found in the histories of both countries.

In all these cases the conquered territory was forcibly taken, and afterwards peaceably occupied by the conquerors for long periods, in spite of all opposition on the part of the previous possessors of the soil.

A perhaps more pregnant instance is that of the conquest of England, by William the Norman and his forces. In this case although for a long period, there was no fusion of the two races, and although the Saxons were suffered to remain in quiet occupation of a large proportion of the lands of the realm, their title no longer depended upon that occupation, but was solely referable to the feudal system established by the Normans.

I have carefully studied all I could learn of the customs of the Maories in regard to the acquisition and occupation of territory by virtue of conquest, and I find nothing in their customs at variance with those which obtain amongst other people whether civilised or uncivilised. In their case, as in all others which I have studied, I find the definition I have given to be applicable, but I also find that where portions of the original possessors are allowed to remain in peaceable possession of parts of the territory, they are held to owe allegiance to the conquerors, and to occupy only upon the admission of such allegiance. Of course there are numerous instances both amongst civilized and uncivilized peoples, in which part of the inhabitants of a territory have held their own, in spite of all attempts on the part of invaders, who had effectually conquered the adjacent parts to reduce them to subjection. Such were the cases of the Welsh people, of those of the Basque Provinces of the north of Spain—amongst quasi-civilized peoples—those of the inhabitants of the mountainous districts of Ceylon, and

of many mountain tribes in India, and of certain tribes in Algeria, in quite recent times. No doubt in all these cases the conquest was never sufficiently complete to enable the invaders peaceably to occupy, although they might have been sufficiently powerful to defeat the invaded people, whenever they met in battle. The nature of the country, had, however, much to do with the result in cases of this kind. No doubt in the case of the Ngatitōa and Ngatiraukawa conquest, those persons of the conquered tribes who were found living amongst the conquerors at the time of the colonization, would be looked upon by us, in accordance with the well known principles of English law, to be part of, or incorporated with the conquerors, and might fairly be held, on general principles, to be entitled to claim from the conquerors an allocation of sufficient territory for the purposes of necessary occupation. The allocations made by the Ngatiraukawa to the Ngatiapa on occasion of the sale of the country to the north of the Rangitikei and subsequently that of the Upper Manawatu or Ahuoturanga block to Rangitane, were allocations of this class, and were, in each case, in my opinion, an ample recognition of their rights. I contend, moreover, that the Court cannot properly determine what were the relative positions of the conquering and conquered peoples in the cases in question, (I using the terms conquerors and conquered advisedly, after a very careful investigation of all the circumstances), unless it puts itself back as making that enquiry before the commencement of the colonization of the Islands. In other words, the circumstances existing in the year 1838, ought alone to be taken into account as determining their relative positions. No doubt the Court will say it has done so, but it has refused all that class of testimony which, in such a case, must be looked upon as alone impartial, and has confined itself to the evidence of individuals belonging to the contending parties, regardless of the fact that both are directly interested in misrepresentation.

2nd. *Nature of evidence to be received.*

Whilst I admit that it was impossible to exclude the testimony of the litigant parties themselves, I think it was the duty of the Court to have ascertained whether any impartial testimony of a trustworthy character could be obtained, which would incline the balance the one way or the other between the necessarily directly conflicting evidence of litigants themselves.

That such testimony existed is beyond a doubt, but in the case in which I was concerned it was absolutely rejected by the Court, without any reason and in direct opposition to all the principles which ought to have governed the Court in investigations of the character in question. In the first place there are living European witnesses fully competent to testify as to the relative positions of the contending parties at the period alluded to. Such as—

- 1st. Whalers and traders who dealt with the natives at various points of the territory in dispute.
- 2nd. Persons then engaged in attempts to acquire land from them.
- 3rd. Missionaries who visited them on the mission of peace.

In the next place we have—

- 1st. Reports of Agents and Surveyors of the New Zealand Company in reference to proposed as well as effected purchases of the Company
These are specially important in the cases in question, as shewing which were the tribes in possession in 1839-40, and claiming and admitted to be entitled to deal with the land.
- 2nd. Evidence given before Committees of the two Houses of the English Parliament.
- 3rd. Evidence given on oath upon the enquiries into the purchases of the New Zealand Company, by Mr. Commissioner Spain.
- 4th. The Reports of protectors of aborigines, and other officers specially appointed by the New Zealand Government to enquire into, and report upon the condition of the Natives
- 5th. The writings of visitors to the districts in question, before and immediately after the colonization.

Many additions might be made to these classes of evidence, all of which, as I contend, ought to have weighed with the Court in determining upon the testimony of the highly interested litigant parties. A careful perusal of a large mass of such documentary evidence, coupled with *viva voce* accounts received from living witnesses has satisfied me, and would, I believe, satisfy any impartial inquirer, that the claims of the Ngatitōa and Ngatiraukawa, upon the country from Kukutaueki to Wangaehu, were properly founded upon a complete conquest, followed by occupation, *as of right*, down to the date of the colonization, and that the original occupants had been completely reduced to subjection, and could, at most, claim a limited interest in the soil as having become incorporated into the ranks of the conquerors.

By original occupants, I mean Ngatiapa, Rangitane and Muoupoko. The latter, indeed, were so completely at the mercy of the Ngatitōa, that the present remnant of the tribe was only saved from complete annihilation, by having been taken under the protection of the great Ngatiraukawa chief Te Watanui, who stood between them and the long abiding wrath of Rauparaha. On this head we have the testimony of all who had means of knowledge at their command, as to the state of things prior to 1838.

To hold otherwise is, in my opinion opposed to all the facts of history, and to base the judgments upon a most unphilosophical and unsound view of so-called Maori custom.

WM. THOMAS LOCKE TRAVERS. 5th June, 1873.

I think I ought to add, that the views mentioned above were never, as I can gather, properly brought under the consideration of the Court, although as I have stated, the Court in the case in which I was concerned, refused to attach weight to any evidence beyond that of members of the tribes who were actually engaged in the litigation.—W. T. L. T.

OPINIONS AND INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE TENURE BY WHICH THE NATIVES HOLD THEIR LANDS.

Extracts from a Letter from George Clarke, Chief Protector of Aborigines, to the Colonial Secretary.

Pro. Office, Auckland, 17th October, 1843.

SIR,—

Referring to your letter of the 15th December, 1842, requesting me to furnish information relative to the tenure by which the natives hold their lands, I do myself the honor to submit the following remarks. As I have already observed, great changes have taken place in the internal regulations and divisions of districts, and in many cases lands have completely changed owners, but in every case that I can recollect, possession has followed immediately upon conquest. There is scarcely a spot in the Bay of Island but has changed masters—where the conquered either amalgamated with the conquerors or retired to a distant part of their possessions. By the latter step they maintain their independence, and still claim all their lands not actually in possession of the conquerors, but by the former they only claim what they cultivate specially, and in common with their conquerors, but conceding to them the precedence. In this way Paroa, Kororareka, Wangaroa, and the North Cape have completely changed hands, and are now possessed by different tribes from those who possessed them twenty years ago."

APPENDIX TO THE JOURNAL OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1861.

Archdeacon Had field.

"State what you think to be the rights of the tribe in respect to land belonging to it?"—"I think that the right of each tribe to lands extends over the whole of the tribal territory, and entirely precludes the right of any other tribe over it. Such absolute right may be classed under two heads. 1st. The territory which has been in possession of the tribe for several generations, and to which no other claim had been previously known. 2nd. The territory acquired by conquest, occupation, or possession." (E. No. 1, p. 9.)

"I understand that whatever rights to land existed previous to the Treaty of Waitangi among the natives are still rights with them, being guaranteed by that Treaty." (*Ib.*, p. 10.)

Rev. J. Hamlin, Church of England Missionary.

"Conquest alienates the land, but it has its quibbles, conquest and occupation give a valid title to land. If the conquered party return, occupy and bold the land from which they were driven, the land is theirs. Hence the Tamaki land still remained in the possession of the Thames natives, though driven from it by Hongi, but they did not consider their occupation of it safe, and therefore sold it. If the conquered people return to their lands by permission of the conqueror, the land does not become theirs, unless a transfer of the land is made to them by the conquerors. But all these acknowledge native rights were by might often set aside, and arbitrary power ruled.

Extracts from Notes of Evidence. Mr. C. H. Kettle before Select Committee of the House of Commons. June 20th, 1844.

"Am by profession a Surveyor. Left England, 1839. Arrived in New Zealand, 1840. Was there three years."

In answer to questions about the lands at Manawatu.

3248. "To whom does that belong?"—"To the Ngatiraukawa. It was taken by Rauparaha and Rangihæata from three tribes who had possession of the river. They killed nearly the whole of those people; and when they got tired of eating human flesh they gave the land to Watanui. This country is now [*unclear*: aimed] by him, and Rangihæata and Rauparaha do not claim it at all."

3249. "When was it that those two chiefs murdered the original assessors of the land?" "Thirty or forty years ago, one tribe was about 300 strong, and now there are only 30 left; there was another, 200 strong, and only 20 are left."

3252. "Were they made slaves after the battle?" "For a short time they were slaves when Raupero had the land; but when Watanui had the and, he set them at liberty."

3253. "Is the last named chief the person now claiming the land?" "Yes."

3254. "He set at liberty those who were slaves before?" "Yes."

3255. "And they live together?" "Yes."

Appendix to Report From Select Committee House of Commons on New Zealand.

Extracts from letter to Chief Protector Aborigines, from Sub-Protector Geo. Clarke, Junr.

Protector Aborigines' Office, Southern District, Wellington, 14th June, 1843.

The Ngatitoa originally occupied the district about Kawhia, on the West Coast. * * * They overran the country on each side of Cook's Strait, driving out, or exterminating the original inhabitants, and finally settled at Porirua, Kapiti, Pelorus, and Cloudy Bay.

The Ngatiawa followed Te Rauparaha from the district, about the settlement of Taranaki, assisting in the destruction of the original inhabitants from Manawatu to Port Nicholson and Palliser Bay, Queen Charlotte's Sound, and other places in New Munster, and are able to muster about 4,000 to 5,000 individuals.

The Ngatiraukawa migrated about eleven years ago, in a large body from Maunga Tautari, in the Waikato District, through the invitation of Te Rauparaha and completed the conquest of the country from Wangaehu to Otaki, completely annihilating the original tribes that Te Rauparaha had not reduced to subjection. In consequence of the intrigues of Te Rauparaha, they were involved in a war with the Ngatiawa tribe. They are a powerful and warlike tribe, and have always remained the faithful allies and supporters of Te Rauparaha.

The Ngatikahungunu are one of the most numerous tribes in the country. * * * They were driven away by Te Rauparaha and his followers from Manawatu, Kapiti, Pukerua, Port Nicholson, and Wairarapa. A few took refuge in the Tararua Mountain, and the rest fled to Hawke's Bay, and to Te Mahia. Since the introduction of Christianity, a peace has been established between them and their former enemies, who have ceded back to them the greater part of Wairarapa, where there are now about 500 individuals. (He also mentions the Wanganuis having been defeated by Te Rauparaha in battle.)

Extracts from "Adventure in New Zealand from 1839 to 1844" By Edward Jerningham Wakefield, Esq.

Page 35, Vol. 1. "At sunset we anchored off the village of Te-awaiti. * * * As soon as we arrived, Mr. Richard Barrett, who was at the head of one of the whaling parties came off in a boat to us. * * * Barrett had been in New Zealand for ten or twelve years, first as a flax trader, at the Sugarloaf Islands, near Taranaki. * * * He and his comrades accompanied Ngatiawa in their migration to the shores of Cook's Strait, which Rauparaha and Te Pehi had conquered, and depopulated, when those chiefs migrated from Kawia, about the year, 1825. This was about the year 1834. Some of the Ngatiawa had settled on the shores of Queen Charlotte's Sound, some in Blind Bay, others at Port Nicholson, and along the coast of the North Island, between that and Kapiti. Constant quarrels had occurred between the original conquerors who chiefly belong to the Ngatitoa tribe, and their more numerous successors. Rauparaha's party took up their residence chiefly at Kapiti, Admiralty Bay, Mana, or Table Island, and Cloudy Bay. They are often called the Kawia; and they had been assisted, we learned, in their attacks on the Ngatiawa, by a tribe of Natives called the Waikorapupu, or "boiling water," who live on the main land north of Kapiti.

We also learnt from him in how unsettled a state was the proprietorship of [*unclear*: and] about Cook's Strait. The country had been conquered about fourteen years before by the Kawia tribe. They had almost

exterminated the Muoupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa, who were the original occupiers. And even the spots now occupied, were in dispute between the conquerors and the Ngatiawa, who followed nine years afterwards in their track. The very superior numbers of the Ngatiawa seemed to be their only right to supplant the conquerors. We earned that a war in consequence of some such dispute had been only recently [*unclear: cluded*] in the north end of Queen Charlotte's Sound.

Page 116.—The remains are still in existence on the south bank of the [*unclear: river*] near its mouth, of the extensive earthen fortifications erected by the Wanganui tribes, and taken by Rauparaha and Te Pehi, when they destroyed numbers of their enemies, that every family there at the present day, years the hope and desire of revenge. The Ngatiapa and Rangitane, who [*unclear: welt*] in the country watered by the Wangaehu, Turakina, and Rangitikei rivers, were next slaughtered, or put to flight; and the Muoupoko were compelled to yield before the victorious party, as it swept the country between Manawatu, and the island of Kapiti.

Page 117.—Rauparaha, now sought and obtained assistance from the Ngatiraukawa, or "boiling water," tribes who at that time inhabited the north-eastern shores of Lake Taupo. About sixty chosen warriors, under a thief named E Ahu Karamu forced their way through the hardships of the inland path, and the danger's and ambushes of the opposing tribes, and joined him near Kapiti. * * * E Ahu Karamu returned to Taupo, and related to the rest of his tribe how fine an opening had been made for them on the sea coast, dwelling on the advantages to be derived from fishing, and trading with the white men. He bore Te Rauparaha's invitation to the other chiefs to lead their men to Cook's Strait, where he would assign them a part of his conquest to enjoy and maintain, while they assisted him in crushing the remains of the [*unclear: surgents*] about Rangitikei, and Manawatu. The conflicting opinions as to the expediency of this course were peremptorily terminated by E Ahu, who ordered his young men to burn the houses at Taupo, and the Ngataraukawa migrated in successive bodies to the coast. Rauparaha then proceeded, with their assistance, to crush the remains of the aboriginal tribes; and only spared the lives of the few Muoupoko now existing in that neighbourhood at the urgent intreaty of Watanui, a great chief of the Ngatiraukawa, to leave them as slaves for him. Manawatu, Ohau, and Otaki, and the shores of the Horowhenua, and several adjacent lakes were occupied by these recent allies.

Page 377. The next day we reached Rangitikei (from Manawatu), about thirteen miles further along the same desolate looking coast. * * * Just before dusk observed the bushy heads of two natives stealing a look at our proceedings from behind a low fern-covered ridge on the opposite bank. They disappeared immediately on my shouting to them; but when I called out that it was "Teraweke," and his white people hungry and tired, a small canoe glided out of the rushes a little higher up, and they were soon sitting by our fire smoking a welcome pipe. They were of the Ngatiapa tribe, and had seen me on my former visit here. Our guns had attracted their notice; but they had feared to cross over, thinking that we were a party of the Ngatiraukawa, I to whom this pa belonged, and some of whom they described to be little scrupulous in plundering or tyrannizing over the remnants of the aboriginal tribe under very slight pretext.

Vol. II.—Page 23. A trading boat from Cloudy Bay to Wanganui had been wrecked near Rangitikei, and the crew had been drowned, including a Ngatiraukawa chief named Koraria, who was a passenger. In consequence of some outrages committed on the body by the Ngatiapa natives, a party of the Ngatiraukawa had made an excursion across that river, had killed 100 pigs, and had taken the wife of Hakeke, the Ngatiapa chief, as a slave. But they had, moreover, *tapued* the beach between Otaki and Rangitikei, thus preventing the passage of native or white man in either direction for a considerable space of time. It was this which had delayed the surveyors in their journey to Wanganui.

Many other parties, bound thither or to Taranaki had been grievously detained, to their serious inconvenience in many ways by this stringent application of one of the old Maori customs. Koraria had been a brother of Watanui, and the observance of the tapu was, therefore, most rigidly enforced.

Page 226. We crossed a pretty lake close to the north of E Ahu's settlement, called Papaitonga or "Beautiful South," and walked over about four miles of rich level forest country, to the shore of another lake called Horowhenua or "Landslip." After I had fired one or two shots, a canoe came to us from a village at the further end, and bore us to the residence of Watanui, on the stream which drains the waters of the lake to the coast.

I slept there one night, and then proceeded, much impressed with the very chieftainlike bearing of Watanui. While he is known as a renowned leader in war, he has also the reputation of great mildness and justice.

Page 235. At the edge of the wood we found a family which was catching eels in a creek close by. They were one of the aboriginal tribes a remnant of the few natives left in tributary freedom after Rauparaha's invasion.

Page 240. When we got to Horowhenua village I was much struck by the honorable greeting which Watanui gave to his former enemy. He expressed his gratitude to me for having persuaded E Koru to trust to the honor and good faith of Ngatiraukawa. * * * He had adopted the Christian faith very warmly, but without in the least injuring his authority, for either he himself his second son always read the prayers and enforced the performance of the Christian observances. * * * In short, whenever I spent an hour at this little village, I felt

that it was the residence of a gentleman. There was a quiet obtrusive dignity in the well regulated arrangements of the whole establishment. The slaves did their work without orders and without squabbling; a harsh word was hardly ever heard. Every one vied in a tacit wish that the gentleman should be comfortable, and it was pleasing to see him, sitting in his house almost always surrounded by some of his family. * * * I remember how proud he was when he could write his name, and with what genuine kindness he pointed out his son, Tommy's, wife as having succeeded in teaching

Page 369. We slept one night at Manawatu, and the next afternoon we reached Watanui's settlement at Horowhenua lake. The patriarch showed me the most delicate kindness. He spoke repeatedly of the care which I had taken of his grandchild, and said he would never doubt my protection again. "His heart had been sore ever since my departure in anger." He then spoke of the Wairau affair, and said Rauparaha and Rangihæta had acted very badly. "But" continued he, "we have a Queen; for she is my Queen as well as yours. And when her soldiers come to take the bad men, I shall sit still and let them go by. I will not rise up, for the two treacherous chiefs were in the wrong. Go keep your soreness and your anger in your heart till you have reached Poneke."

Page 376.—(Mr. Wakefield here relates what passed between Ahu, a Ngatiraukawa chief, and Rauparaha about sending cows to Ohau for a Mr. White, whom the former had invited to settle there). And then he (E. Ahu) [*unclear: ose*] to endeavour to persuade Rauparaha to change his determination. He reminded him of "the war parties which he had brought him on his back to assist him against his enemies, through dangers and troubles more than he could count." He related how "he had burned the villages of the tribe at Toupo to make them come with him to be by the side of Rauparaha on the sea coast." He counted "how many times they had adhered to him in his feuds with the Ngatiawa," and described how much blood of the Ngatiraukawa had been spilt for his name. E Ahu had now warmed with his subject, and was running up and down, bounding and yelling at each turn, and beginning to foam at the mouth, as the natives do when they mean to speak impressively "Let the cows go!" he cried, "let them go to my place!"

Rauparaha seemed to consider that E Ahu's eloquence was becoming too powerful, and he jumped up too. They both continued to run up and down in short parallel lines yelling at each other, grimacing and foaming, and quivering their hands and smacking them on their thighs, with staring eyes and excited features. * * * "No," cried Rauparaha. "No cows, I will not have them." "Let them go!" yelled E Ahu! "Yield me my cows, the cows will not kill you." "No cows, no white men! I am the King, never mind your war parties! No cows!" answered Rauparaha. "The cows cannot I take you," persisted E Ahu; "when the soldiers come we will fight for you. But let my cows go!" "No! no! No, indeed!" firmly replied the chief, and he sat down.

E Ahu remained standing. He took breath for a minute; then he drew himself up to his full height, and addressed his own people in a solemn kind of recitative. "Ngatiraukawa," he sang, "Arise! arise! my sons and daughters, my elder brothers and my younger brothers, my sisters, my grand-children, arise! Stand up the families of the Ngatiraukawa! to Taupe! to Taupo! To Maungatautari! To our old homes which we had burned down and deserted; arise, and let us go! Carry the little children on your backs as I carried you when I came to fight for this old man, who has called us to fight for him, and given us land to sit on, but grudges us white people to be our friends and to give us trade." * * * As he sat down a mournful silence prevailed. An important migration had been proposed by the Chief which, no doubt, would be agreed to by the greater part of the Otaki, Ohau, and Manawatu natives, on whom was Rauparaha's chief dependence for his defence.

I noticed that he winced when he first heard the purport of E Ahu's song but while E. Ahu continued, his countenance gradually resumed its confidence. Much as I abhorred his character, I could not but yield my unbounded admiration to the imperious manner in which he overthrew the whole effect of E Ahu's beautiful summons to the tribe.

Instead of his usual doubting and suspicious manner, his every gesture became that of a noble chief. He rose with all the majesty of a Monarch, and he spoke in the clearest and firmest tones, so that the change from his customary shuffling, cautious and snarling diction was of itself sufficient to command the earnest attention of his audience."

"Go!" said he, "go, all of you! go; Ngatiraukawa to Maungatautari!! Take your children on your backs and go, and leave my land without men. When you are gone I will stay and fight the soldiers with my own hands. I do not beg you to stop; Rauparaha is not afraid! I began to fight when I was as high as my hip, my days have been spent in fighting and by fighting I have got my name. Since I seized by war all this land from Taranaki to Port Nicholson, and from Blind Bay to Cloudy Bay beyond the water, I have been spoken of as a king. I am the king of all this land I have lived a king, and I will die a king with my *mere* in my hand. Go! I am no beggar! Rauparaha will fight the soldiers of the Queen when they come, with his own hands and his own name. Go to Maungatautari Then, suddenly changing his strain, he looked on the assemblage of chiefs, bending down towards them with a paternal smile, and softening his voice kindness and emotion. "But what do I say!" said he "what is my talk about? You are children. It is not for you to talk. You talk of going here, and doing this and doing that. Can one of you talk when I am here? and I shall rise and speak for you all, and you shall sit dumb,

for you are all my children and Rauparaha is your head chief and Patriarch." He completely won his point by this fearless rejection of their assistance, ending an arrogant assumption of absolute authority over their movements. One of the highest chiefs said to me "It is true, Teraweke! he is our father and our Ariki, (superior chief). Rauparaha is the king of the Maori like your Queen over the white people;" and the others bowed a silent assent and each seemed to swell with conscious dignity as the follower of such a leader. The cattle were not allowed to pass; but Rauparaha agreed quietly to the request of the chiefs, in the course of the day, that the white people already established here should not be sent away.

Some Chapters in the Life and Times of te Rauparaha, Chief of the Ngatittoa.

By W. T. L. TRAVERS, F.L.S.—

[*Read before the Wellington Philosophical Society, 21st August, 4th September, 2nd, 9th and 30th October, 1872.*]

CHAPTER I.

"THE position occupied by the great chief Te Rauparaha in connection with the establishment and earlier progress of the New Zealand Company's settlements in Cook Strait, would alone justify us in recording all that can still be learnt of the career of this remarkable man; but, when, in addition to the interest : which his personal history possesses for us in this respect, we find that he took a very important part in the events that occurred in these Islands between the years 1818 and 1840—leading as they did to an immense destruction of life amongst the then existing population, and to profound changes in the habits and character of the survivors—it becomes important, for the purposes of the future historian of the Colony, that we should preserve the most authentic accounts of his career, as well as of that of the other great chiefs who occupied, during; the period in question, positions of power and influence amongst the leading New Zealand tribes. As with Hongi, Te Waharoa, and Te Wherowhero in the North, so Te Rauparaha in the South carried on, during the interval referred to, wars of the most ruthless and devastating character, undertaken partly for purposes of conquest, and partly for the gratification of that innate ferocity for which the New Zealand ere have long been remarked. * * *

Page 32. It appears that in 1817, or about three years before E Hongi left for England, and after the failure of Te Rauparaha's attempt to form an alliance against Waikato, a large war party arrived at Kawhia under the command of Tamati Waka Nene and of his brother Patuone, who invited Rauparaha to join them in a raid upon the southern tribes. Tamati Waka's people had a considerable number of muskets on this occasion, but the expedition had no special object beyond slaughter and slave-making, with the added pleasure of devouring the bodies of the slain. Te Rauparaha joined them with many warriors, and the party travelled along the coast through the territory of the Ngatiawa whose alliance with Ngatittoa, however, saved them from [*unclear: molesta-*] tion. Hostilities were commenced by an attack upon Ngatiruanui, who were dispersed, after great slaughter. This first success was followed by attacks on all the tribes on the coast until the *taua* reached Otaki, great numbers of people being killed, and many slaves taken, whilst the remainder were driven into the hills and fastnesses, where many of them perished miserably from exposure and want. At Otaki the invaders rested, Rauparaha visiting Kapiti, which he found in possession of a section of the Ngatiapa tribe, under the chiefs Potau and Kotuku. It would seem that even at this time Te Rauparaha, who was much struck with the appearance of the country, formed a design of taking possession of it, and, with his usual policy, determined, instead of destroying the people he found on the Island, to treat them with kindness, though he and the other leaders compelled them to collect and [*unclear: render*] much greenstone, of which this tribe especially had, during a long intercourse with the Middle Island, and by means of their own conquests of the Ngaitahu, obtained large and valuable quantities. The hostile party then continued their course along the coast, destroying great numbers of people. On their arrival at Wellington, then called Whanganui-a-tara, they found that the inhabitants—a section of the Ngatikahungunu—alarmed at the approach of the ruthless invaders, had fled to the Wairarapa. Thither followed the [*unclear: lana*], and discovered the Ngatikahungunu, in great force, at a pa called Tawhare Nikau. Undaunted, however, by the strength of the fortress, they attacked and carried it with great slaughter. Large numbers of the unfortunate inhabitants escaped to the hills, where they suffered greatly, whilst the invaders, after following the fugitives as far as Kawakawa and Porangahau, killing many, fell back upon Tawhare Nikau, in order to gorge themselves upon the bodies of the slain. The party then returned to Wellington and proceeded to Omere, where they saw an European vessel lying off Raukawa, in Cook Strait. Tamati Waka Nene, immediately on perceiving the ship, shouted out to Te Rauparaha, "Oh, Raha, do you see that people sailing on the seal? They are a very good people, and if you conquer this land and hold intercourse with them you will obtain guns and powder, and become very great," Te Rauparaha apparently wanted but this extra incentive to induce him to take permanent possession of the country between Wellington and [*unclear: Patea,*] and at once determined to remove thither with his tribe, as soon as he could make such arrangements as

would secure him in the possession of his intended conquest. The *taua* returned along the coast line as they had first come, killing or making prisoners of such of the inhabitants as they could find as far as Patea. It was during the return of this war party that Rangihaiata took prisoner a woman named Pikinga, the sister of Arapata Hiria, a Ngatiapa chief of high rank, and whom he afterwards made his slave wife, a circumstance much and absurdly insisted upon in favour of the Ngatiapa title during the investigations of the Native Lands Court into the Manawatu case. Laden with spoil, and accompanied by numerous slaves, the successful warriors reached Kawhia, where Tamati Waka Nene and Patuone with their party, left Te Rauparaha in order to return to their own country at at Hokianga.

As I have before mentioned, Te Rauparaha had, during the progress of this raid upon the South, conceived the idea of leaving the ancient possessions of his tribe at Kawhia for the purpose of settling at Kapiti, and upon the country on the main land in its vicinity; and, accordingly, after the period of festivity and rest usually indulged in by a returned *taua*, he began to take the necessary steps, not only to induce his own people to accept his resolution, but to enlist the sympathies and assistance of his relatives at Maungatautari and elsewhere. During a visit which he paid for this purpose to the Ngatiraukawa, he found their great chief Hape Tuarangi in a dying state, and; the circumstances which then occurred contributed greatly to the ultimate success of his designs. It appears that notwithstanding the respect in which the offspring of the Maori aristocracy are usually held by their own people, and the influence they generally exercise in matters affecting the tribe, it is not unusual for the natural *ariki* of a tribe, or chief of a *hapu*, to be, in some respects, supplanted by an inferior chief, unless the hereditary power of the former happens to be accompanied by intellect and bravery; and such an occurrence took place in regard to the natural hereditary *ariki* of the Ngatiraukawa at the death of Hape. Te Rauparaha himself, though by virtue of common descent, and by marriage ties, entitled to be treated as a chief of Ngatiraukawa, was not considered to be of high rank, on the grounds that, in the first place, he was the offspring of a junior branch of the *ariki* family of Tainui; and, in the next place, that the influence primarily due to his birth had been weakened by the intermarriage of his progenitors with minor chiefs and with women of other tribes. But when Hape, on his death bed, the whole tribe being assembled, asked "if his successor could tread in his steps and lead his people on to victory, and so keep up the honor of his tribe," not one of his sons, to whom, in succession, the question was put, gave any reply. After a long period of silence, Te Rauparaha, who was amongst the minor chiefs and people, sitting at a distance from the dying man and from the chiefs of high rank by whom he was surrounded, got up and said "I am able to tread in your steps, and even do that which you could not do." Hape soon after expired, and as Te Rauparaha had been the only speaker in answer to his question, the whole tribe acknowledged him as their leader, a position which he occupied to his dying day. But even in this position his authority was limited, for though in his powers of mind, and as a leader of a war party, he was admittedly unsurpassed, either by Te Waharoa or by the great Ngapuhi thief, E Hongi, and therefore fully entitled to occupy a commanding position in the tribe, the *mana* which he acquired on the occasion in question extended only to the exercise of a species of protecting power and counsel whenever these were required, whilst the general direction of the affairs of the tribe still remained vested in their own hereditary chiefs. The influence he had obtained, however, materially aided him in ultimately inducing a large number of the tribe to join him in the conquest and settlement of the territory of the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko, as will be shown in the sequel. * * *

Page 37. * * * He, therefore, never wavered in his design, and from the time when Tamaki Waka Nene pointed out the ship sailing in Cook Strait, until his actual departure from Kawhia at the head of his people, his mind and his energies were constantly engaged in devising the means of carrying it to a successful issue. * * *

Page 42. After all danger of further attack on the part of Waikato had ceased, Te Rauparaha determined, before resuming the movement southward, again to visit his friends at Maungatautari, in order to induce the latter, if possible, to join him in the expedition. For this purpose he travelled to Taupo taking the road from Taranaki by the Upper Wanganui and Tuhua. At Tuhua he had a long conference with Te Heuheu, who promised to afford him any assistance he could in effecting his settlement at Kapiti and on the main land, but would not consent to take any other part in the undertaking. He then proceeded to Opepe, on Lake Taupo, where a large number of the Ngatiraukawa had assembled, under Whatanui, in order to discuss Te Rauparaha's proposals. Here a great *tangi* was held, at which Whatanui made a speech to Rauparaha, and gave him many presents, as they had not met for a length of time. After the ordinary ceremonies were concluded, Te Rauparaha again opened his proposals to the assembled chiefs, representing the many advantages that would accrue from adopting them, and particularly insisting on the opportunity it would give the tribe of obtaining abundant supplies of fire-arms, as Kapiti and other parts of Cook Strait had already begun to be visited by European ships. He also dwelt on the rich and productive character of the land, and the ease with which it might be conquered, whilst there was nothing to prevent, at the same time, a large number of the tribe from remaining at Maungatautari, in order to retain their ancient possessions there. To all this, however, Whatanui gave no reply, and the meeting broke up without any indication that any part of the tribe would join in the proposed

expedition. Te Rauparaha then visited other sections of the tribe, and another great meeting took place, at which he was not present. At this meeting the chief objection raised was, that by joining Te Rauparaha he would become their chief, and there was an unwillingness on the part of the tribe, notwithstanding what had occurred at the death of Hape, entirely to throw off their allegiance to their own hereditary *ariki*s. This resolution was communicated to Te Rauparaha by Horohau, one of the sons of Hape, by Akau, then Rauparaha's wife, and the reasons specially assigned for it grieved Te Rauparaha very much. * * * Pomare then gave over to Rauparaha a number of men who had been under the leadership of Tuhourangi, who, from that time, became attached to and incorporated with Ngatittoa, and accompanied him on his return to Taranaki shortly after the sacrifice in question. On reaching Taranaki, he made preparations for continuing the migration, and succeeded in inducing Wi Kingi Rangitake, since celebrated in connection with the Waitara war, and his father, Reretawhangawhanga, with many others chiefs, and a considerable number of the Ngatiawa tribe, to accompany him, his followers then consisting of his own people (the Ngatittoa), numbering 200 fighting men, of the Ngapuhis, who had been transferred to him by Pomare, and of Wi Kingi's Ngatiawas, numbering nearly 400 fighting men, and their several families. During the interval between the commencement of the migration and its resumption from Taranaki, after Te Rauparaha's last return thither, a large war party of Waikatos, under Tukorehu, Te Kepa, Te Kawan (Apihai), and other chiefs, had descended the East Coast, from whence they invaded the territory which Te Rauparaha was about to seize. The Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa, were all attacked on this occasion, and again suffered great loss, a circumstance which became known to Te Rauparaha through some Ngatiraukawa men who had joined the Waikatos in their expedition, and had communicated its results to him during his last visit to Maungatautari. It appears, moreover, that after he had left Taupo, Whatanui and a large party of Ngatiraukawa made up their minds to join him at Kapiti, but instead of following the same route which he intended to take, they determined to proceed *viâ* Ahuriri, having been invited thither by the Ngatikahungunu, for some purpose which I cannot clearly make out. On their arrival there, however, a dispute took place between the two parties, and a battle ensued, in which the Ngatiraukawa were defeated with considerable slaughter, the remainder of the party being forced to retreat upon Maungatautari. * * *

Page 45. Amongst the leading chiefs who accompanied Rauparaha, was Rangihaeata, who, as will be remembered, had, during the previous invasion, taken prisoner a Ngatiapa woman of rank named Pikinga, whom he had made his slave-wife. When her brothers heard of the arrival of Ngatittoa at Wanganui, they, with a party numbering altogether twenty men, came to meet her, and accompanied Ngatittoa as far as the Rangitikei river. * * * Shortly after Rauparaha had settled at Ohau two of the chiefs of Muaupoko visited him, and offered, if he would come over to their pa at Papaitonga, to make him a present of several large canoes. He was extremely delighted at this offer, and at once consented to go. Rangihaeata, however, endeavoured to dissuade him, saying, "Raha, I have had a presentiment that you will be murdered by Muaupoko," but Rauparaha laughed at his fears; and, attracted by the prospect of obtaining the canoes—which had been glowingly described to him by the two chiefs—would not listen to any suggestions against the proposed visit. He even refused to take any large force with him, confining himself to a few men, and to some of his own children. It appears, however, that a plot had been laid between Turoa and Paetahi (father of Mete Kingi, lately one of the Maori members of the Assembly), chiefs of the Wanganui tribes, and the leading chiefs of the Muaupoko, to murder Te Rauparaha, and the invitation to Papaitonga, with the offer of the canoes, were only steps in the plot for that purpose. It is quite clear that he apprehended no danger, and that he fell into the trap laid for him with wonderful facility. It was evening when he and his companions arrived at the pa, where they were received by Toheriri, at whose house Rauparaha was to sleep. His people were all accommodated in different parts of the pa, Rauparaha alone remaining with Toheriri. The [*unclear: urder*] was to be committed at night by a war party from Horowhenua, and when Toheriri believed that his guest was fast asleep, he rose and went out, intending to inform the war party that Rauparaha was asleep in his house. His movements, however, aroused Te Rauparaha, who at once suspected some foul design, a suspicion which was soon converted into certainty by the cries of some of his people at the commencement of the bloody work. He then escaped from the house, and, being entirely unarmed, [*unclear: feed*] towards Ohau, which he succeeded in reaching, but quite naked. During the attack Rangihoungariri, who, it will be remembered, distinguished himself when Rauparaha's party were attacked by Ngatimaniapoto, near the river Mokau, had succeeded in getting well away, but hearing Hira's sister calling out to him that she would be killed, at once returned to her aid, but was soon over whelmed by numbers and slain, Te Poa, Hira's husband, having been killed previously. Hira, and a girl named Hononga, were not killed, but were carried off to Ruamahanga, in the Wairarapa, where the former afterwards married Taika, a distant relation of Rauparaha's. These two girls were the daughters of that Marore whom I mentioned in a former chapter as having been his boy wife. This treacherous murder provoked the wrath of Ngatittoa, who, from that time, proceeded to destroy Muaupoko without mercy. Toheriri was taken prisoner, and afterwards hung and eaten, undergoing dreadful tortures. Before this event Muaupoko were a somewhat powerful tribe, but their power was utterly broken by the Ngatittoa and their allies, in revenge for the attempted murder of their

great chief. After this escape Rauparaha settled at Ohau, and occupied the main land as far as Otaki, his war parties constantly hunting the people at Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua. * * *

Page 49. He had no sooner retired to Kapiti, than the Rangitane erected a large pa at Hotuiti, on the north side of the Manawatu, within the tract now known as the Awahou Block, where they collected in force, and were joined by three Ngatiapa chiefs of note. Rauparaha hearing of this, determined to attack them, and he and Rangihaeata marched to Hotuiti with a well appointed *taua*, accompanied by Pikinga, who, on the arrival of the party before the pa, was sent into it to direct the Ngatiapa chiefs to retire to the district occupied by that tribe on the north side of the Rangitikei river. This they declined to do, and Rauparaha then sent messengers to the Rangitane, offering peace, and desiring that their chiefs should be sent to his camp to settle the terms. Being advised by the Ngatiapa chiefs to accept the offer, they sent their own head men to Rauparaha's quarters, where they were at once ruthlessly slain, and whilst the people in the pa, ignorant of this slaughter, and believing that hostilities were suspended, were entirely off their guard, it was rushed by the Ngatitooa, and taken after a very feeble resistance, the greater number of the unfortunates and their families, as well as the three Ngatiapa chiefs, being slaughtered and devoured, such prisoners as were taken being removed to Waikanae in order to undergo the same fate. After this treacherous affair, Rauparaha and his force returned to Waikanae, where they indulged in feasting and rejoicing, little dreaming that any attempt would be made to attack them. It appears, however, that the Ngatiapa at Rangitikei, incensed at the slaughter of their three chiefs, determined to revenge their loss, and for this purpose had collected a considerable war party, which was readily joined by the refugees from Hotuiti and by a number of Muaupoko from Horowhenua. Led by Te Hakeke, they fell upon the Ngatitooa at Waikanae during the night, killing upwards of sixty of them, including many women and children, amongst the latter being the four daughters of Te Pehi. At the commencement of the attack, a canoe was despatched to Kapiti for reinforcements, which were at once sent, and upon their arrival the enemy fled, but without being pursued. In consequence of this attack, Rauparaha and Rangihaeata became (to use the words of Matene Te Whiwhi) "dark in their hearts in regard to Ngatiapa." and resolved to spare no efforts to destroy them, as well as the remnants of Rangitane and Muaupoko.

Rauparaha had, of course, become aware of the defeat of Whatanui and the Ngatiraukawa in their attempt to reach Kapiti by the East Coast, but immediately after the departure of the Ngatiawa he had sent emissaries to Taupo, in order again to urge upon the chiefs to join him in the occupation of; the country he had conquered. In the meantime, however, a storm was brewing which threatened utterly to destroy him and his people. Ratu, the Muaupoko chief who had been enslaved by Te Pehi, escaped from Kapiti and fled to the Middle Island. Being anxious to avenge the destruction of his tribe, he proceeded to organize an alliance between the tribes occupying the southern shores of Cook Strait and those which held the country from Patea to Rangitikei, on the North, and the Ngatikahungunu at Wanganuiatera and Wairarapa, on the South, for the purpose of attacking Rauparaha with a force, which, in point of numbers, at least, should be irresistible. In the formation of the desired alliance he was completely successful, and about the end of the fourth year after the first arrival of the Ngatitooa, nearly 2,000 warriors assembled between Otaki and Waikanae, consisting of Ngarauru, from Waitotara; the people of Patea, Wanganui, Wangaehu, Turakina and Rangitikei, the Rangitane of Manawatu, and the Ngatikahungunu, Ngatiapa, Ngatitumatakokiri, Rangitane and Ngatikuia, from the Middle Island. They were provided with ample means of transport, "the sea on the occasion of their attack," to use the words of my informant, who was present on the occasion, "being covered with canoes, one wing reaching Kapiti from Otaki, whilst the others started almost simultaneously from Waikanae." The landing of the warriors composing the right wing was effected about four in the morning, but the alarm having already been given by the chief Nopera, who had discovered and notified their approach, the invaders were at once attacked by the Ngatitooa, of Rangitira, with great fury, whilst messengers were at the same time despatched to Taepiri, where Rauparaha lay with the bulk of his people, to inform him of the invasion. Before he could reach the scene of the conflict, however, the enemy had succeeded in pushing the Ngatitooa towards Waiorua, at the northern end of the Island. Pokaitara, who was in command, being desirous of gaining time in order to admit of the arrival of reinforcements, proposed a truce to the enemy, which was granted by Rangimairehau, a Ngatiapa chief, by whom they were led, who hoped, on his side, during the truce, to be able to land the rest of his forces, and then effectually to crush the Ngatitooa. Shortly after the truce had been agreed to, Rauparaha and his warriors reached the scene of action, and at once renewed the battle with the utmost vigor; and, after a long and sanguinary conflict, completely defeated the invaders, with tremendous slaughter; not less than 170 dead bodies being left on the beach, whilst numbers were drowned in attempting to reach the canoes that were still at sea. The remainder of the invading force made their way, with all speed, to Waikanae and other points of the coast, where many of them landed, abandoning their canoes to the Ngatitooa, who had commenced an immediate pursuit. After the battle Rauparaha composed and sang "a song of triumph," the words of which I regret that I have not been able to obtain. The result was in every way advantageous to his people, for no further attempt was ever made to dislodge them, whilst they, on the other hand, lost no opportunity of strengthening their

position and of wreaking vengeance on the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko, the remnant of whom they ultimately reduced to the condition of the merest tributaries, many of the leading chiefs, including Te Hakeke, becoming slaves. It would be useless for me to give anything like a detailed account of the incursions of the Ngatitoo into the country on the main land, often extending as far as Turakina, in which numbers of the original inhabitants were killed and eaten, or reduced to slavery; but it is perfectly clear that their power was completely broken, and that after Waiorua, the Ngatitoo and their allies found no enemy capable of checking their movements. The news of the battle having reached Taranaki, with rumours of Rauparaha's astounding success, Te Puaha, with a detachment of Ngatiawa, came down to Kapiti in order to learn the truth of the matter, and having ascertained how completely Rauparaha had defeated his enemies, he returned to Taranaki for the purpose of bringing down a number of his people to join the Ngatitoo in their settlement of the country, as well as to take part in the prosecution of Rauparaha's further designs. Accordingly, he shortly afterwards brought with him, from Taranaki, a considerable number of fighting men, with their families, consisting partly of Ngatiawa proper, partly of Ngatihinetuhi, and partly of Ngatiwhakaterere, being members of a *hapu* of Ngatiraukawa, who had escaped from a defeat on the Wanganui River, and had incorporated themselves with the Ngatiawa. This formed an important accession to the force under Rauparaha, which received further additions shortly afterwards from Te Ahu Karamu, a Ngatiraukawa chief of high rank, who, against the feeling of his people, had determined to join his great Ngatitoo kinsman. This chief, having heard from Rauparaha's emissaries of the difficulties in which he was likely to be placed by the defection of the Ngatiawa, had started from Taupo with 120 armed men, of his own immediate following, and arrived at Kapiti shortly after the battle of Waiorua, and then took part in many of the raids upon the original tribes which occurred after that event. After remaining with Rauparaha for some months he returned to Taupo with part of his followers, where he reported the improved position of Ngatitoo, and urged his own section of the tribe to join them. Finding them still unwilling to do so, and being determined to effect his object, he ordered the whole of their houses and stores to be burned down, declaring it to be the will of the *atua* or spirit, angry at their refusal to obey the words of their chief. This being done the people gave way, and he took the necessary measures for the journey. In the meantime Whatanui and Te Heuheu had also determined to visit Rauparaha, in order to inspect the country he had conquered; the former chieftain intending, if it met his approval, to carry out his original design of joining the Ngatitoo in its occupation. In pursuance of this determination they, with a strong force of their own warriors, joined Te Ahu Karamu's party, the whole travelling down the Rangitikei river along the route followed by Te Ahu on his previous journey. During this journey they attacked and killed any of the original inhabitants whom they happened to fall in with. This migration is known amongst the Ngatiraukawa as the *keke whirinui*, owing to the fact that the *whiri*, or plaited collars of their mats were made very large for the journey. * * On the arrival of this *keke* at Kapiti, Te Heuheu and Whatanui held a long conference with the Ngatitoo chieftains, and Whatanui was at last persuaded to bring down his people. * * * Before the return of Whatanui and his people to Kapiti, that place had been visited by some European whale ships, and Rauparaha at once traded with them for guns and ammunition, giving in exchange dressed flax and various kinds of fresh provisions, including potatoes. I may mention that until the arrival of the Ngatitoo the potato had been unknown in the Manawatu district, but at the time I now speak of it was extensively cultivated between that place and Taranaki, and formed one of the staple articles of food of the natives. He had no sooner obtained a supply of fire-arms and ammunition than he resolved to carry out his long-conceived intention of invading the Middle Island, a design in which he was greatly aided by the capture of the war canoes which had been abandoned by the allied forces after the battle of Waiorua; but, although he at once made preparations for carrying out his project he postponed its actual execution until after the return of Whatanui. Shortly before the visit of the ships with which Rauparaha had carried on his wade, Te Pehi observing one passing through Cook Strait, went out to her in a canoe, and, having managed to conceal himself until the canoe had left her, he succeeded ultimately in reaching England, his design being, like that of E Hongi, to obtain a supply of fire-arms and ammunition. His visit to England, where he was known under the name of Tupai Cupa, evidently a corruption of Te Pehi Kupe, is described in the volume for 1830 of "The Library of Entertaining Knowledge." We are enabled by means of this incident to fix the dates of some of the principal events in Rauparaha's career, for we know that it was in 1826 that Pe Pehi managed to secrete himself on board the vessel above referred to.

Rauparaha's immediate designs were in the meantime somewhat interfered with by a rupture between a section of his people and the Ngatitama, under Puaha, some fighting taking place, which resulted in a loss to both sides; but he at once peremptorily ordered peace to be made, an order which was obeyed by both sides. It seems that this dispute arose out of the occupation of some of the conquered land, which was claimed by both parties, and Waitohi, a sister of Rauparaha, foreseeing that constant disputes were likely to arise from the same cause, more especially when their numbers were increased by the expected arrival of the main body of the Ngatiraukawa unless there was some definite arrangement as to the division of the country between them, suggested to Rauparaha that the Ngatiawa should all remove to Waikanae, and should occupy the land to the

south of the Kukutaueki, stream whilst the country from the north bank of that stream as far as the Wangaehu should be given up to the Ngatiraukawa. This suggestion was adopted by all parties, and it was determined that the Ngatiraukawa, already with Rauparaha, should at once proceed to occupy Ohau, then in the possession of the Ngatiawa. Having been assembled for this purpose they were escorted to their new location by Rauparaha and all the principal chiefs of the Ngatitōa, travelling along the beach. On their way up they were feasted by Ngativahirs (a *hapu* of Ngatiawa) upon the flesh of black fish, a large school of which had been driven ashore at low water, where the natives ingeniously tethered them by their tails with strong flax ropes, killing them as they were wanted for food. The Ngatiraukawa having been put into quiet possession of the houses and cultivations of the Ngatiawa, the latter removed to Wakanae, which continued for some time afterwards to be their principal settlement. The wisdom of Waitohi's suggestion above referred to is apparent from the fact that no further land disputes occurred between the several tribes until the fighting at Horowhenua many years afterwards, as will be related in the sequel.

Between this event and the date of Whatanui's return to Kapiti with the main body of his people, a *heke* composed of 140 fighting men with their families—called the *heke kariritahi*, from the circumstance that the warriors armed with muskets, had enlarged the touch-holes so as to be enabled (shrewd fellows as they were) to keep up a more rapid fire upon an enemy by saving the trouble of priming—came down from Maungatautari under the command of Taratoa. Whatanui accompanied this *heke* for the purpose of conferring with Rauparaha on matters of importance, but finding that the chief was absent, he at once returned to Taupo in order to bring down his people. The constant arrival of these armed bodies, and the manner in which they roamed over the Manawatu and Rangitikei districts, treating the remnant of the Ngatiapa and other original tribes with the greatest rigour, induced the latter to throw themselves upon the hospitality of the Ngatikahungunu at Wairarapa. In pursuance of this resolve, some 300 of them, including women and children, proceeded thither, but in consequence of a murder, followed by an act of cannibalism, which had been committed by some of the Rangitane upon a Ngatikahungunu man not long before, that tribe not only refused to receive the refugees, but attacked and drove them back with slaughter. The Ngatiapa then formally placed themselves at the mercy of Rangihaeata, whose connections so frequently alluded to with a chief of their tribe induced him to treat them with leniency, and they were accordingly permitted to live in peace, but in a state of complete subjection. The remnant of Muaupoko, in like manner sought the protection of Tuauaine, a chief of the Ngatiawa, who agreed to defend them against the long standing wrath of Te Rauparaha; but, as it appears in vain, for it seems that having been informed by some of the Ngatiraukawa that these people were again settling at Papaitonga and Horowhenua, Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, with a war party of Ngatitōa and Ngatiraukawa proceeded thither and attacked them, killing many, and taking a number of others prisoners, amongst whom was Toheriri, their chief. * * *

Page 55. In about a year after the visit of Whatanui with Te Heuheu the former returned to Kapiti with the main body of his tribe, this migration being known as the *heke mairaro*, or "*heke* from below." the north point being always treated by the Maoris as downward. From that time forth for some years parties of the same tribe constantly recruited their countrymen in their settlements on the Manawatu, gradually extending their occupation over the whole country between Otaki and Rangitikei, although their chief stations were in the Horowhenua and Ohau districts; whilst the Ngatiapa, under the protection of Rangihaeata and Taratoa, occupied some country on the north of the Rangitikei, yielding tribute to both of these chiefs as a condition of their being left in peace.

CHAPTER VII.

RAUPARAHA having thus completed his design of conquering the Middle island, next turned his attention, at the earnest request of the Ngatiraukawa, to avenging a defeat which the latter had sustained some time previously at the hands of the tribes occupying the line of the Wanganui River. In this defeat only a few of the chiefs had escaped the general slaughter, amongst whom were Te Puke and his younger brother Te Ao, both of whom succeeded in making their way to Kapiti. In consequence of this resolution, a war party numbering nearly a thousand fighting men, under the most distinguished chiefs of the three tribes then united under the general leadership of Rauparaha, was despatched to lay siege to Putikiwaranui, a great pa of the Wanganuis, which was occupied and defended by nearly double the number of the attacking force. The siege lasted upwards of two months during which many sorties were made, but the beseigers maintained their ground, and ultimately carried the enemy's works by assault, slaughtering an immense number of them. Turoa and Hori Te Anaua (lately known as Hori Kingi) the head chiefs, however, escaped, but the fact that no attempt was even made to avenge this serious disaster, is of itself the strongest evidence of the power of Te Rauparaha and his allies, and of the absurdity of supposing that his occupation of the country he had conquered could for a moment have been disturbed by the remnant of the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoke tribes which had still escaped the general destruction of their people. Soon after the year 1835, the great body of the Ngatiawa, under the chiefs E

Puni, Warepouri, Wi Tako, and others, and accompanied by numbers of the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes, came down the coast, many of them settling around and to the southward of Waikanae, whilst others took possession of Port Nicholson and the Hutt country, from which they drove the section of the Ngatikahungunu, which up to this time had occupied those districts. This migration took place after the destruction of the great Ngatiawa pa of Pukerangiora, inland of the Waitara. * * *

Page 69. The heavy blow thus inflicted upon the tribe,
Ngatiawa.

and the fear of complete annihilation, determined those who still remained to join Rauparaha and the Ngatiraukawa, whose force, thus increased, would be more than a match for any war party which the Waikatos could bring against them even if the chiefs of the latter tribes felt disposed to carry hostilities into Rauparaha's country. It appears that shortly after the arrival of the Ngatiawa on the coast, they formed the design of taking possession of a large part of the country occupied by the Ngatiraukawa, and particularly that in the neighbourhood and to the north of Otaki. It would seem, moreover, that there was dissension amongst the Ngatitoas themselves, a portion of them taking part with the Ngatiawa, out of jealousy at some apparent favouritism extended by Rauparaha to the great Ngatiawa

Should read Ngatiraukawa.—T. C. W.

chieftains, and more particularly to Whatanui, whose relationship to Rauparaha, together with his high character as a chief and warrior, gave him great influence with the latter. The immediate cause of the fighting to which am about to refer, however, was a robbery committed by a party of Ngatiruanui, who were caught by the Ngatiraukawa in the very act of plundering their potato pits near Waikawa. A conflict at once took place, in which a leading chief of the Ngatiruanui, named Tawhake, was killed, and this led to hostilities being carried on between the two tribes at various points on the line of their settlements between Manawatu and Waikanae. This state of affairs continued for a considerable time, the forces engaged on each side being numerous and well armed, the result being that large numbers were killed on both sides. Soon after this civil war had commenced Te Rauparaha, who at once saw the disastrous results which must follow from it, sent messengers to Te Heuheu, urging that chief to bring down a force sufficiently strong to enable him to crush the Ngatiruanui, who were the most turbulent of the insurgents, after which he hoped to be able to bring about a peace between the remainder of the contending parties. He was much grieved, moreover, at the dissension in his own tribe, part of which, as have before mentioned, had joined the Ngatiawa leaders, and had taken an active part in the numerous engagements which had already occurred. * * * It was, therefore, with great satisfaction that he received intimation from Te Heuheu of his intention to bring a large force to his aid; and, in effect, within two or three months after the commencement of hostilities, that chief, accompanied by other chiefs of note from Maungatautari and Taupo, amongst whom were Tariki and Taonui, reached Otaki with nearly 800 well-armed fighting men. No sooner had they arrived than they proceeded to attack the Ngatiawa at Horowhenua, a pa close to the Otaki river. But even with this great accession to his forces, the contest raged for several months with varying success, the slaughter in some instances being very great. In one of the battles Papaka, a favourite brother of Te Heuheu, was killed, and in another Te Tipi, a son of Rauparaha.

At length a great battle was fought at Pakakutu, in which the Ngatiruanui were defeated with serious loss, their chief Takerangi being killed and their pa taken. This battle put an end to the war, for soon afterwards the whole of the leading chiefs on both sides met, and upon the advice and urgent entreaty of Te Heuheu and Whatanui, a peace was made, which was not again broken until the fighting at Kirititonga, which (as will be mentioned in the sequel) took place on the day before the arrival of the "Tory." Immediately after peace had been solemnly ratified the parties divided, the Ngatiraukawa proceeding to re-occupy their former settlements around Ohau and Horowhenua, and also the district between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers, whilst the Ngatiawa retired below Waikanae, occupying the various points, including Port Nicholson, in which they were ultimately found by the agents of the New Zealand Company. Rauparaha, however, was so much grieved at what had taken place, and more particularly at the defection of that part of his own tribe which had joined the Ngatiawa during the recent struggle, that he determined to accompany Te Heuheu back to Maungatautari, and settle there for the remainder of his days. In pursuance of this resolve, he collected his more immediate followers and proceeded as far as Ohau, where, however, he was overtaken by messengers from Otaki and Kapiti, urging him to abandon his resolution and to remain with his people. In this request they were joined by Heuheu, and after much discussion and persuasion he consented to their request, returning to Kapiti, after taking leave of his great ally.

Page 71. This was the last great struggle in which Rauparaha was engaged, but it seems that during the intervals of rest between his various more important undertakings, he was ever mindful of the treacherous attempt of the Muaupoko to murder him, and of the actual slaughter of his children, and had unceasingly persecuted the remnant of this tribe, until at last they, as well as the Ngatiapa and Rangitane, sought the protection of Te Whatanui. In the words of Te Kepa Rangihiwini (better known as Major Kemp), son of

Tunguru, one of the chiefs of the Muaupoko, who had been concerned in the murder, "Whatanui took them under his protection, and promised that nothing should reach them but the rain from heaven," meaning that he would stand between them and the long-nursed and ever-burning wrath of Te Rauparaha. The latter unwillingly yielded to the wishes of his great kinsman, and from that time ceased directly to molest these unfortunate people, who were suffered again to occupy part of their original territory in the neighbourhood of Lake Horowhenua; not as a tribe however, but simply in the character of tributaries, if not actual slaves, to Whatanui. In the words of Matene Te Whiwhi, "Rauparaha was anxious to exterminate Muaupoko, but Whatanui interfered. Some had been taken prisoners, but others were living dispersed in the mountains. When they came to Horowhenua, they came like wild dogs; if they had been seen they would have been caught and killed. There was one there, a woman of rank, whose possessions had covered all Otaki, and who had been a slave of mine. She was the wife of Te Kooku. They had been taken but not killed." But it is clear, nevertheless, that although Rauparaha refrained from directly molesting them, he was not unwilling to join in any indirect attempt to exterminate them for we find that on one occasion Wi Tako,

This occurred before Wi Tako's arrival. The people who attended were of the Ngatiapa, Muaupoko, and Rangitane tribes, principally the latter.—T. C. W.

in conjunction with some of the Ngatitua chiefs, having been instigated by Te Rauparaha to do so, invited the whole Muaupoko people to a great feast to be held at Ohariu—upon some one of the numerous pretexts which the Maoris knew so well how to use for engaging in festivities, it having been arranged beforehand that these guests should all be murdered and eaten. The bait took, notwithstanding the advice of Whatanui, who distrusting the reasons assigned for the festival, cautioned the Muaupoko not to attend, predicting some disaster to them. Notwithstanding this caution, upwards of 150 attended the festival, all of whom were slaughtered, and their bodies duly consigned to the ovens; but this was the last great act of slaughter of the kind which took place.

Page 73. I do not think it necessary to refer in any detail to the events which took place between the Horowhenua war and the arrival of the "Tory" with Colonel Wakefield in 1839. On the 16th November in that year the ship reached Kapiti, and Colonel Wakefield was informed that a sanguinary battle had just been fought near Waikanae on that morning between large forces of the Ngatiawa on the one side, and of Ngatiraukawa on the other. This fight is commonly known as the *kirititonga*, and was caused by the renewal, at the funeral obsequies of Rauparaha's sister Waitohi, of the land feuds between the two tribes. The forces engaged were large, and the killed on both sides numbered nearly eighty, whilst considerable numbers were wounded. Rauparaha himself took no part in the battle, reaching the scene of action after the repulse of the Ngatiraukawa, and narrowly escaping death by swimming off to his canoe, his retreat being covered by a vigorous rally on the part of his allies. This was the last contest which occurred between the natives along the coast in question, the arrival of the European settlers having entirely changed the aspect of affairs.

Page 77. Such is the history of the life and times of a very remarkable man, and of habits and customs which have already become so much things of the past that in the course of another generation there will scarcely be an aboriginal native left who will have the slightest knowledge of them. Indeed the memory of the events I have related is already becoming indistinct, even to those of the principal actors in these events who are still living.

WRITTEN STATEMENT OF NGATITUA CHIEFS.

Waikanae, May 20th, 1873.

"This is a statement making known how all this country was taken by us; Ngatitua and Ngapuhi, first invaded the country, and killed numbers of the inhabitants, commencing with Ngatiruanui, then on as far as Wairarapa. We then saw what caused us to take and occupy this country. It was a ship sailing outside of Port Nicholson harbour. Waka Nene said, "Ngatitua, here is your country." We Ngatitua determined to take it, we returned to Kawhia, and came back again as far as the Kaweka, when Waikato followed, and came up with us at Motunui. Ngatiawa and Ngatitua turned upon and defeated Waikato, after that these two tribes came into Ngatiruanui country, when Tamarere was murdered by Ngatiruanui. They came on to Waitotara, when Ngarauru murdered Hape, Ratutonu and Whatuatepo; when Ngatiapa heard that we were at Waitotara, they came to meet us on account of Pikinga, who was taken prisoner by Ngatitua, on the first invasion of this country. We then came on to Wanganui, Wangaehu, Turakina, Rangitikei and Manawatu. These people had already made up their minds to destroy us. We came on as far as Waikawa. When Muaupoko heard, Waraki came to Ngatitua. Then Waraki escorted Rauparaha, Poa, Rangihoungariri, Taiko, Rakaherea, Whataati, Poaka, Ahu, and Uira (a girl), to Papaetonga, where they were received in a house. Toheriri of Muaupoko was in the

house with them, he left the party who were to murder them on the other side of the lake Papaetonga. In the night, they and Toheriri lay down to sleep. Toheriri called out to Paraha, "I thought you wore asleep." Paraha replied, "No, I am still awake." Immediately after that Toheriri and Paraha heard a rush, when Toheriri sprang out and Paraha also. The party of murderers then surrounded Paraha and his party, and killed all but Rauparaha and Rakaherea (a full account is here given), who came to the two tribes, they then rose, and when they came to Papaetonga the people had fled; they chased them to Horowhenua, where they took a Pa, killing only one, the others escaped in their canoes. We returned to Waikawa in the morning, the two tribes dragged their canoes to Hokia They then cut a canal and attacked the Pa by land and water, and killed two hundred; none escaped from these two pas, Waikiekie and Rohaatekawau. Those of Muaupoko on the islands escaped to the mountains. We then returned to Waikawa and came on to Waikanae and Wainui, where we killed forty of Muaupoko, Tipapa was their chief. We returned to Waikanae, then to Otaki in the morning, where we killed at Taranaki twenty of Muaupoko The chief killed was Rangatai, Tanguru escaped here. We then crossed over to Kapiti. We afterwards went to Manawatu, where we killed sixty. Tokopito Tamaraki, Pokahuawai, Tioi, Rangihukaroa were killed, Te Aweawe we made a slave. We returned to Kapiti, afterwards some crossed over to Waikanae when we took four prisoners at Ranakahia, Ratu was a chief. We returned to Kapiti, some of us crossed over to Waikanae to dig fern root, when we were attacked by night by the five tribes; twenty were killed, Tangahoe Painui, Paretuarangi, and Pohe were the chiefs killed we chased them as far as Horowhenua, where we killed sixty. Whawhama and Tarari were the chiefs; we came on to Waitawa, where we killed forty. Their chiefs were Kapua and Tumaihi, we killed them from morning till night. The chiefs alone were brought to Waikanae, where they were sacrificed to remove the *tapu*. Afterwards at Kapiti, we saw a ship at sea, when sixty pulled off in three canoes, and Pehi went on board, who then wished his friends good bye-saying, "go back, to Ngatitooa, and Ngatiawa, I have found the pounamu, the Pakeha, the treasure that I have been longing after;" Ngatitooa wept and returned to shore. After Pehi left us we crossed to Papanui, where we met with a fresh party, and returned to Kapiti to see the women and children. We remained three months, when we were attacked in the night by eleven tribes, Ngatiapa, Ngatitumatakokiri, Ngatikuia, Rangitane, from the Middle Island; Ngatikahungunu, from Awaiti; Ngatikahungunu from Wairarapa and the Coast; Muaupoko from Horowhenua; Rangitane from Manawatu; Ngatiapa from Rangitikei; by Wanganui, and Ngarauru from Waitotara. They attacked us in the night, finding only the houses, the men were at Waiorua; at daylight we rushed upon them in three divisions (here follows a long description of the battle). We defeated them, killing great numbers from both Islands. Two chiefs we saved for slaves. After this victory, we, the two tribes, crossed over to Rangitikei, and took Awamate, a Pa. killing Rangihauku and Hopeka, two chiefs. Hakeke, with the others, escaped to the mountains; we then went to Manawatu, and killed at Karekare 100; their chief killed was Patawai; we then crossed over to Kapiti. Hiko then said, "let Rimarapa be sent to Arapawa" (the Middle Island), but the other chiefs of Ngatitooa did not agree to this. We next went to Horowhenua, killing and eating (rikarikatia) the people there. We came to Waikanae, and paid another visit to Horowhenua, and killed some with Ahi, their chief. Don't, you the Pakeha think we overcame these tribes, and took their country with your guns; no, we did it with our own weapons.

This goes on from the time that Pehi returned from England, and other parties of Ngatiawa arrived, of those who had remained at home, who came down when they heard that Pehi had arrived at Kapiti with guns. When this party arrived at Manawatu, they killed the inhabitants, chasing them up the mountains. Rangihwinui was the chief killed; when they reached Kapiti crossed over again to Rangitikei and took Pikitara, a pa.

After all this, Ngatiraukawa came to Kapiti. These two tribes were till killing the original inhabitants, and were determined not to let any of them live. Rauparaha and Ngatitooa gave all the country to Ngatiraukawa, Otaki, Huritini, Waikawa, Ohau; Papaetonga was left for Rangiheata; Horo-whenua was given to Whatanui; Manawatu, Rangitikei, Turakina, and Wangaehu. Ngatiraukawa then made peace with those people, with Muaupoko, Rangitane and Ngatiapa, and now for the first time they came down from the trees up the mountains; Muaupoko and Rangitane to Te Whatanui; Ngatiapa to Horomana Te Remi and Nepia Taratoa, and settled down among Ngatiraukawa. We then went and killed Takare, Paipai, and Rautakitaki, besides women and children, amongst the garments (weruweru) of Ngatiraukawa.

Friends, listen, this was the last of our killing. They were protected by Ngatiraukawa. Te Rauparaha would have destroyed them all, lest the weeds should spring up.

This is the end.

"NOPERA TE NGIHA,
"ROPATA HIRAMUTU,"
and 23 others.

Written Statement from a Native of the Ngatikahungunu Tribe, in Hawke's Bay. A man much respected by his people.

Heretaunga, 31st March, 1873. TO THOMAS WILLIAMS.

"Now, listen, all of you. I was taken many years ago by Ngatiraukawa. They took me away a slave to Maungatautari. Afterwards when Ngatiraukawa migrated to Kapiti, I was there a slave. I heard Te Rauparaha say to Te Whatanui, "all the remnants of Ngatiapa, Rangitane and Muaupoko must be destroyed." Te Whatanui replied, "cease to kill, let the remnants be saved"; but they lived like slaves (taurekareka) among the Ngatiraukawa."

"From PAORA NIKAHERE."

Written Statement of a Ngatiawa Chief. A Teacher.

"I will state what I know respecting the killing, by these two tribes, Ngatiawa and Ngatitoo, of the former inhabitants of this land, the title to which is being investigated by the Court. There was no peace made with them up to the arrival of the large party of Ngatiawa, in 1827. When that party arrived there were no people dwelling on this coast, only shags and seagulls on the sea beach. The remnants of the inhabitants had fled to the mountains. That party came to Waikanae, they then returned and occupied the coast, because it was clear, those of the former inhabitants who had escaped having fled to the forests. Some few were in slavery, numbers had been killed. These two tribes occupied the coast as far as Manawatu. Ngatikuia, a *hapu* of Ngatiawa settled at Ohau, when Toheriri, a chief of Muaupoko, came out and lived among them. When Ngatitoo heard, they came and killed Toheriri. This is certain that these two tribes were constantly killing the former inhabitants. They did not make peace with them. Afterwards Ngatiraukawa came, when they protected them against these two tribes, but though Ngatiraukawa settled here. Ngatiawa did not cease to kill them. For, see, Mahuri was murdered for Ngatikahungunu having murdered Ngatitama at, Wairarapa, in two pas, Tarata was one, Warepapa the other, that was the cause of Mahuri being murdered; great numbers of Rangitane, Ngatiapa and Muaupoko, were killed. Then, after that, Rangitane came secretly and killed a Ngatiawa woman, when Ngatiawa followed them up among the Ngatiraukawa, as far as Horowhenua. After that again another party came of Ngatiawa, Taranaki, and Ngatimaru; when they came to Manawatu they killed more of the original inhabitants; there was no peace made with them. Ngatiraukawa protected them against these two tribes, Ngatitoo and Ngatiawa; Ngatiraukawa kept them as servants for themselves."

"WI TAMIHANA TE NEKE.

Waikanae,

May 23, 1873.

Statement front a principal Chief of Ngatiraukawa.

"When Ngatiraukawa arrived at Kapiti to Te Rauparaha, the word went forth from Te Rauparaha to Ngatiraukawa, that all the weeds must be exterminated from off his field.

What caused Te Rauparaha to say this was his (people) having been murdered at Ohau, at Waikanae, and at Pukerua. After these murders all these tribes assembled; Ngarauru, Whanganui, Ngatiapa, Rangitane, Muaupoko, Ngatikahungunu, Rangitane, from the Middle Island, and Ngatikuia; all these tribes came to kill Te Rauparaha, at Kapiti. Ngatitoo, and Rauparaha defeated these tribes. A woman caught their chiefs, that woman's name was Hinewairoro.

Therefore, Te Rauparaha said all these tribes must be destroyed. The word of Whatanui went forth. "No, let them live; leave them as servants for Ngatiraukawa." That was the word that protected these tribes against Te Rauparaha and his tribes,

IHAKARA TUKUMARU,

Of the Patukohuru, Hapu of Ngatiraukawa.

Statement of another Ngatiraukawa Chief.

Otaki, May 16, 1873.

"This is a statement, lest the thoughts of Te Rauparaha should be forgotten about his children, who were murdered in the night by Muaupoko, (here follows a long account of the murders at Ohau and Waikanae, and attack upon Kapiti). Those chiefs, Te Rauparaha, Rangihaeata, Hiko, Koto, Maako, Pokaitara, Wetu, Kotua, Rangihiroa, Ungia, Nohorua, Aratanga, Otaota, became dark in their hearts, and determined to exterminate these tribes, that none should remain; this was the fixed determination of the chiefs of Ngatitua, but it was Rauparaha who was the most determined. But when Ngatiraukawa came Whatanui made peace with them, then Ngatitua were dark, and killed Muaupoko at Papaetonga, they killed Takarei, Paipai, and Kahu; they then went on to Horowhenua, and killed Rautakitaki. These were the chiefs of Muaupoko, the others escaped to the mountains. Whatanui again settled them down. Rauparaha was still dark in his heart up to the time of his being made prisoner by the Pakeha. He retained his ill will towards them, Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa, till the time of his death.

What I have now written is what I have always borne in mind.

"KARANAMA TE KAPUKAIOTU."

Mr. M'Lean's Report on the purchase of the Rangitikei District.

Wanganui, 21st May, 1849.

SIR,—

"I have the honor to report to you, for the information of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that the *arrangements with the Ngatiapa tribe for the purchase of the district of land situated between the Rangitikei River and the Wanganui Block,*

The Italics in these reports are my own.—T.C.W.
were satisfactorily concluded on the 16th instant.

The Ngatiapa having arrived at Wanganui, I held a meeting with them on the 15th instant, at the military parade ground, which was attended by the officers of the 65th Regiment, also by Captain Campbell, and Dr. Rees Justices of the Peace, Robert Park, Esquire, New Zealand Company's Surveyor, and several of the European settlers, besides Native chiefs from different tribes who were invited to attend.

When all were assembled, I briefly informed the claimants that I was glad to see them coming forward so promptly to conclude the negotiations respecting the transfer of their land, and requested them to make any statement they wished on the subject before signing the deed of sale, that all who favoured us with their presence might understand the object of our meeting, and the favourable disposition, or otherwise, by which they were influenced *in disposing of their land* to the Government.

The principal chiefs and claimants responded to this request by declaring, in most emphatic terms, that it was their firm and mature resolution *to part with their lands* to the Government; and that they anxiously desired to participate in the various advantages they would derive from the settlement of a numerous European population amongst them.

The deed of sale was then read over, the natives fully assenting to the boundaries and other conditions therein specified, excepting two, named Reihana and Ngawaka, who, although agreeing to the general provisions of the deed, requested before attaching their signatures *to retain some large reserves* they had previously applied for, as communicated in my letter of the 10th April; but which from their extent and position I could not grant. I therefore gave these natives to understand *that as ample reserves were already provided for them, I could not allow of those unnecessary ones*, after my explicit determination to the contrary. George King, the Chief of Putikiwaranui, in addressing the Ngatiapa, remonstrated against such untimely applications being made for reserves, when, to his knowledge, the district had been entirely surrendered to the Government at the previous meetings and public deliberations of their tribe. After a short discussion among the natives, I again read over the boundaries of the purchase to which the whole of the claimants unanimously assented; Reihana and Ngawaka coming forward among the first to sign the deed, remarking as they did so to some few around them, (who objected to their making such demands) that they merely wished *to exact as much land as they could* before holding the pen, which act they very properly regarded as signifying their irrevocable consent to the *final transfer of their land*.

On the 16th the whole men, women, and children of the Ngatiapa tribe, with the officers and gentlemen who attended yesterday, made their appearance at an early hour on the parade ground, where a tent, with other confidences, was provided by Lieut. Smith, of the Royal Artillery, and the officers of the 65th.

The natives having ranged themselves in the order in which they should be paid, I directed their attention, especially those who were not present on the previous day, to the deed of sale, which was read over by Mr.

Ronaldson, a young man connected with Mr. Taylor's establishment, who afterwards assisted me in writing on the deed the names of those natives who were only able to make their marks.

The signing being finished, Abraham Tipae, the chief of Wangaehu, reminded the Ngatiapa of the necessity of adhering to the engagement now entered into, of *looking up to the Governors of the Island as their guardians*, and to the Europeans as their friends, to all of whom they were more closely united by the deed to which they attached their names. He then addressed *the people of the Wangaehu, Turakina, and Rangitikei rivers* separately, enquiring whether they fully comprehended the nature of the agreement they had concluded, and whether they were quite resolved to abide by their favourable promise publicly declared by them at this meeting, to which they all replied in their usual way of expressing consent, "ai." Abraham continued by stating, that if any of them should hereafter disturb the present amicable arrangement, or interfere with the land they had ceded, that he should be the first to bring such offenders to justice.

Paora Turangapito, the principal chief of Turakina, and leading warrior of Ngatiapa, next addressed his followers to the effect that *the alienation of the lands of their forefathers and ancestors was a great event, and one in which he was glad to take part before his death*, a circumstance likely soon to take place, as he was labouring under severe disease; but he trusted his survivors would carefully observe and fulfil their present important engagements; one or two laments *over their country* were recited by this chief, the whole tribe joining in the chorus.

Aperahama Parea, of Waitotara, Mawae and different other chiefs who were seated near me, remarked, that it was quite unnecessary for them to address or vise the Ngatiapa on the present occasion, as their *tangis* or lament for their land which they had just repeated, was the best possible evidence of their favorable disposition towards the Europeans, and of their fixed determination to *part with their land*.

The first instalment of one thousand pounds, was then divided in eighty-six equal proportions of ten pounds to each *hapu* or subdivision of a tribe, and the remaining fourteen bags of ten pounds each were handed to the following chiefs—Kingi Hori, and Hunia, of Rangitikei, six bags; Paora Turangapita of Turakina, four bags; Aparahama Tipae, of Wangaehu, four bags; making in all one thousand pounds, in one hundred bags of ten pounds each. Tie enclosed schedule marked A, exhibits the name of the *hapus*, and natives to whom the money was delivered.

After the payment of the money the natives quietly dispersed to their encampment on the south side of the river, and on the following morning they were seen in busy groups, passing from shop to shop, more eagerly disposing of their cash than they appeared the previous day to obtain it.

Upwards of eight hundred pounds of the whole amount has already been expended by them in the purchase of thirty horses, agricultural implements, and a variety of different articles, including clothing, of which they much needed a supply.

The deed of sale with its translation is herewith forwarded, in which it will be perceived the terms of payment are inserted as authorised in your letter of 25th ultimo, that is : that the total purchase money should be two thousand five hundred pounds; one thousand pounds of the said amount to be immediately paid to the natives, and the remaining fifteen hundred pounds to be paid in three subsequent equal annual instalments falling due on the 15th day of May, in each year.

Attached to the deed there is a plan showing the probable extent of the purchase and the position of the native reserves. A more accurate map will be furnished when Mr. Park has completed a contemplated survey of the interior of the Rangitikei river.

From the desire of the natives to possess the whole of the land between the Turakina and Wangaehu rivers, I considered it advisable to acquiesce in their wishes, as the place is peculiarly adapted from its well defined natural boundaries for a reserve, and from its extent will also render it a sufficient and desirable situation for the eventual settlement of the whole tribe. There are already several villages and native cultivations on this reserve, and the chief of Turakina informs me, that in the course of a few years he will dispose of the Turakina reserve of eight hundred acres, *as he intends, at my suggestion, to make immediate preparations to settle between the rivers.*

The right of eel-fishing in such places as may not be drained by European settlers, the village and cultivation, including *sixteen hundred acres* of land at Parawanui, *Kawana Hakekes burial ground*, fifty acres, near some fishing lagoons, colored red on the map, the right of cultivation till March, 1852, (eighteen hundred and fifty-two) on some spots of land opposite Awahou, and a similar right, for a period of three years, on two places, on the north Bank of the Wangaehu, comprehend the whole of the native reserves within the purchase, as specified in the deed of sale, which further provides that the government have a right of constructing a public road, or roads, through all the native reserves. Mr. Park, whose experience as a Surveyor renders him most efficient in discharging his duties, is at present engaged in making maps for the natives, which, with copies of the deed, I shall leave with the chiefs as records of reference in which the arrangements now concluded are detailed. Acreage, 225,000.

The Ngatiapa are as yet a rude uncultivated race, whose improvement as a tribe has hitherto been much neglected, consequently settlers may have some little difficulties to contend with in their first intercourse with them, but *the cession of their country*, increasing knowledge, and ameliorated circumstances, will soon bring about a perfectly amicable understanding.

I am glad to observe that many of the chiefs in this neighbourhood congratulate the Government on the *successful termination of the present purchase, notwithstanding the opposition evinced by various tribes when the negotiations were first undertaken.*

I have the honor, &c.,

DONALD M'LEAN,
Inspector of Police.
The Hon. the Colonial Secretary,

Wellington.

"Notes taken under the direction of the Government, embracing Statistical Returns in connection with the Native population and other miscellaneous information within the Districts of Port Nicholson, Porirua, Waikanae, Otaki, Manawatu, Rangitikei, and Wairarapa, in the Province of New Munster, in the beginning of 1850. Printed in the "Independent Office."

Colonial Secretary's Office, Wellington, July, 1850.

"His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor directs the publication of the following Reports for general information.

By His Excellency's command,
ALFRED DOMETT,
Colonial Secretary.

[EXTRACTS.]

Rangitikei, March 10th, 1850.

"Ngatiraukawa, who came originally from Maungatautari, *is the most powerful tribe in Cook's Strait. They number about 1,200 fighting men, including a section of Ngatitoo, and inhabit country lying between Kukutaueki (a small stream two miles north of Waikanae), and the main river of Rangitikei.* Intermixed with the Ngatiraukawa are a few remnants of the Ngatikahununu, some of whom were some of the original possessors of the soil, while some have more recently migrated from the country in the neighbourhood of Hawke's Bay, which they left in consequence of jealousies and feuds connected with the distribution of land, and ultimately *with the sanction of Ngatiraukawa* were permitted to establish themselves on the banks of the Manawatu, where many of them still remain. The Ngatiraukawa as will be seen by the returns are a very numerous body—they are industrious, brave, and very much united.

23. Settlement. Otaki. * * * *Otaki was the principle residence of the late chief Te Rauparaha.*

The claim of the Ngatiraukawa to the whole of the district before mentioned is, I believe, undisputed, and since the call for flax each sub-tribe set a value upon their several districts which probably they never did before. The whole of the country abounds in flax.

25. Settlement.—Horowhenua, distant from Ohau about five miles, is situated on the border of a lake of that name. The inhabitants are a remnant of the original occupants of the soil called Muaupoko, and have been allowed to remain there ever since the country was taken possession of by Ngatiraukawa. *Horowhenua was the favorite residence of the late Te Whatanui, one of the principal chiefs of the Ngatiraukawa—and to him the individuals composing the tribe in a great measure owe their existence.* It is also interesting in skirting the lake to see the remains of the old pas, and to hear the accounts given of the manner in which they were attacked and destroyed by Te Rauparaha.

27. Settlement.—Manawatu is one of the principal districts occupied by the Ngatiraukawa, intermixed with them are two small tribes, one called the Paneiri, originally from the Hawke's Bay country, the other a remnant

of the old Rangitanes, part of whom are still to be found in and near Wairau. The three principal stations or settlements on the Manawatu, are Te Awahou, near the heads, Taita and Moutoa on Te Rewarewa, up the river. With the exception of Te Awahou there are no other pas or fortifications worth mentioning. The huts and cultivations are scattered along the banks of the river and generally contiguous to the flax grounds. The easy water conveyance for the flax and other produce, including timber, has made the Manawatu a favorite residence with the natives. The native population, as will be seen by the enclosed returns, is considerably larger at Manawatu than at any other place.

28. Rangitikei, distant from Manawatu about 16 miles, is included within the new purchase and inhabited by a tribe called the Ngatiapa. There are three pas, one near the entrance of the river, the other two about five miles further up, and within a very short distance of each other. One of them is occupied by a portion of the natives, who were expelled from the Hutt at the time of the rebellion. These are known as the Ngatirangatahi, who are entirely distinct from the Ngatiapas, who occupy the other two pas.

The Ngatiapa are a remnant of the original people, and have held but little intercourse with the Europeans. They are still rude and uncivilized, *and look with a jealous eye on their old conquerors the Ngatiraukawa, by whom they were recently permitted to sell the land on the north side of the river. The whole of the Ngatiapa scarcely amount to more than 300 souls, including Turakina and Wangaehu, for whom a sufficiency of land has been reserved.*

"(Signed) H. TACY KEMP,
"Native Secretary."

Wairarapa, April 15th, 1850. "WAIRARAPA DISTRICT,

29. Settlement.—Te Hawera. After the country had been nearly; depopulated by the Ngatiraukawa and Ngatiawa.

37. Settlement.—Turanganui was one of earliest villages formed after the natives returned from Nukutaurua or E. Cape, under the sanction and conduct of the late Te Wharepouri.

"(Signed) H. TACY KEMP,
"Native Secretary."

Mr. Commissioner M'Lean, to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary, New Munster.

Wellington, November 4th, 1850.

"SIR,—

"I have the honor to report to you for the information of His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor, that the inland boundaries of the Wanganui and Rangitikei purchases were finally adjusted on the 12th ult., the date on which I returned with Mr. Park, the New Zealand Company's principal Surveyor, and a large body of natives, from fixing the inland boundary at Turakina.

* * * * *

* * I shall address you a separate despatch in reference to arrangements which, subject to His Excellency's approval, I propose to carry out with the natives respecting their reserves in the Rangitikei district; *in the meantime I would earnestly advise the Government, against encouraging or in any way sanctioning the leasing by the Natives to Europeans anxious to make terms with them, of their large reserve marked red on the enclosed sketch, and situated between the Turakina and Wangaehu rivers, as I conceive that such a measure, even if consented to by a portion of the Natives, would seriously injure and interfere with their future welfare and prosperity as a tribe.*

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed) DONALD M'LEAN,
"Land Commissioner.

The Hon. the Colonial Secretary, New Munster.

Wellington, August 26th, 1851.

"SIR,—

"I have the honor to request that you will have the goodness to submit for the information of His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief, the following report connected with my late visit to the Rangitikei and Manawatu districts. At a general meeting of natives on the 29th May last, *I handed over the third instalment of £500 to the Ngatiapa tribe*, for the Rangitikei purchase. * * *

The sums expended among the *Rangitikei tribe for their land*, the location of English settlers among them, and the consequent demand for their produce and labour, has greatly stimulated their industry, and wonderfully improved their disposition and circumstances. Formerly they were notorious for petty quarrels with the surrounding tribes, and plundering the English travellers who passed along the coast; they are even now a rude race. But since their treaty with the Government for the *cession of their country*, &c. * * *

There is a *fine rich district of land situated between the Rangitikei and Manawatu, the acquisition of which, in the course of a few years, will be found very desirable*. The remaining portion of the coast from Manawatu to a stream forming the boundary between the Ptaki (Otaki) natives and those of Waikanae appears *more peculiarly adapted for a native reserve* than for the purposes of English colonisation. * * *

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed) DONALD M'LEAN,

"Land Commissioner.

The Hon. the Colonial Secretary, &c. &c. &c.

Wellington, 25th June, 1852.

"SIR,—

"In continuation of my letter of the 22nd ultimo, respecting the *fourth and last instalment of £500 to the Ngatiapa tribe* for payment of the Rangitikei district, &c.

" I have, &c.,

" (Signed) DONALD M'LEAN,

"Land Commissioner.

"The Civil Secretary."

Extract from a letter dated, August 31, 1863. From Walter Buller, Esq., R.M., (who assisted Dr. Featherston, throughout, in his purchase of the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block,) to the then Native Minister.

"It appears that when the Ngatiapa, in 1849, surrendered to the Crown I the land lying between the Whanganui and Rangitikei rivers, they compromised the conflicting Ngatiraukawa *claims (of conquest)* by conceding to the Litter the right of disposal over the territory lying south of the Rangitikei, with the *mutual understanding* that as the Ngatiraukawa had *received a share of the payments*, the Ngatiapa should in like manner participate in the purchase money of this block, *whenever the Ngatiraukawa should sell*.

Mr. M'Lean's Reports show that the whole of the purchase money was paid to the Ngatiapa tribe, therefore Mr. Buller's "mutual understanding" falls to the ground. —T. C. W.

With the lapse of years the Ngatiapa have come to regard their claim as one of absolute right, in every respect equal to that of the *present holders*; while the latter, always regarding the latter claim as *one of sufferance*, are now disposed to ignore it altogether."

Taita, Wellington, June 22, 1867.

DEAR SAMUEL,—

"As you were many years resident in the district, I shall feel obliged if you will furnish me with any information relative to the respective claims of the Ngatiraukawa and Ngatiapa tribes, to the lands lying

between the Manawatu and Rangitikei rivers,

"Your affectionate brother,

"THOMAS C. WILLIAMS.

Rev. S. Williams, Te Aute.

"Te Ante, Hawke's Bay. "DEAR THOMAS,—

In answer to your inquiries about the Manawatu claims I may briefly state that, when the Rangitikei block of land was offered for sale by Ngatiapa in 1848 and 1849, D. McLean, Esq., Land Purchase Commissioner, called upon me at Otaki, where I was residing, and asked me to help him in obtaining the consent of Ngatiraukawa, together with Rauparaha and Rangihaeata to the sale, without which he said he could not effect the purchase.

I promised him my assistance, and for that purpose entered fully into the subject with the Natives. Rauparaha and Rangihaeata were furious at the idea of Ngatiapa, whom they styled the remnant of their meal, attempting to deal with the land, and blamed Ngatiraukawa in unmeasured terms for having stopped them in their work of extermination, saying that had they been allowed to do as they wished the difficulties of that time would never have arisen. I was surprised on observing the great coolness which was manifested upon the subject by Ngatitua, excepting only those who were living with Ngatiraukawa, as were Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, and on asking the reason they told me that whatever claim they had to the land in question had been given over to Ngatiraukawa. Several members of the conquered tribes told me that they owed their lives to Ngatiraukawa—that Te Rauparaha would have killed them all had not Te Whatanui, one of the principal chiefs of Ngatiraukawa, befriended them. They always spoke of him as a father, and admitted that the Ngatiraukawa were the *kai kotikoti whenua* (the dividers of the land). The subject caused considerable excitement amongst the Ngatiraukawa, but I urged them to act a generous part towards those who had been so harshly treated in past years, and after repeated discussions amongst themselves, they at length agreed to allow Ngatiapa to sell their land on the north side of the Rangitikei river, and keep all the purchase money, on condition that they were not to deal with any of the land to the south of the river. I do not however, consider that either party understood that Ngatiapa were, by this arrangement, entirely debarred from occupying portions of the south bank of the river if they wished to do so, or from receiving a portion of the proceeds in the event of Ngatiraukawa disposing of it. The Commissioner expressed his gratification at the generous manner in which Ngatiraukawa acted, more particularly in not accepting any of the purchase money, of which Ngatiapa had previously expected them to take a large share.

"Your affectionate brother,

"SAMUEL WILLIAMS."

The following letter written in 1867 is from a well known chief on the West coast, a companion of Te Rauparaha's, a principal chief of both the Ngatitua and, Ngatiraukawa tribes.

"To Thomas Williams." "DEAR FRIEND,—

"The Ngatiapas and Rangitanes had lost all authority over these lands as far as Wairarapa long before the Treaty of Waitangi came in 1840. At the time the Treaty was signed they had no authority over the land.

The Ngatiraukawa quietly handed over the other side of Rangitikei to Ngatiapa for them to sell to Mr. McLean, which made that sale complete.

Ahuoturanga also was quietly handed over by Ngatiraukawa to Hirawhanu, chief of Rangitane, which made that correct.

This side of Rangitikei was retained by Ngatiraukawa then, and they are still retaining it.

"(Signed) MATENE TE WHIWHI."

Correct translation—J. N. WILLIAMS.

Nelson Province.

The Chief Commissioner to the Colonial Secretary.

"Land Commissioner's Office, Auckland, 7th April, 1856.

"SIR,—

"I have the satisfaction to report to you for the information of His Excellency the Governor, that the negotiations entered into previous to Sir George Grey's departure in 1853, with the Ngatitōa tribe for the cession of their unextinguished claims over the Nelson and Canterbury Provinces, have at last been brought to a favourable termination.

2. In order that His Excellency may be enabled more easily to form a general view of the whole of the transaction, I may here advert briefly to some of the earlier circumstances connected with the purchase.

3. After repeated meetings and discussions with the Ngatitōa and Ngatitama tribes, who at first intended only to cede a portion of their less valuable land on the West Coast; a Deed of Sale was executed by them at Wellington, on the 10th of August, 1853, by which they agreed, subject to certain reservations, to relinquish in favour of the Crown, for a sum of Five thousand pounds (£5000), the whole of their claims upon the Middle Island.

4. These reservations consisted of the cultivations and lands required for the subsistence of the Natives resident in the district; it being always distinctly understood that Rangitoto, or D'Urville's Island, was excepted from the sale.

5. A first portion of the purchase money, amounting to Two thousand pounds (£2000), was paid at the time of the execution of the Deed; the balance of Three thousand pounds (£3000), remained to be discharged in six annual instalments of Five hundred pounds (£500) each.

6. In addition to the cash consideration payable to the Natives, which from the smallness of the sum they evinced some reluctance to accept, it was further agreed by Sir George Grey that fifteen of the principal Chiefs should have Scrips awarded to them, representing Fifty pounds (£50) each, which should be available in the purchase of Crown Lands in any part of New Zealand.

7. Twenty-six of the Native claimants were also to have Two hundred acres each out of the land thus ceded by them; in such places as the Governor might set apart for this purpose, and at such time as the land might be required for their use.

8. The natives have not yet evinced any desire to select this land, which they regard more as a provision for their future wants, than as needed for immediate occupation. They have, however, applied some of the Scrips before alluded to, in the purchase of land in the Wellington and Nelson Provinces.

9. The above statement embraces the whole of the more important arrangements concluded with the Natives, previous to Sir George Grey's departure; it being then fully contemplated, both by His Excellency, and by myself, that the further details of this purchase would have been brought to a much earlier termination; but circumstances which could be neither foreseen nor obviated, have hitherto interfered to prevent this.

10. The conflicting claims of different tribes (residing on both shores of Cook's Straits) to the unpurchased lands in the Nelson Province, occasioned considerable difficulty. For instance, the Ngatitōa tribe at Porirua (with whom the first treaty was concluded) had unquestionably, as the earliest invaders, a prior right to the disposal of the district. This they never had relinquished; although, after the conquest, their leading Chiefs partitioned out the subordinate branches of their own tribe, as well as to the Ngatiawa, a few of whom took with part them in the conquest, the lands which these now occupy in the Nelson Province.

11. The latter parties did not assume to themselves a power of sale, except over the lands they actually occupied; yet some of them, when not confronted by the leading Ngatitōa Chiefs, professed to have independent and exclusive rights, which the majority, and even the parties making such assertions (when closely examined) always acknowledged that the general right of alienation vested in the Ngatitōa Chiefs of the Northern Island. In fact their relative rights through intermarriage, the declining influence of the chiefs, and other causes, had become so entangled, that without the concurrence both of these occupants, and of the remnants of the conquered Rangitane and Ngaitahu tribes, no valid title could have been secured.

12. To arrange, therefore, with the various claimants as opportunity might offer, was the next duty to be attended to. Accordingly, a section of the Ngatiawa who had taken part in the invasion but had returned to their possessions at Waikanae and Taranaki, and other places in the North Islands, (intending to migrate from one Island to the other, as their inclinations led them), were paid a sum of Nine hundred pounds (£900), for the

extinction of their title, on the dates, and in the proportions specified in the margin.

March 2nd, 1854, for Wairau and Arapaoa, £200. March 10th, 1854, title of Taranaki Natives, £500. November 24th, 1854, for Te Awaiti, £200.

13. In November of the year 1854, "Mr. Brunner, the Government Surveyor, and Mr. Jenkins, the Interpreter at Nelson, were despatched to mark off the boundaries of such Reserves as would be required for the resident Natives. These officers did their utmost to perform this service; but owing to the jealousy on the part of some of the Natives to the Ngatittoa sale, they were unable (except in a few instances) to effect any permanent adjustment of the Reserves and boundaries.

14. In December of the same year a large concourse of Natives, from different parts of the Nelson Province, were assembled on one of their periodical visits, at Porirua, to hold a *tangi*, or lamentation, over some of their relatives recently deceased. At this meeting there were present so many influential representatives of the various tribes, that it afforded a favourable opportunity for discussing the merits of their respective claims.

15. These meetings resulted in an unanimous desire on the part of the assembled tribes, to have the second instalment then due, paid to them at Porirua, instead of at Nelson, as originally intended; and, in order that the whole of them might participate in it (which they could not do if one installment only of Five hundred pounds (£500) were paid, they requested that four years' instalments should be handed over to them at once (£200), urging, as a reason, that some of their Chiefs had recently died of the measles epidemic; while two of them who had taken a prominent part in the conquest, though still alive, were in a precarious state of health; and that it was their unanimous desire that this payment should take place in their presence.

16. To this deviation from the original terms, I had some difficulty in assenting, however politic it might otherwise have been, in consequence of the understanding that the second payment should be made at Nelson, but the Natives from that Province were themselves the most urgent in requesting me to forego this intention. My reasons for acceding finally to their desire have been fully reported in my letter to you of the 15th December, 1854, and one of the same date addressed to Major Richmond.

17. I should here add, that the two old Chiefs who participated in this payment, and who have since both died, expressly charged their surviving relatives to use their utmost influence in assisting the Government to settle this question; and this duty, as a parting request of these Chiefs, they hare most assiduously and faithfully performed.

18. The instalments now paid together with One hundred pounds (£100), to one of the Ngatiawa Chiefs at Gore Harbour, completed the sum of Five thousand pounds (£5000), stipulated for in the original Ngatittoa Deed of Sale, As there remained, however, unsettled claims of various resident Tribes; I applied for, and obtained a further advance of Two thousand pounds (£2000), to complete the purchase.

19. Owing to repeated and most unexpected interruptions, arising from my being obliged to go to Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay; thence by the East Coast to Auckland; and twice, (owing to disturbances there), to Taranaki; dissappointed, moreover, in not being able to get the Natives of the North Island, from illness, attention to their crops, or other causes to accompany me; I was unable to pay that attention to the claims of the residents in the Nelson Province, which it was my earnest desire to have done, with a view to the speedier settlement of a most important question, which had been already so long pending; and which the Natives, though their patience must have been greatly exhausted by these delays, declined to settle with any other officer except the one who commenced the negotiations.

20. On the 30th October, 1855, I was instructed by His Excellency Colonel Gore Browne, to accompany him from Taranaki to Nelson; where an opportunity was afforded from the number of Natives assembled there, to effect an arrangement with the Ngatiruru and Ngatitama for their claims, for a sum of six hundred pounds, the receipt of which is acknowledged in the deed executed by them on the 10th and 13th of November, 1855.

21. This deed provides that the land exhibited on the plan thereto attached, shall be reserved for the Natives; it is, together with what they elsewhere possess, of sufficient extent for their present and future requirements, even if they have a considerable increase of cattle and horses; it is situated within natural boundaries requiring no outlay for surveys; and lies on a part of the West Coast as yet remote from European settlers, but which the Natives were particularly anxious to retain. A Government right of road, should it in future be required, is provided for, by a clause to that effect inserted in the deed.

22. In proceeding by the 'Zingari,' from Nelson to Wellington, with His Excellency the Governor, on the 13th November, 1855, a survey party and Interpreter were taken on board, and landed on the way in Queen Charlotte's Sound, with instructions to lay off the necessary reserves in that part of the Nelson Province. This duty they were enabled to perform without much opposition on the part of the Maoris : and by the 15th January, in this year, the reserves were marked off.

23. On the 24th of this month, I crossed the Straits from Wellington to Cloudy Bay, in a small vessel, taking along with me the Ngatittoa Chiefs Rawiri Puaha, Hohepa Tamaihenga, and others, and was followed by Matene Te Whiwhi, and Tamihana Te Rauparaha, in course of a few days.

24. The left bank of the Wairau River being the southern boundary of the purchase, I held a meeting with the Natives of that place, in number about one hundred and twenty (120). They fully assented to the sale, having participated—*except a small party of the Rangitane*

The portions of this report printed in italics refer to the original owners. The italics are my own.—T.C.W. in the first and second payments made at Porirua.

25. *To the Rangitane one hundred pounds (£100) was now paid in full satisfaction of all their claims.*

26. The Reserves laid off at the Wairau consist of seven hundred and seventy (770) acres on the left bank of that river, a small bay named White's Bay, and about two hundred (200) acres adjacent thereto; and two sections, of fifty I acres each, to the Chiefs Wiremu Nera Te Kanae, and Te Tana Pukekowhatu. The latter section has been marked out; but the former, in consequence of the absence of Te Kanae, though its general position was defined, had not been surveyed. For these two sections I beg to recommend that individual Crown Grants should be issued to the above-named Chiefs.

27. From the Wairau, I sailed for Tory Channel and Queen Charlotte's Sound, a portion of the country inhabited chiefly by the Ngatiawa. The people had assembled at Waikawa to meet me, where, after several debates, which lasted for some days, I was enabled to effect a final settlement of their claims, for a sum of Five hundred pounds (£500), the receipt of which is acknowledged in the Deed signed by them on the ninth (9th) February, 1856,

28. The unsettled state of the Ngatiawa tribe, and the disposition manifested by them to return to their former possessions at Taranaki (where their [presence could only increase the troubles that already beset the land question in that Province) rendered the present negotiation with them one of no small difficulty and delicacy, which might, if in any way mismanaged, affect the general tranquility of the country. I was induced, therefore, to agree to reserves of considerable extent being assigned to them in the various bays they were then inhabiting, with which they appeared to be fully satisfied. A plan, exhibiting these reserves, is herewith furnished for His Excellency's information.

29. To this part of the country, from its past associations, the Natives attach great importance, as the scene of many hard-fought battles, and of final conquest; the great resort, moreover, in former years, of whale ships from different parts of the world, with whom they carried on a lucrative trade; they could also, at all seasons of the year, resort to its well-sheltered bays and harbours for supplies of fish.

30. As expressive of the national interest felt by them for the place, [*unclear: as*] of the principal chiefs, Ropohama Te One, the last of several who had spoken in a most emphatic harangue, in which he alluded to these various circumstances, struck into the ground at my feet a greenstone adze, saying, in their usual metaphor, 'Now that we have for ever launched this land into the [*unclear: sea.*] we hereby make over to you, as a lasting evidence of its surrender, this [*unclear: as*] named Paewhenua, which we have always highly prized, from having [*unclear: rega*] it in battle after it was used by our enemies to kill two of our most celebrated chiefs, Te Pehi and Pokaitara. Money vanishes and disappears, but this greenstone will endure as a durable witness of our act, as the land itself which have now, under the shining sun of this day, transferred to you for ever.' allude to this incident that it may, if necessary, be referred to hereafter, as an evidence of the importance attached by this tribe to the treaty now conclude and a striking circumstance likely to be long remembered by them.

31. From Queen Charlotte's Sound I crossed by the Anakiwa Pass to Kaituna and Pelorus Valleys. At the Kaituna *the extent of reserve which deemed necessary for the Ngatikuia tribe residing there, was three hundred (300) acres.* Out of this extent I had to recommend that an individual Crown Grant be issued to the Chief Hura Kopapa. The position of the reserve has been pointed out in the presence of the Natives interested, but I had not then time to have it surveyed.

32. In addition to thus reserve a *landing place for canoes* at a place called Pareuku was requested by Kopapa. Its extent, as pointed out to me, will *not exceed (10) acres.* A *very long pah* occupied by this tribe, at a place called Motueka, is likely to be the only site available in that locality for a township. If it should really be required for this purpose, the Natives agreed to relinquish it; *if not, then I would certainly recommend that it be reserved them.* Should a town be laid out there, I would submit that Hura and Manihera ought to receive, *by way of compensation, four (4) of the town sections* of a fair average value. I trust that His Excellency will be pleased to [*unclear: sanc*] this proposal.

33. From Kaituna the next visit was paid to the Hoiere or Pelorus river to fix the reserves and cultivations for the Natives residing there. When these had been decided on, as shewn on the plan herewith furnished, the [*unclear: Ngati*] *formerly the owners of the beautiful and fertile valleys of the Hoiere and Kaituna, now reduced in number to about fifty (50) souls, were paid One hundred pounds (£100) in extinction of their title, with which sum they appeared well satisfied, it being the first time since the conquest that their claims had in any way been recognized.*

DISTRICT SITUATED. DATE OF PURCHASE. EXTENT IN ACRES. DESCRIPTION OF LAND. DATE

OF PAYMENTS MADE. SUMS PAID. SUMS PAYABLE. TOTAL OF EACH PURCHASE. TRIBE FROM WHOM PURCHASED. COMMISSIONER NEGOTIATING. REMARKS. Wanganui Turakina Reserve..... May 27, 1852 120 Agricultural land May 27, 1852 £12 £12 Ngatiapa McLean " Rangitikei Block..... May 16, 1849 225,000 Ditto and Pastoral July 10, 1850 July 10, 1851 May 22, 1852 500 500 500 1,500 Ngatiapa McLean The first instalment on this purchase does not come within the scope of this Return, having been made prior to June, 1850. PROVINCE OF NELSON. Waipounamu, Nelson, and part of Canterbury Province..... Aug. 10, 1853 8,000,000 A great part of this district in the West Coast of the Island is as yet unexplored by Europeans, but the Natives report that there is a large extent of grassy and available country inland of the granges that border on the coast. Aug. 10, 1853 £2,000 Ngatitooa March 2, 1854 200 Ngatiawa March 10, 1854 500 Do of Taranaki Dec. 13, 1854 2,000 Ngatitooa Nov. 10, 1855 600 Ngatirarua and Ngatitama March 5, 1856 100 Ngatikoata Do. for Gore's Harbour and Te Totaranui—claim Tamati Wiremu Kingi..... Nov. 16, 1854 100 Ngatiawa Do. for To Awaite—claims of Ngatiawa chiefs..... Good harbours. Land generally hilly, with a few flats Nov. 24, 1854 200 Ngatiawa Ditto for Wairau..... Grass, swamp, and timber Feb. 1, 1856 100 Rangitane Ditto for Arapaoa..... Hilly, with small level flats in the different coves or bays Feb. 9, 1856 500 Ngatiawa Ditto for Hoera and Kaituna..... Rich agricultural land, with fine timber Feb. 16, 1856 100 Ngatikuia Ditto—claim of Noa te Whata..... Dec. 11, 1855 1 Muaupoko Raweri Puaha..... Jan. 22, 1856 36 Ngatitooa Matene Te Whiwhi..... Jan. 22, 1856 11 Ngatitooa Te Rei Ngangiho..... March 8, 1856 19 Ngatiawa Wakapuaka natives..... £100 £6,667 Arahura Natives..... 100 Separation Point, Takaka Point, and Aorere, unextinguished claim Mr. Commissione'r Spain's ward March 6, 1856 Gold discovered here 60 Ngatirarua and Ngatitama Ditto ditto March 7, 1856 150 Ditto McLean Ditto ditto March 7, 1856 100 320 Ditto McLean

NOTE.—In the latter end of the year One thousand eight hundred and fifty-two (1852), Major Richardson purchased from the Natives the Pakawhau Coal district, for a sum—as far as I can ascertain—of five hundred pounds (£500). I do not know the estimated extent of this purchase.

In addition to the cash consideration paid to the Ngatitooa Natives for the entire surrender of their claims, the right of selecting fifteen (15) scrips of fifty (50) acres each, in any Crown Lands in New Zealand, has been guaranteed to them by Sir George Grey. Twenty-six (26) chiefs were also to have two hundred (200) acres each in the Nelson Province, to be selected in such places as the Governor may set apart for that purpose.

A tribe of the Ngaitahu, about twenty-five (25) in number, on the West Coast, are entitled to a small compensation for their claims, not exceeding one hundred pounds (£100). In the event of the Wakapuaka Natives relinquishing a portion of the land claimed by them as a Reserve, they would also be entitled to one hundred pounds (£100).

DONALD MCLEAN,

"Chief Commissioner for the Purchase of Lands from the Natives.

34. I next proceeded to the Croixelles harbour; but I found that the Chief of that place had preceded me to Nelson, where I afterwards decided the reserves to be allotted to himself and to his people, the Ngatikoata, and paid them a sum of One hundred pounds (£100), for their claims.

35. Before going to Nelson, I called at Wakapuaka, where a section of the Ngatitama live. These declined to give up any portion of the land held by them at that place, as they considered it not more than sufficient for their own subsistence; they also object to its being sold, without their consent, by their relatives in the North Island; and as the land they hold, is not of much greater extent than they would really require as a reserve, I did not deem it [unclear: dent] at present to urge a settlement of this particular question upon them.

36. The only tribe having claims upon this purchase, whom it was impossible for me to visit, are a small remnant of the Ngaitahu, about twenty-five (25) in number, residing at Arahura on the West Coast, a remote, and, as yet, almost inaccessible, part of the country. From a settlement of their claims, I do not apprehend any difficulty; but, as a matter of justice, if the district is occupied by Europeans, a reserve of three hundred (300) or four hundred (400) acres should be secured to them, together with a small amount of compensation for their claims.

37. In conducting this purchase through its several stages, involving the interests of so many different, and differently disposed tribes, and altogether the most complicated, as it was also the last, in the Middle Island, I found the limited time at my disposal so fully occupied with the necessary *koreros*, or debates, attending it, that I was unable to see some of the surveys completed to my satisfaction. I would gladly have done this myself, in order to prevent any possible question being raised hereafter about the boundaries. These details, however, can be easily arranged by the Government Surveyor, under the directions of Major Richmond, in whom the Natives place implicit confidence, and to whom I shall communicate additional information respecting these surveys, besides the Memoranda already furnished.

38. In the meantime, even these unfinished details are so fully understood by the Natives, that I am not

aware that there can be any objection to the had being now handed over to the Crown Commissioner, preparatory to its being disposed of in the usual manner.

39. In a separate communication I shall hereafter detail the steps taken by Major Richmond and myself to adjust some disputed rights to land comprised within the limits of Mr. Commissioner Spain's award.

" I have, &c.,
" DONALD MCLEAN,
Chief Commissioner.
The Hon. Colonial Secretary,

Auckland.

Documents relating to the settlement of the boundaries of the Upper Manawatu Ahuoturanga Block and the purchase of the Awahou Block, shewing that the Upper Manawatu Block was formally returned to the Rangitane Tribe by the Ngatiraukawa, and that the Awahou Block was sold by the Ngatiraukawa Tribe without any other Tribe being consulted.

Ahuriri, November 29th, 1856.

"SIR,—

* * * I had not an opportunity of making satisfactory enquiries upon the subject of the Forty Mile or Tamaki Bush, but from what I can elicit from natives at Heretaunga, I am inclined to think the Manawatu people will *not listen favourably* to overtures for its purchase so long as the *question relating to lands in dispute between themselves and the Ngatiraukawa on the West Coast, remains in its present state.*

"I have, &c.,

"G. S. COOPER,
"District Commissioner.
"D. McLean,
"Chief Commissioner, Auckland."

Ahuriri, March 29th, 1857.

"SIR,—

"In reference to the question of the purchase of the Forty Mile Bush, I have the honor to state that, from all I have heard from the Natives, I am inclined to think that they will object to treat for the sale of the bush lands, whilst their desire to dispose of their claims on the West Coast remains unsatisfied by the Government.

In this case I venture to suggest whether it would not be expedient, looking to the vast importance to the interests of this Province of the acquisition of the bush, to make them a payment for their claims upon the coast, as a preliminary step in the negotiation for the bush.

I am quite aware *that until the opposition of the Ngatiraukawa tribe to the sale of the coast districts is withdrawn or overcome, no final purchase of lands can be made there.* But under all the circumstances, I trust that His Excellency the Governor will see the propriety of *expending a moderate sum* to satisfy the Manawatu natives, more especially as the *discussions to which such a payment would give rise, might possibly lead to the sale by Ngatiraukawa of their claims by conquest;* and thus the acquisition of the valuable and important districts lying between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers might be facilitated, whilst all obstacles in the way of acquiring the Forty Mile Bush would be removed.

"I have, &c.,

""G. S. COOPER,
"District Commissioner.
"Donald McLean, Esq.,
"Chief Land Commissioner,

"Auckland".

Waikanae, 31st July, 1858.

"SIR,—

"I have the honor to submit for the information of His Excellency the Governor, the accompanying report, which I have this day received from Mr. Grindell, Interpreter, Native Land Purchase Department, containing some very generally interesting information respecting the Manawatu District.

"I have, &c.,

"WILLIAM M. SEARANCKE,
"Donald McLean, Esq.,
"Chief Land Commissioner,

"Auckland".

Journal of James Grindell, Interpreter, N.L.P.D., from June 1st to July 31st, 1858.

Tuesday, June 1st.—Left Masterton this evening for Ihurana and Manawatu. * * *

Wednesday 23rd. * * * I found Te Hirawanu and his people. * * *

They were determined not to sell any land on the east of Tararua, (viz., in the Seventy Mile Bush) until they had disposed of all their lands on the west side, supposing, no doubt, that these lands, being nearest to the Ngatiraukawas, were the most likely to be disputed and claimed by them.

Wednesday, 30th—From this place *I sent a letter to the Ngatiapas, informing them that matters were about to be discussed affecting their interests*, and advising them to attend.

Thursday, July 1st.—This day was spent in collecting food for the visitors, and making complimentary speeches (usual on such occasions), with but little reference to the business in hand. Two bullocks and half a score of pigs were killed, and various other preparations made for the celebration of a grand feast.

Friday, 2nd.—I commenced the business of the day with a short address to the tribes assembled, in which I told them that I had been sent by Mr. Searancke to ascertain what lands they were willing to sell, with the boundaries, position, &c., and also to enquire into the respective claims of the i people occupying such lands. *I represented to them that as they were all related together (having descended from one common source) they should endeavor to agree relative to boundaries and claims—that they should 'speak with one voice'—that if they were disunited by internal dissension; they would be laying themselves open to the attacks of the Ngatiraukawas, from whom much opposition was to be expected, and that there would thus be much less chance of coming to an amicable understanding with that tribe. I reminded them that there were several families located amongst them who had become part and parcel of themselves, and exhorted them to be mindful of the interests of these people in the disposal of their lands.*

After four or five days consultation, it was determined unanimously, that, not only the Puhangina Block on the north, but a corresponding block also on the south of Manawatu should be offered for sale; the whole, comprising, I should say, some 150,000 acres. Boundaries and reserves were fixed, and a portion of land allotted to the Ngatiupokoiri. I was anxious to have the Oroua river as a western boundary, but it could not then be arranged, as the Ngatiraukawa have claims east of that river. * * *

I do not expect that the purchase of this block will be effected without some opposition from the Ngatiraukawas, but I am not inclined to think that any very serious obstacles will be raised by them, nothing but what may be got over by judicious management. * * *

Monday, 12th—Mr. Searancke not arriving, and being anxious to collect as much information as possible, as to the state of the Native mind relative to Hirawanu's proceedings and land selling in general, I started for the Awahou and Otaki. I was absent on this trip until Thursday, 22nd, when I returned to Puketotara.

I found the Ngatiraukawas divided into two distinct parties, the sellers and non-sellers. The latter party is headed by Nepia Taratoa; but, I believe, his opposition to be merely a matter of form—merely an assertion of his authority—an upholding of his dignity, which will die away with the jealousy which occasioned it. Kuruhou, an active supporter of Taratoa, assured me that many of the chiefs of the Ngatiraukawas had gone over to the land selling side, and that the land would eventually be sold, that it was impossible to resist the 'kawanatanga.' The sellers looking upon Te Hirawanu as one of their party, appear disposed to support him,

whilst the non-sellers say that his intentions of acting independently of them, is a piece of assumption. If they were all united Te Hirawanu might meet with more opposition; as it is, I have little doubt that the purchase of the land offered by him would lead to the acquirement of all the lands in the hands of the Ngatiraukawas. The advocates of land selling in that tribe (and they are numerous), would look upon such an event as a signal for a general action, and their opponents, considering further opposition useless, would confine their attention to those tracts to which their claims were undisputed.

Ihakara offers for sale a block of some ten or twelve thousand acres at the Awahou very desirable situation for a township, on a navigable part of the Manawatu, and exempt from floods; *I am satisfied his title to this block is just, although disputed (for the present) by Nepia Taratoa*, who however is pretty certain to come over to the land selling side, as he is aware that public opinion is becoming too strong to be long resisted. The amount to be paid for it, I imagine, would not be a very difficult matter to settle, as the Natives consider the settlement of Europeans amongst them, a matter of much more importance than the money they would receive for the land. This also appears to be the feeling of the Rangitane and Hirawanu's people.

When the Ngatiraukawas first established themselves in the country, each division of the tribe, claimed, and took formal possession of certain tracts as their share of the conquest; of which they forthwith became the sole proprietors, and of which they ever afterwards retained possession; but now, when the idea of selling the land is gaining ground amongst them, the opponents of such a step, for the first time, assert that the country is common property, and that no portion of it can be sold without the consent of all. The feeling however, in favor of selling is spreading rapidly, and the ranks of the sellers are daily augmented by deserters from the non-sellers; yet there is so much jealousy existing amongst the chiefs, as to preclude the idea of these conflicting claims ever being so thoroughly harmonized as to admit of the sale of the country without tedious disputes and quarrels amongst the Natives. That the time is fast approaching when the country will be bought up, there can be no doubt, but much care and circumspection will be necessary in conducting the negotiations.

Most of the chiefs and influential men wish to sell the particular districts which fell to their share *after the conquest*, but the purchase of the country in such small pieces would not only materially increase the cost, but give rise to numerous irreconcilable disputes.

On my return from Otaki, I saw Nepia Taratoa at the Awahou. He did not seem to object altogether to the sale of the land, but he said *he wished the thing to be duly weighed and considered, and the claim of all parties properly adjusted* before any portion of it was sold, otherwise evil might result. He complained of the rashness and precipitance of the other chiefs, and said he had been strengthened in his opposition by their sneers and taunts and threats, to sell the land in spite of him. * * *

During my absence at Otaki, he had been to Puketotara to see the Rangitanes, about the land which they offer to sell; finding them determined to sell, he told them to *'wait a little while, a very little while, and he would not oppose their desire.'* He has since *declared his intention of selling the whole country between Manawatu and Rangitikei*, including a portion of Te Hirawanu's block. I believe, however, he does not object to Hirawanu's receiving the money he is merely ambitious of the name, and anxious to prove *his right to sell the whole country*.

"31st July, 1858."

Mr. Commissioner Searancke to the Chief Commissioner.

"Manawatu River, "27th September, 1858.

"SIR,—

"I have the honor to submit to you for the information of His Excellency the Governor, a report of my proceedings, together with the present state of the negotiation for the purchase of the upper portion of the Manawatu District. * * *

On the 19th ultimo, I arrived here, and after a few days' delay proceeded, in company *with Nepia Taratoa, Ihakara, and about forty others of the chiefs and principal men of the Ngatiraukawa tribe*, up the Manawatu River to Raurawa, the settlement of Te Hirawanu, the chief of the Rangitane and and Ngatimotuahi tribes. A numerous meeting of Natives from the *Ngatiraukawa, Ngatitehihi, Ngatiwaratere, Te Upokoiri, Ngatiapa, Ngatimotuahi, and Rangitane* took place, *when the whole of the upper part of the Manawatu was formally returned to Te Hirawanu by the first three named tribes.*

All of the Ngatiraukawa. T. C. W.

They fully consenting to his selling the whole of it to the Government, Nepia Taratoa, the chief of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, more particularly wishing him to complete the sale of this land at once. * * *

On returning to Raurawa, I found letters from Ngatirarahata, a tribe living at Te Oroua on the east boundary, also from the Ngatitohiti Natives living at Patea, disputing the boundary on the north and west, and also a letter from Nepia, requesting that I would meet him at the Awaturi, Te Ngatikauhata settlement, that the disputed boundaries might be settled without delay. I therefore at once accompanied by Te Hirawanu, and all his tribe, proceeded to meet him, and after several days' dispute succeeded in getting the boundary [unclear: cably] settled. The Ngatikawhata and Ngatiwhiti giving way to Te Hirawanu. * * *

I have also had several conversations with Nepia Taratoa respecting the [unclear: sale] by Ihakara of the Manawatu, and he informed me in Ihakara's presence, that as soon as Te Hirawanu's land was sold, he would be quite prepared to commence the negotiation for the sale of the whole of the outer part; that he was anxious to see the land question in this district settled, and that no opposition would be made by him.

I have found Nepia since my arrival here, of very great assistance in [unclear: settling] disputed boundaries, and in many ways by his influence used in my favour; I therefore feel that I cannot do less than recommend him to your favourable notice." * * *

"I have, &c.,

"WILLIAM N. SEARANCKE.

"Donald M'Lean, Esq.,

"Chief Land Purchase Commissioner,

"Auckland".

Mr. Commissioner Searancke to the Chief Commissioner.

Wellington, 15th November, 1858.

"SIR,—

"I have the honor to report for the information of His Excellency the Governor, on the present state of the negotiations for the purchase of the Awahou Block, offered for sale by Ihakara and the Ngatiwakakore tribe.

The Awahou Block is situated at the mouth of the Manawatu river, extends about thirty miles up that river, comprises an area of about Thirty-seven thousand (37,000) acres, and contains the only available site for a township in the District. At the former meeting that took place in our presence at the Awahou in March last, when the Block was first offered for sale by Ihakara, the opposition offered by Nepia Taratoa and his friends, without any feasible grounds, was very strong, and we then, while acknowledging the right of Ihakara to sell the land, deemed it politic at the time to postpone any further discussion till September (last), Nepia promising in the meantime to think over it. I arrived at Manawatu in August last, and while taking every means to pacify Ihakara and his party, who were still very I urgent and anxious that the negotiation should be carried out, took every opportunity of associating Nepia Taratoa with myself in all the disputes and negotiations pending in the District; this gave me opportunities of frequent private conversations with him. When I informed him of my intention to fulfil the pledges given to Ihakara at the meeting in March, his answers, though dubious, I considered on the whole to be favorable.

Immediately on my return from Raukawa, Ihakara assembled all his friends (who were very much increased in numbers since the meeting in March), and requested that the promises made to him might be fulfilled. In the meanwhile Nepia had, unknown to the natives generally, left Te Awahou, and was visiting all the settlements lying between the Manawatu and Otaki, a week elapsed before I succeeded in persuading him to return. I arrived at Awahou on Tuesday.

On the following day the meeting took place; about one hundred and fifty (150) natives were present, when Nepia, not offering any opposition to the sale of the whole block, not only all the natives present, but myself fully believed in his consent to the sale. Nepia demanded that we should at once discuss the price to be paid for the block; this was done, Nepia taking no part in the discussion, but, after some time, finding that the demands made by the Natives were likely to be acceded to by me, quietly slipped away, and the first thing I heard on the following morning, was, that Nepia was sending Natives over the whole block, marking out his own and friends claims, which are, with one exception, very small and the worst parts of the block, the whole not amounting to one-third of the whole block. Ihakara and his friends again assembled, and demanded that the sale should be proceeded with. I, with some difficulty, pacified them, and in the meantime sent for Nepia, and found that, notwithstanding all his promises made both to me and the Natives, he was determined, whilst preserving an

apparently friendly appearance to the Government, to resist the sale of any lands over which he had a claim. This determination on his part, I believe, to have some connection with his evident wish to proceed to Auckland to see the Maori King.

I clearly explained to Nepia his present position, how utterly impossible it was for him to resist the general wish of the Natives to sell their waste lands, a wish daily gaining strength; that in the case of Ihakara's sale, his conduct would have the effect of creating a distrust in the minds of the Natives generally towards him, and also, if any further difficulty took place, that I should feel it my duty to make the Government aware of his conduct in the matter, and that it was my intention at once to purchase the Block.

I was compelled by the circumstances I was placed in, and the very deceitful way in which Nepia has acted, to speak plainly to him, and I did so the more, that I believe that he and some others, always steady opponents of land sales to the Government, have had too much notice taken of them. Nepia then left, declining to make any reply to my remarks.

The arrangements come to between the Natives and myself for the purchase of the Block, was that a sum of Two thousand five hundred pounds (£2500) should be paid to them in instalments. Immediately after Nepia left me, I paid Ihakara and his friends the sum of Four hundred pounds (£400) on account; this instalment may appear to be large, but I feel that the result will be that many, now wavering between selling and holding the had, will consider that any further opposition to the sale of the Manawatu district will be useless. I should mention that it is in my power at any time to complete the purchase of those portions of the Block belonging to Ikahara and his friends, but, before taking such a step, I should like to have your opinion.

Taking into consideration the number of years, and the many difficulties that the Manawatu question has been involved in, I have taken a step which I believe will lead to its solution at an early period, for this is not a question of the purchase of a few acres, but of the whole district.

"I have &c.,

"W. N. SEARANCKE,
"District Commissioner.
"D. McLean, Esq., J.P.,
"Chief Commissioner,

"Auckland."

"Mr. Commissioner Searancke to the Chief Commissioner.

"Wellington, 30th December, 1855 (8).

"SIR,—

In accordance with your instructions I have the honor to forward herewith the original deeds and receipts for purchases of Native Lands, and advances made on Native Lands and on the five per cents, due to Natives. *
* *

Awahou Block, *Fifty pounds* (£50) : This is a *second payment* on this, block was made to the Ngatiapas by desire of Ihakara, and will be deducted from the gross amount agreed upon.

"I have &c.,

"WILLIAM N. SEARANCKE,
"Donald McLean, Esq."
"Chief Commissioner,

"Auckland."

"Mr. Commissioner Searancke to the Chief Commissioner.

"Wellington, 6th August, 1861.

"SIR,—

I have the honor to forward herewith two plans, one on an enlarged scale, of the Awahou Block, the other the same on a reduced scale; the i Manawatu Gorge (Te Apiti), the Ahuoturanga or Upper Manawatu and Oroua Blocks, as offered for sale by Te Hirawanu, and surveyed by Assistant Surveyor Stewart, also memorandum of boundaries of the Awahou Block. The Awahou plan shows the land bought from the aboriginal owners on the 14th May 1858, the reserves made for them at that time, the pieces of land accepted as compensation on behalf of the New Zealand Company.* * *

Te Ahuoturanga or Upper Manawatu Block is still unsettled, and must continue so until the aboriginal owners become much more moderate in their demands.

In September (27th,) 1858 I had the honor of reporting to you on the negotiation for the purchase of this block. I then succeeded in obtaining the consent of all the leading Chiefs of the Ngatiraukawa tribe to the sale, and *the waiving by them of their claims on it*. Immediately their consent was gained, difficulties were thrown in the way of the completion of the purchase by a price per acre being insisted on, and the acreage ascertained. Whether these difficulties were made at the suggestion of the Ngatiraukawas, or by Te Hirawanu himself in the pride of his heart at becoming the *acknowledged and undisputed* owner of so much land, I am not prepared to say, but looking at the present unsettled state of Native affairs, I am inclined to lean to the former reason, the more so when I recollect the eagerness of Te Hirawanu and his friends to sell, *previous to the Ngatiraukawas waiving their claim*. On 12th November, 1858, I had again the honor of reporting to you on the negotiation for the purchase of this block of land, when his obstinacy was further confirmed and shown.

I then offered him a sum of £5000, and subsequently £6000, both indignantly refused. Since that time I have twice seen him and his friends, but his demands' were still so exorbitant that I was compelled to decline any further negotiation, verbally, till such time as he would listen to reason.

The acreage of this block is Two hundred and fifty thousand (250,000 acres), of which quantity One hundred and thirty-six thousand (136,000 acres), are of good and available quality, as shewn by Assistant-Surveyor Stewart's report, forwarded to you in September, 1859.

"I have, &c.,

"WILLIAM N. SEARANCKE,
"District Commissioner.
"Donald McLean, Esq.,
"Chief Commissioner."

Manawatu Rangitikei Block.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES OF DR. FEATHERSTON AS SUPERINTENDENT OF WELLINGTON.

EXTRACTS FROM HIS REPORT TO THE HON. MR. FOX, WHEN ACTING AS MEDIATOR IN THE MANAWATU DISPUTE.

EXTRACTS FROM REPORTS OF DR. FEATHERSTON, LAND PURCHASE COMMISSIONER.

ALSO CLAUSE EXCEPTING THE RANGITIKEI-MANAWATU BLOCK FROM THE OPERATION OF THE NATIVE LANDS ACT, 1862.

Extract from Speech of His Honor the Superintendent of Wellington on opening his Provincial Council, 1862.

"You will be gratified to learn that this Province has at last been *relieved both of the heavy expense, and of the mischievous obstructiveness* of the Land Purchase Department; His Excellency the Governor having been pleased to *devolve upon myself as Superintendent*, the duty of purchasing such lands as the Natives may from time to time be disposed to alienate.

Exception Clause in the Native Lands Act, passed, by the General Assembly in 1862.

"X. Extraordinary Provisions.

"LXXXII. And whereas by an Act of the General Assembly of New Zealand, intituled 'The Land Orders and Scrip Act, 1858,' it was provided that in certain cases within the Province of Wellington, holders of Land Orders issued by the New Zealand Company, and purporting to grant certain rights of selection, should be entitled to select land in respect of such Land Orders within any blocks of land laid out by the New Zealand

Company for selection at Manawatu, or elsewhere, within the said Province, whenever the Native title to such blocks should be extinguished; and by the same Act, it was further provided that if the Superintendent of the said Province should set a part, or reserve out of any of the said blocks, lands for a township or otherwise, as in the said Act mentioned, then, and in that case, the holders of such Land Orders should be entitled to select land in respect thereof, out of any land laid out as rural land within any district, the Native title whereto should at the time, or within two years afterwards, be extinguished. And whereas by reason of the indefinite extent over which the rights of selection so conferred as aforesaid, may be held to run, disputes may hereafter arise as to how for such rights would interfere with the operation of this Act; and for the purpose of preventing such disputes, it is expedient to define and limit the exercise of such rights in manner hereinafter mentioned.

"Be it enacted, that all rights of selection by the said Act conferred upon; the holders of Land Orders of the New Zealand Company, within the Province of Wellington, shall be exercisable within the block of land called 'The Manawatu Block.'

"Bounded by a line commencing at the mouth of Ohau River, and passing with a bearing 99° to the Tararua and Ruahine Ranges to the source of the Oroua River, thence by a line bearing 282° to the Rangitikei River, thence by the Rangitikei River to the sea coast, thence by the sea coast, to the commencing point.

"Whenever the Native title to the said block shall have been ceded to Her Majesty, and not otherwise or elsewhere, and the said block shall accordingly be and be deemed to have been excepted from the operation of this Act."

Extract from Speech of His Honor the Superintendent of Wellington, to his Provincial Council, 24th April, 1863.

"Though unable to announce the completion of the purchase of the Manawatu Block, still I am happy to inform you that the chief difficulties in the way have been removed, and that the negotiations have advanced to such a point that I feel confident they will be brought to a satisfactory termination within a very short time. *Nor am I without hopes that after this portion, estimated to contain 250,000 acres, is obtained, the remainder of the country will follow; for already serious disputes have arisen between the two tribes resident in the district, as to which tribe is entitled to receive the rents of the runs leased to the Europeans.*"

Appendix H.R., 1864. E No. 3, p. 36. Enclosure in No. 29.

"Memorandum for the Hon. Mr. Fox.

"I started from Wellington for the West Coast on the 13th ultimo, partly on Provincial business, but chiefly with a view of endeavouring, in compliance with your request, to adjust the long-pending land dispute at Rangitikei, between the Rangitane and the Ngatiraukawa on the one side, and the Ngatiapas on the other.

* * * The following day, Saturday, I met the Ngatiapas at Parawhenua; they did not muster more than 150. I was here joined by John Williams, Mete Kingi, and other Wanganui Chiefs. J. Williams has been for some months doing his utmost to induce the Ngatiapas to sign the arbitration bond, and at once told me that he had given it up in despair, *that he felt satisfied the Ngatiapas would never agree to arbitration.* * * * I then related what had taken place at my yesterday's meeting with the Ngatiraukawas and Rangitanes, and submitted their proposal, pointing out that such a fair proposal was evidence of their desire for a *peaceful solution of the difficulty*, and that the Government was prepared to carry it out. At first there was a good deal of fencing with the question of arbitration. 'They could not entertain such a proposal without consulting Chiefs who were absent.' 'I will wait until you can see those absent.' A consultation here took place amongst the Chiefs, and they got up one after another in rapid succession, and declared *they never would consent to arbitration*, that an arbitration would involve them in an endless number of disputes; that they would dispute about the apportionment of the block; that they would dispute about the particular block to be assigned to each party, about the surveys, about the boundaries of each man's land, and therefore they would have nothing to say to arbitration. 'We hand over the block in dispute to you.' 'Your words,' I replied, 'are not clear; I must understand clearly what you mean by handing over to me, as the representative of the Government, your lands.' Mohi, the old fighting warrior of the Ngapuhi (Ngatiapa) became very angry, declaring that I knew perfectly well what they meant. *'We hand over the whole block to you for sale, not retaining a single acre, and with it the dispute. It is far easier to apportion the money than the land. We all consent to this, and will agree to nothing else, and you take this proposal to the Ngatiraukawa.'* The Rev. Mr Taylor, who was present, and who has been for a long while most zealous in his endeavours to arrange the matter, agreed with John Williams that it was hopeless to insist upon their agreeing to arbitration. In the evening I accordingly laid their proposal before the Rangitanes and Ngatiraukawas. They seemed to feel that the Ngatiapas, in making such an offer, had stolen a march on them, but they would neither themselves sell nor allow the Ngatiapas to sell. *Arbitration had first been proposed to them by the Government, and the Government were therefore bound to see it carried out.* After

explaining that just in the same way as I could not force them to sell, so I could not compel the Ngatiapas to accept arbitration. I urged them to consider whether there was any other mode of adjusting their differences. A day or two after my arrival at Wanganui, the Natives there requested me to attend a meeting, on the same subject, at Putiki, on Thursday, 21st. I found all the principal Chiefs of Wanganui, Wangaehu, and Turakina present at it. The Rev. Mr. Taylor kindly interpreted for me. After they had heard my report of what had occurred at Rangitikei, Hori Kingi and the whole of them *repudiated arbitration, and insisted on the block being handed over to the Queen*. They were all evidently prepared to support the Ngatiapas in case they were attacked. Some of them having pressed me at once to make a payment of £500, I told them I should give no answer to their offer to hand over the land till I returned to Rangitikei, but that under no circumstances would a single farthing be paid to either of the three tribes, on account of the land, till the dispute was settled. Before the meeting (minutes of which, taken by J. Williams, append) broke up they signed a letter handing the land over.*
* *

* * * I accordingly went on the following day (Monday) to Awahou, I where the Ngatiapas have, &c. * * * I then said, "There must be no misunderstanding as to what you offer and I accept on the part of the Government. I have carefully forbore expressing any opinion upon the merits of the question as to who is right or who is wrong in this dispute, I don't know whether you have a right to the whole or any portion of these lands which you now offer me, neither do I know whether the Rangitanes and Ngatiraukawas are entitled to the whole or any portion of the block; neither tribe, until its interests have been ascertained, is in a position to hand over the lands in dispute to the Government, and I therefore tell you distinctly that I will not accept the lands. *I will not buy a Waitara*. All you can offer, and all I can accept, is the interest which you may be found to have in these lands. Do you clearly understand what I say?" * * *

The following day I had another interview with each party, when it was finally agreed that no rents should be paid until the dispute was settled. * * *

Of the two proposals, arbitration and sale, there can be no doubt that the latter presents the easiest solution and adjustment of their long pending dispute. Arbitrators would no sooner have decided upon the apportionment of the land between the two (at present) contending parties, the Ngatiapa on the one side and the Ngatiraukawa and Rangitane on the other, than they would be called upon to apportion the land allotted to these two tribes between them, and ultimately to allot to each man his own particular piece. Such a process would be interminable, every step in it would create fresh disputes, and involve the Government in difficulties from which it would be impossible for it to extricate itself, except probably by a recourse to the sword.

What I mean when I say that *the sale of the block presents the easiest, perhaps the only possible solution of this quarrel*, is simply this. Complicated as the dispute apparently is, it has been very much simplified by the transactions which have taken place between the disputants during the last few years. 1st, by the offer of the Ngatiraukawa made in 1863 to divide the land between the three tribes (according to them) into three equal portions, or (according to John Williams) into two, one for the Ngatiapas, the other for the other two tribes. 2nd, by the proportion in which the rents have for some years been received by the parties. 3rd, by Nepia Taratoa having, just previous to his death, handed over the rents then due to the Ngatiapa. These transactions not only shew that each tribe has an interest in the block, but pretty clearly indicate what the amount of interest which each tribe possesses is. These three interests might easily be satisfied by a money payment, but not by a sub-division of the land. And it would be *well worth the while of the Province to but up their interests*, by paying the two litigating parties a sum which would, at the ordinary rate of interest, yield to each of them the same amount as they have been jointly receiving from the squatters as rent.

* * * * *

"I. E. FEATHERSTON,

"Superintendent's Office, Wellington.

"18th February, 1864".

Extracts from Speech of His Honor the Superintendent of Wellington, to his Provincial Council, 8th June, 1864.

"After long and weary negotiations and many disappointments, I am happy at last to announce to you, that a memorandum of agreement for the sale of the Upper Manawatu Block has been duly signed; that all the owners have, after repeated runangas, agreed to the terms, and that the final deed of purchase is being prepared. The amount of the purchase money, £12,000, is probably the largest sum ever yet paid at any one time to the Natives, but when you consider that the block comprises some 250,000 acres, chiefly of rich alluvial land; that it abounds in valuable timber; that the river is navigable for some thirty miles; that probably no district in New

Zealand of equal area is capable of supporting so large a population, you will scarcely deem the sum agreed to be paid for it excessive. You will now have acquired (including the Awahou Block) 270,000 acres of the long and much desired Manawatu country.

With respect to the remainder of the Manawatu district, whilst I am unwilling to raise undue expectations, *I feel very confident that events are gradually, if not rapidly, tending to the only possible solution of the long pending dispute between the Ngatiapa on the one side and the Ngatiraukawa and Rangitanes on the other, viz., the cession of the block to the Crown.*

Extract from the Hon. Mr. Fox's Memorandum, dated Rangitikei, 19th August 1863.

"It is believed that most, if not all, of the leases were originally arranged with *Nepia Taratoa*, the principal chief of *Ngatiraukawa*, though members of other tribes are also parties to them or some of them."

Letter from *Nepia Taratoa*, son of *Nepia Taratoa*, mentioned in Mr. Fox's Memorandum above.

"Before the arrival of *Ngatiraukawa* these tribes, *Muaupoko*, *Rangitane*, and *Ngatiapa* were in a wretched state, from having been so roughly treated by *Te Rauparaha* and his tribes, and with *Te Rauparaha* still determined to destroy them. When *Ngatiraukawa* came they spared them, and they were saved. *Ngatiraukawa* then occupied the whole country from *Otaki* to *Wangaehu*. When *Rangitikei* was sold to Governor *Grey*, my father and his tribe, the *Ngatiraukawa*, fixed the *Rangitikei* river, the other side for *Ngatiapa*, this side for *Ngatiraukawa* alone. When the *Ahuaturanga* was sold, my father and his people fixed the boundaries of the land. The Upper *Manawatu* on to *Ahuaturanga* for *Rangitane*; that down towards the mouth of the river *Manawatu* on to *Rangitikei* to remain for *Ngatiraukawa*. Some years afterwards my father and his people granted some illegal and irregular leases over this country; the first year my father and his people took all the money; the third year my father gave some money to *Ngatiapa*; the fourth year *Ngatiapa* and *Rangitane* asked my father and *Ngatikauwhata* to allow them to join in the leases, my father gave his consent, then they joined. My father intended that they should have a portion of the money alone, not of the land. The land was to be for my father and his tribe alone; my father was simply treating, as he always had treated, with kindness, these people, *Ngatiapa* (*ma*) and their friends. When *Nepia Taratoa* died, *Ngatiapa* were covetous, and wanted all the money for themselves. *Ngatiraukawa* then became angry, and refused to allow *Ngatiapa* to join at all. *Dr. Featherston* then came to make peace, and settle disputes, as he said, when he joined those tribes *Ngatiapa* (*ma*) and their friends, and purchased this land, by which means I and my people were brought to ruin.

"TARATOA

"23rd May, 1873."

Letter from *Atareta Taratoa*, daughter of *Nepia Taratoa*.

To MR. WILLIAMS.

"Listen. *Ngatiapa* had no authority over the land on this side of *Rangitikei*, the *mana* was with my father on this side, down to *Omarupapako*; and there were no *Ngatiapas* living on the land at the time when *Ngatiapa* sold it to *Dr. Featherston*; for my father had given up all the land on the other side of *Rangitikei*, up to *Wangaehu*, to *Ngatiapa*. But with respect to the leases, they had been allowed by my father to join in the leases; but in the money alone, not in the land. I am fully aware and quite positive that it was my father's fixed determination that the land should be retained for his people alone, for *Ngatiraukawa*. I never signed my name to *Dr. Featherston*'s deed of purchase, and all that has been given to me, is one hundred acres.

"ATARETA TARATOA"

Letter from the *Ngatiraukawa* Chief who was the principal seller of the *Awahou* Block.

"20th May, 1873. To THOMAS WILLIAMS,

"Friend, salutations. I wish to tell you. When that block of land at *Awahou*, at *Foxton*, was leased, *Hakeke*,

father of Kawana Hunia, came and asked Taikapurua and Ihakara Tukumarua for money, but *they did not give him say*. Ihakara said to Hakeke, 'had you given me this land I would have given you some money, but as it is, I will not give you any, it was not you that fetched me and brought me to this place.'

Secondly, when Awahou at Foxton was sold, it was Ngatiraukawa alone who sold it. Kawana Hunia and Kepa (Kemp) Rangihwinui then came, and asked that some money should be given to them from the sale, under the mana of Ngatiraukawa. Ngatiraukawa then consented and *gave them* £50. Had they demanded it under their own *mana*, no money would have been given to them.

"IHAKARA TUKUMARU."

Enclosure 2. No. 1.

"Tawirihoe, Rangitikei, 17th Sept., 1864.

"Friend. This is our message to you. Hearken, our land lying between the Manawatu and Rangitikei rivers, the land in dispute between us and the Ngatiapa, we place in your hands for sale to the Government, as *the only means of finally settling our difficulty*.

The price to be paid for the land, and the portions to be reserved for us, will require careful discussion, in order that these matters may be properly adjusted.

But we wish you to understand that *this is the individual act of a few*, the leading men in the dispute and threatened fight. The general consent of the tribe has not yet been obtained to the proposed sale. The final decision as to selling or refusing to sell, rests of course with the whole tribe. But we are anxious to communicate to you at once, our own conclusions on the subject.

You are sufficiently acquainted with the system of land selling—that it is only when Chiefs and people are agreed the land can be absolutely ceded.

This is all we have to say to you at present. Ended.

From your true friends,

"(Signed) IHAKARA TUKUMARU,

"A Chief of Ngatiraukawa.

"HOANI MEIHANA TE RANGIOTU,

"A Chief of Rangitane.

"WIREMU PUKAPUKA,

"A Chief of Ngatiraukawa.

"NOA TE RAUHIHI,

"A Chief of Ngatiraukawa.

"HORI KEREI TE WAHAROA,

"A Chief of Ngatiraukawa.

"APERAHAMA TE HURUHURU,

"A Chief of Ngatiraukawa.

"TE REI PAEHUA.

"Witness to Signatures—

"WALTER BULLER, R.M.

"To Dr. Featherston."

Petition from Ngatiraukawa to the Assembly, praying that the exception clam might be struck out, and their lands brought under the operation of the Native Lands Act.

"To the Great Council of New Zealand at Wellington assembled.

"Tawhirihoe, Rangitikei, 24th April, 1865.

"To—MANTELL,—

"Friend—Salutations to you, and to the members of the Council of the Government. This is an enquiry by us, the residents of the district lying between Ohau and Rangitikei; what is the reason that Rangitikei and

Manawatu are excluded from the permissive law of the Government of New Zealand ('Native Lands Act, 1862')? Rangitikei, Manawatu, and on to Ohau, are in your prisonhouse. Great is the grief that has come upon us on account of your having enacted two courses of law for New Zealand—one a law for opening (permissive), the other a law for closing (prohibitory). Rather let them all (both) be open. If you persist in closing up our small piece between Ohau and Rangitikei, great will be our grief at our imprisonment by you. It would be better to make the permission general, that there may be but one law for our Island; lest some live in gladness of heart, and others in darkness of heart; that is to say, they who enjoy the permissive law, have gladness; while to us, who are bound in your prison-house, there is darkness of heart. Therefore, we, the Chiefs of the district thus restricted by you, request of you, the members of the Government, that you will remove this ill-working, restriction from our territory, and permit us to go on our way in lightness, joy and gladness of heart.

(159 Signatures).

"5th May, 1865.

"These men are of Horowhenua, and to be included in the matter of removing the restriction from everything, that they may all live in joy and gladness of heart."

(21 Signatures).

"These all advocate the removal of the restriction—that is, the removal of the prohibitum on land leasing; even down to the smaller mutters. Some have not been subscribed because they are absent about their business."

"Ohau, 9th May, 1865.

"To IHAKARA,—

"Friend—We have heard your proposal through Te Peina. It is well that you should attend to the alteration of evil regulations. That also is what we are for thrusting aside, that the *mana* of the Governor may not rest upon our lands, even as also your desire is. Rather let his *mana* light upon Manawatu, and the lands of (sold by) Hiriwanu, the lands which have properly become his; that would be right, but this work of the Governor is wrong. Be strong in your condemnation of your evil-working regulations. The end."

(17 Signatures).

The Resident Magistrate, Manawatu, to the Native Minister.

"Manawatu, 11th May, 1865.

"SIR—

"I have the honor to report that a Ngatiapa Chief, Hunia Te Hakeke, came to me, asking me to prevent the settlers, having runs on the disputed land, from paying rents. He informed me that if they persisted in doing so, *war would be the result, and that immediately.*

* * * * *

I am informed that the Ngatiapa have got the Wanganui Natives to join them in the event of hostilities.

As I understand it, the question stands thus :—

The Ngatiraukawa, the Rangitane, and the Ngatiapa tribes claim the land.

Europeans rent runs on it.

The rents were formerly paid to Napu (Nepia) the Ngatiraukawa Chief who used to give some of the money to the Ngatiapas. Upon the death of Napu (Nepia) the Ngatiapas claimed a share of the rents, *on the ground that Napu gave them, a portion.* The Ngatirauka was not agreeing to do so, the Ngatiapas offered the block to Dr. Featherston for sale, who authorized the settlers to pay no more rents until the land was purchased, or some other arrangement was agreed upon.

* * * * *

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed) M. NOAKE,
"Resident Magistrate.
"The Hon. the Native Minister,

"Wellington".

Letter from Ngatiapa asking for arms and ammunition.

"June 10th, 1865.

"This is a letter from *all* the Ngatiapa, residing between Rangitikei and Wangaehu, to Dr. Featherston, the Superintendent of Wellington.

Father Featherston, salutations. Mr. Buller has arrived, and we have had a meeting with him. We have heard your message respecting Rangitikei: Enough, we the Ngatiapa have consented, we are true to the agreement we made with you. We will not depart from our terms.

Now listen, if the hand of the Ngatiraukawa should touch the sheep or the cattle of the Pakeha, the difficulties will greatly increase, because then fighting will be sure to arise. Don't have any misgivings about your own people the Ngatiapa. We are of the same mind as the Wanganui people; Hoani Hipango, for example, and Hemi Nape, both of whom died in your service.

Here is another matter. We are glad on account of *Mr. Buller's visit and the opportunity we have had of meeting him*. he visited our *new Pa* at Turakina, and we then *applied to him to obtain from the Government, guns and powder for the protection of our three PAs*.

Don't suppose that we want to use this ammunition against the Ngatiraukawa. Not so; because the Rangitikei dispute is now entirely in your hands; we want it for our own protection against the cannibal people, the Hauhaus.

Let our friend Mr. Buller distribute the guns and powder, because he is acquainted with all of us. Let Mr. Buller also furnish this letter to you. Ended.

From all the CHIEFS OF NGATIAPA.

"From APERAHAMA TIPAE.

"HUNIA TE HAKEKE.

"And 30 others.

"Witness to signatures—

"W. BULLER, R.M.

"To Dr. Featherston."

Extract from a speech delivered by Dr. Featherston to the electors of Wellington, on Wednesday evening, 21st February, 1866.

"Dr. Featherston, who was received with loud applause, said—

* * * *"The course I pursued then was the same as that which had for its object the promoting of what I believe to be the true interest of this Province, as in getting rid of the difficulties which lay in the way of purchasing the Manawatu block of land, and more especially in rendering my assistance, however humble it may have been, in subduing the rebel natives on the West Coast, and bringing them to submission."* (Hear, hear.) * * * *"Is the British army degenerated? Was it not composed of men having the same mettle and courage as those who have fought and conquered in every country and under every clime? I consider the Imperial troops to be the finest in the world; I say that the British army stands far higher in every respect than that of any other country. Look at what has been done by any of the regiments now in New Zealand, and then tell me that those regiments are unable to cope with the Maori, and are unequal to New Zealand warfare."* (Hear, hear.) *"sir, I ask you, who long remember your gallant friends of the 65th, and many another regiment, whether you believe that they were not the same men in this country as they have ever proved themselves in other countries? Will one of you in this room say that men who have fought and lost their lives at Rangiriri, at the Gate Pa, at the Orakau, were unable to cope with the Maori and unfit for New Zealand warfare? But if you dare to make such an assertion, what will you say to the signal success of General Chute, between Wanganui and Taranaki, with a flying column of some four or five hundred men? That gives the lie at once and for ever to any aspersions on the English troops; that settles at once and for ever that Imperial troops, if properly handled,*

are equal to any emergency, and instead of being unequal to the Natives, those Natives are terrified at them, and dare not make a stand against them. (Hear, hear.) 'sir, I confess I never held any faith in the elaborate Native policies which have been at various times propounded by statesmen in this Colony. I have always adhered to the principles I enunciated twenty years ago, that as it is utterly impossible to preserve the Native race from ultimate extinction, from annihilation through their connexion with a civilised people; our chief duty consisted, not in attempting elaborate theoretical policies, but in rendering the dying couch of the race as easy and comfortable to them as possible., (Hear, hear.) * * * 'sir, the same course, which was a good policy twenty years ago, is, it appears to me, only gaining daily more strength. Twenty years ago these Natives amounted to from eighty to a hundred thousand, whilst now how many are they? Not more than forty thousand at the outside, and in twenty years to come there will be but a mere handful left. What then is the use of hatching Native policies for a race which you cannot possibly preserve?'"

Report of Dr. Featherston, Land Purchase Commissioner, on the purchase of the Manawatu-Sangitikei Block.

"On the 27th March, Dr. Featherston had a long interview with Ihakara This chief stated emphatically his determination to sell the disputed block, mentioned £21,000 as the price he was prepared to propose, and warned Dr. Featherston that there would, at the commencement of the meeting, be *strong opposition from a section of his tribe*.

On the 28th March, Dr. Featherston, accompanied by Mr. Buller, R.M., proceeded to Turakina. On the following day his Honor held a meeting at the Ben Nevis Hotel, with about fifty of the principal Ngatiapa claimants. Dr. Featherston pointed out to them that unless the tribes would now consent to co-operate in a final effort to settle this long-standing difficulty, there seemed very little prospect of anything being accomplished at Te Takapu.

A perahama Tipae, in reply, spoke with much bitterness of the Ngatiraukawa and their Chiefs. He declared that the Ngatiapa would never consent to unite with the other tribes in the proposed sale, and that nothing, therefore, could be gained by their attending the meeting at Manawatu. He said that while the Ngatiapa were still in favor of selling, they would not consent to divide the purchase money with the Ngatiraukawa, or with the Rangitane, and that unless Dr. Featherston was prepared to close with the Ngatiapa, irrespective of the other claimants, he would consider the negotiations at an end, and would encourage his tribe to take up arms again in defence of their rights.

Governor Hunia made a still more violent speech against the other tribes, openly boasted that they (the Ngatiapas) *had now plenty of arms and ammunition*, and could easily drive off their opponents, and that they would now prefer an appeal to arms to any other course. He almost intimated that they had, *during the West Coast campaign, reserved their ammunition for that purpose*. This extreme violence was, however, distasteful to the meeting.

Dr. Featherston rebuked Hunia, Aperahama, Tipae and others for the statements they had uttered, said they knew full well that their threats were of no avail with him; that he regarded them as mere Maori bounce; emphatically warned them against taking the law into their own hands, and, *while acknowledging the services they had rendered*, expressed a hope that the *result of the recent campaign* had been to establish a conviction in the minds of all the Maoris, that the Queen's Government was both *determined and able to enforce law and order*.

Although the discussion lasted for several hours longer, nothing definite was arrived at, the whole of the Natives present declaring that they would not take a penny less than £40,000, and that the other tribes should not share the payment with them; that *their great desire was to fight, and take the land by right of conquest*.

On the morning of the 5th April there were about seven hundred Natives present. * * * Ihakara said. * * * *His offer to sell the land to Mr. McLean had not been listened to by the tribe*, and he had on that account resolved to retain Rangitikei. He would have continued to oppose the sale of the land had he been able to discover any other way out of the difficulty. There were only two ways open to him—*one was to fight the Ngatiapa, and take forcible possession of the soil; the other was to sell the land to the Queen, and to let the Ngatiapa sell also*. * * * Had the title to the block been clear he would probably have asked a million pounds for it! but as it was fighting ground, he would ask Dr. Featherston for a very small price, only £21,000. Horomona had proposed that the price to be paid to Ngatiraukawa should be £20,000. He would add another thousand to this, and ask for this payment on behalf of *all* the tribes concerned. This would show that he was selling, not for the sake of the money, but to prevent fighting. If his share should only be sixpence he would be satisfied. It was the price of peace. He thought more of the blood of his young men than of the Queen's gold and silver. After describing the boundaries of the block, Ihakara concluded by calling on Dr. Featherston to accept his offer, and pay the money.

Speeches were then delivered by the following, viz. :—Wiriharai, Tohutohu, Takana, Te Kooro, Reupena

Te One, Horopapera Te Tara, Hare Hemi Taharape, Heremaia Te Tihi, Paranihi Te Tau, Henare Hopa, Te Rewiti, Henare Te Herekau, Rawiri Te Wanui, Parakaia Te Pouepa, Te Kepa Kerikeri, and Rota Tawhiri. All these speakers declared themselves more or less opposed to the sale.

Henare Te Herekau urged that a further attempt should be made to get the exception clause in the Native Lands Act repealed and to have the question of title in this case investigated and adjudicated on by the Native Lands Act. In this proposal he was supported by Parakaia Te Pouepa, from Otaki. * * *

7th April * * * Many, who at the outset had declared against the sale, were now avowedly favourable to it, and it was evident that the spirit of opposition had been in a great measure crushed by the resolute determination of Ihakara and the other leading chiefs to effect a sale of the block.

Ihakara made a final speech to the following effect. * * * 'Dr. Featherston, the land is yours. Give me the payment. Here are the people, let them consent. Refuse not, lest there be fighting. * * * Listen not to the words of my relatives (meaning the opposition). Pay the money and all the opposition will disappear. It was so when the Awahou block was sold. Rangitikei is in your hands, hold it fast for ever and ever! The people are now waiting for your reply.'

It was here determined to send a deputation of ten chiefs to fetch the Ngatiapa. Governor Hunia first gave an angry refusal, and afterwards consented to attend the meeting. The Ngatiapa were received at Te Takapu with every demonstration of good feeling.

14th April.—The utmost anxiety was manifested for a final and decisive reply, and at the appointed time the Natives had assembled, and were waiting eagerly for Dr. Featherston's arrival. * * *

Ihakara called upon Dr. Featherston to reply to the speeches that had been made. The latter invited any of the Chiefs present who might wish to address the meeting before he closed the proceedings to do so. The discussion was thereupon resumed. Ihakara and the leading selling Chiefs were more earnest than before in pressing the sale of the block, while Hunia Te Hakeke openly declared that if the meeting should break up without the side having been effected, he would return at once to pa building, *and would decide the title by a trial of strength with Ngatiraukawa.*

Parakaia again brought forward his scheme for a settlement of the question (by a reference to the Land Court), but the proposal was *scouted by the Ngatiapa. It was tacitly admitted by Aperahama Te Huruheru and Nepia that, although they were now opposing the sale, they could not suggest any other way of settling their quarrel with the Ngatiapa.*

About 3 p.m., Dr. Featherston rose and made the following speech, which was interpreted to the meeting by Mr. Buller, R.M.:—* * * Ihakara and other speakers had given a truthful history of the dispute, and he had little or nothing to add to it, but as there were many present whom he had not met at previous meetings, he was anxious that it should be made clear to all how it was that he first came to act as mediator between them—how it was that he came to be dragged into this long-standing quarrel. Not one of them dared to assert that he had ever asked them to hand over either the quarrel or the land into his hands. Not one of them dared deny that the three tribes had themselves forced upon him, whether he liked it or not, both the quarrel and the land in dispute. On the contrary, Ihakara and others have declared that he had appeared amongst them only after all other mediators had failed in persuading them to desist from appealing to arms for the settlement of the dispute. But he had not come up of his own accord or uninvited; He came up at the request both of the tribes and of the Government. Why had they invited him; was it not because, during a long period, they had ever regarded him as their friend—as one in whose justice and integrity they had implicit faith? Why had the Government urged him to undertake such a difficult mission? Simply because they knew that the tribes had confidence in him, and would be more likely to be guided by his advice than by that of any other person. * * * He would call upon them to say whether by the steps he had taken to stave off the inter-tribal war, and to bring the quarrel to an amicable termination, he had done anything to forfeit their confidence. When he arrived amongst them, in January, 1864, he found both parties in a state of angry irritation—hostile passions erected—the red flag flying—nay, the very day for the commencement of the strife almost fixed, both parties proclaiming that, rather than surrender their claims, rather than admit the slightest claim on the part of their opponents, they would fight and die on the land. * * * What did he do? For many days he went backwards and forwards between the litigants, proposing various terms, urging them to come to some compromise. * * *

What he now wished clearly to ascertain was, whether any one of the proposals he made in 1864 to the tribes can be carried out.

It was then proposed to settle the question by arbitration. Arbitration means that each tribe should appoint a certain number of arbitrators; that if the arbitrators cannot agree, they appoint a third party to decide between them. This was a custom constantly adopted by pakehas, and the decision of the arbitrators or umpire is accepted as a final settlement of the matters referred to them. Now suppose that they had gone, or will to-day agree to go to arbitration, and that the award of the arbitrators had been or will be that the land in dispute belongs to the Ngatiraukawas and Rangitanes, would the Ngatiapas have acquiesced, or will they now

acquiesce in that decision; or if the arbitrators decided that the Ngatiapas were the sole owners of the land, will the other tribes assent to give up their claim? (Universal dissent). Unless the three tribes are prepared to pledge themselves to abide by the award of the arbitrators, arbitration is useless, and will only embitter the dispute, and lead to a recourse to arms.

Another proposal was, that the three tribes should divide the land—but they objected to this that they never could agree in what proportions the land should be divided—whether each tribe should take a third, or one tribe a half, and two tribes the other moiety; but even if this difficulty could be got over, who was to decide what portion of the land was to belong to this tribe, what portion to the other—who was to decide whether one tribe should not be confined to the sand-hills, another tribe to the good land—whether one tribe should not have all the land for which, according to one proposal, he had been called upon to pay two shillings an acre, another tribe all the five shilling land, the third all the land they were asking one pound an acre for. Can these difficulties, which were pointed out in January, 1864, be now overcome? Is a division of the land now practicable (*Kahore, kahore.*)

Another proposal has been made, during the discussion, by Parakaia and others, that they should take the land into the Native Lands Court, and have the title of the three tribes, claiming an interest in it, investigated by that Court. But Parakaia had omitted to tell them many things connected with that Court. He had not told them that all the tribes must consent to take the land into the Court—that each tribe must employ surveyors to mark out the boundaries of the land it claimed—that the tribe must be prepared to accept the decision of the Court. Were they all prepared to comply with any one of these conditions? Would they all consent to go into the Court? (No, no.) Would any one of them dare to send surveyors upon the land, every inch of which they had declared to be in dispute, to be 'fighting ground'? Would they agree to abide by the decision of the Court? (Enough, enough.)

He had gone through the proposals for the purpose of ascertaining whether one of them was practicable. Let the tribes say, with an united voice, that they agree to any one of them, that they will go to arbitration; let them say that they will divide the land; let them say that they will submit their claims to the decision of Judge Parakaia, and he would declare his concurrence in it.

He now gathered that the six tribes assembled before him were all but unanimous in scouting every one of these proposals, and were more than ever convinced that the only possible solution of the dispute was, to use their own words, an absolute sale of the whole of the land in dispute to the Crown, and after having for many days patiently heard all they had to say, he had no hesitation in expressing his entire concurrence in that conviction.

During the whole time the discussions had lasted, he had refused to take any part in them, or to answer a single question, or to give the slightest inkling of his intention. They had declared that they had said all that they had to say, and now formally called upon him to declare whether or not, *as the only means of preventing bloodshed*, he was prepared to accept the block and complete its purchase. He knew the responsibility which his decisive answer would entail upon him, but he had not the slightest hesitation in giving it. * * * He (Dr. Featherston) repeated what he had then and often since said, that he would purchase no land without the consent of the people. But what did he mean by the consent of the people or tribe? He did not mean that the opposition of one man (not a principal chief) should prevent a whole tribe selling their land. Neither did he mean that a *small section* of one tribe should be allowed to forbid some *six or seven tribes* disposing of a block which they were anxious to sell. However much he might insist upon having the consent of the tribe, of all the real and principal claimants, he would be no party to such a manifest injustice as would be implied by one or two men, probably possessing little or no interest in the land, forbidding the tribe selling it, or in a *small section of one tribe* opposing the wishes of some *half-dozen tribes*, especially when the carrying out of the decision of the majority was the only *means of avoiding an inter-tribal war*.

The question, then, that arose in his mind was whether there was such a consent of the tribes assembled before him to the sale as would justify him in at once declaring his acceptance of their offer. * * * He would, therefore, call upon every one of the tribes to declare publicly, before this meeting, by their chiefs, whether or not the tribes consented to the sale.

He would call upon the several tribes to give their answer by the Chiefs. He called upon the Wanganui tribes to say whether or not they were agreed to the sale. Tamati Puna at once said, 'We are unanimous; all have consented.' Dr. Featherston then called upon the Ngatiapa to declare what their decision was. Governor Hunia, on the part of the tribe, said, 'You know our decision; we all *insist* upon the sale.' What say the Muaupoko tribe? Hoani Te Puihi replied, on behalf of the tribe, 'We are all unanimous in favour of the sale.' What is the answer of the Ngatitooa to this question? And he called upon Matene Te Whiwhi, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, and Hohepa, distinctly and severally to reply on behalf of the tribe they represented. The three Chiefs, one after the other, declared that the tribe were unanimous. What said the Rangitane? Peeti Te Aweawe replied, 'We also are unanimous; all have consented.' Lastly, he would call upon the Ngatiraukawa, who he knew were divided in

their opinions. Ihakara expressed his regret that they were not like all the other tribes, unanimous in favour of the sale, but the large majority of them were so determined to sell, especially all the principal claimants, that he insisted upon the purchase being completed. Knowing that those who were at present holding out would soon become consenting parties, he never would listen to any other mode of adjusting the dispute. *Dr. Featherston then said that his course was clear. Five of the six tribes were unanimous in their determination to sell, and of the Ngatiraukawa only a small sect ion opposed the sale.* Of that section the two principal chiefs, Nepia Taratoa and Aperahama Te Hum, had some time since given their consent, and had repeatedly protested against the delay that had occurred in bringing the transaction to a close. Great chiefs like them were not in the habit of repudiating engagements entered into in the face of the whole tribe. He was certain, therefore, that the present opposition would not be persisted in. Of the other opponents many had already told him that they would abide by the decision of the majority, and would sign the deed of purchase. He felt, therefore, so confident that the deed would ultimately be executed by all the real claimants, that he had *no difficulty in publicly announcing his acceptance of the block*, and in congratulating them upon this long-standing feud being thus amicably settled and finally adjusted.

[This announcement was received with great applause, *not a few of the opponents exclaiming, 'Rangitikei is fairly sold, is for ever gone from us!'*]

Dr. Featherston then reminded them that there were other questions to settle, viz.,—the price, in what proportion the purchase money was to be divided, and what chiefs were to distribute the money. The two latter might be left till the deed was signed, but the price must be fixed before the meeting broke up. Several amounts had been mentioned, some exorbitant, others not unreasonable. Let the tribes leave this matter in the hands of their chiefs, and they would find him prepared to meet them in a liberal spirit. This was ultimately fixed at £25,000. * * *

The deed of purchase has been prepared with due care, and is now being executed in the district by the several tribes claiming the land. The deed will be signed by over a thousand natives, and on its completion the purchase money will be handed over to certain chiefs, as in the case of the Upper Manawatu and other purchases, to be nominated by a general meeting of the tribes at Parewanui (Rangitikei), of which sufficient notice will be given. The chiefs will divide and distribute the money in such manner as may be agreed on among the tribes sharing it, and it is not anticipated that any difficulty will arise.

(Signed) I. E. FEATHERSTON,
Superintendent's Office,

Wellington,

30th June, 1866.

Extract from a Despatch from Sir G. Grey, K.C.B., to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

"Government House,

17th December, 1863.

"MY LORD DUKE—

* * * * *

"4th. I ought to mention to your Grace that I believe I was the first to recommend the forfeiture of lands by those Natives who took up arms against us, and I did so for the following reasons :—Because such a proceeding is in conformity with their own customs. It will affect lands of those who have forced us into war, and leaves secure to the Native owners who have remained at peace, their large landed possessions in other parts of the Island. They will thus, from contrast, see the advantages secured by being protected by British rule, and the punishment which follows wanton attacks upon the European race and their properties. At the same time, from enactments recently made, the well-disposed Natives who retain their lands can deal as they please with them.

"I have, &c.,
"(Signed) G. GREY.

Extract from a copy of a reply from Governor Sir G. Grey, K.C.B., to the letter of the Aborigines Protection Society.

"Government House, Auckland,

7th April, 1864.

"SIR,—

* * * * *

"The object of the local Government, therefore, has been to secure to that numerous part of the Native population who have taken no active share in the present war, the whole of their landed possessions; and, also by laws framed expressly for this object, to give to the lands held by such Natives a value greater than they have previously had for their owners, by, in all respects, giving them equal rights in their landed possessions with those enjoyed by their European fellow-subjects : the intention in this respect being to show that the rights of peaceable citizens, of whatever race, are carefully respected, and to give the Natives so valuable a stake in the country that they are not likely hereafter to hazard it lightly.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed) G. GREY.

In a despatch from Mr. Cardwell to Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B., is the following:—

"Downing Street, 26th April, 1864.

"I conclude by expressing an earnest hope that the operations in which General Cameron has been engaged may have already terminated the war, and shall rejoice when I am able to congratulate you on having succeeded, by the wisdom of your measures and those of your Government, by the skill of that distinguished commander, and by the valor of the Queen's troops and seamen, in restoring the blessings of order and good government to the country entrusted to your care.

"I have, &c.,

"EDWARD CARDWELL."

The following was published in the Wellington Advertiser :—

"Otaki, 11th May, 1867. "To THOMAS WILLIAMS,—

"Dear Friend,—Will you publish the enclosed, being a report of what was said by Governor Grey and myself. I wish it to be read by both the Pakehas and Maoris. I was foolish enough to suppose that when he sent for me it was to tell me something good—that he would instruct Dr. Featherston to keep back his money; but when I saw him he only told me to give up the land; that if I persisted in holding the land the Maoris and the Government would fight. I assured him there would not be any fighting. No sooner did he satisfy himself upon this point than he forgot all about our being brought to grief by this dishonest land purchasing of the Government of Wellington. This is all from your friend,

"PARAKAIA TE POUÉPA."

[ENCLOSURE.]

"Wellington, Government House, "26th November, 1866.

"This is what was said about Rangitikei—

Governor Grey—'Parakaia, the reason why I have sent for you is that I am alarmed. Trouble is near; this is what I fear, and why I wished to learn what you think about Rangitikei. I am much alarmed. Hostilities are now likely to take place at our end of this Island. What I now desire is that you should consent to the sale of Rangitikei—give it up to Dr. Featherston. If you persist in retaining it you will quarrel among yourselves about

it.'

Parakaia—'You do well to be alarmed at the probability of hostilities, but go and talk to Featherston. What has been said about fighting does not proceed from me; that threat of fighting came from Featherston's friends.'

Governor—'Those tribes, Wanganui, Ngatiapa, and Ngatikahununu, are angry because you refused to sell Rangitikei. I am grieved, very much grieved about this, Parakaia.'

Parakaia—'I was not aware that those tribes intended to fight. It must be Dr. Featherston having offered them money caused them to be elated, and to act in that way. What right would men have to go from this to Taranaki to fight? Should we think of going to fight about the land belonging to the men of Ahuriri, as you say Ngatikahununu are coming over here to the country of these tribes without any cause, for the purpose of stirring up strife; besides, it is not my business to lecture those tribes, it is your duty to admonish them.'

Governor—'Don't be headstrong, Parakaia; if you are obstinate you will only be drawing other people into trouble. You resemble a man hauling on to the rope of a canoe, until suddenly it is smashed on a rock. You are also drawing the Government into a war there.'

Parakaia—'I am not responsible for that war (which you imagine will come); that talk about fighting comes from Featherston's friends.'

Governor—'If you will yield to what I advise, just sign your name to the deed of cession, and say to the people—"I have assented to sell this land to the Government. Featherston will take care that my piece of land shall be excluded from the block which is alienated, as well as the lands of those who are opposing the sale." And say to Featherston, "Have their lands excluded from the alienated portions." This is a prudent course to adopt. Sign your names to the deed, that your own pieces of land may be secure; these will not then be touched,

The Native Lands Act, which was passed by the General Assembly, and assented to by Governor Sir George Grey on behalf of Her Majesty, 10th October, 1867, provides in clause 38, one of two clauses bearing upon the Manawatu Block, "That no claim by, and no question relating to the title or interest of, any Native who shall have signed the said deed of sale, shall be so referred (to the Native Lands Court)." And Dr. Featherston since stated to his Provincial Council—"There is, however, still a small number of Ngatiraukawa dissentients, to whom, in the event of their persisting in their refusal to accept the sum set apart for them, it may be necessary to make an award in land to the extent of such claims as are admitted by the sellers."—T.C.W.

Parakaia—'Why have you not hitherto advised me during these months that have elapsed? Had you spoken then I could have communicated what you said to the tribe for their careful consideration, which possibly by this time might have been agreed to; but the day of trouble about Rangitikei is near at hand—it is too late now to deliberate with my tribe. Besides, had I been dealing with McLean (who understands these questions) instead of Featherston, I might be induced to think there was some feasible plan in what you two propose. For Featherston made me a similar offer; I declined it. He pressed me to consent to the sale of Rangitikei, and promised me money. I declined it, and said, "I am not a servant working for hire;" no master said to me, "retain your land;" I retain it of my own accord.'

Governor—'Parakaia, you possess land in many parts of this Island—you have lands at Maungatautari and elsewhere. Give up this particular piece of land to the Government, in order that the Government may treat you with consideration, in reference to your claims to those other lands.'

Parakaia—'stay! one thing at a time. You are now confusing the matter in hand with irrelevant allusions to other land claims.'

Governor—'What I meant was, that the course of the Government might be clear; in my opinion that is right.'

Parakaia—'I said to you some months ago, speak out your mind; do not remain silent, lest your silence be taken advantage of by Dr. Featherston as a consenting to his evil doings. Had you spoken then, what you now aim at might have been accomplished; but now I am taken aback, I am not clear what to do. I said earnestly on a previous occasion, Governor, speak out your mind.'

Governor—'My son, I did speak before; nevertheless I now speak again distinctly. I am right in what I now propose; you are to blame for refusing to attend to it.'

Parakaia—'What can I do? Can I break a tough tree? The tribe has come to a determination not to sell. I have no power to alter their resolution, I might now, perhaps, influenced by fear of you, give a hasty and useless assent to sell; but what then.'

Governor—'If you fear me, give your assent. I am a wrathful Governor; assent.'

Parakaia—'If it were Maori anger. I should be afraid; but it is a Governor who is angry. I trust he will soon see he is angry without a just cause.'

Governor—'My words are good; you are a madman; you ought to be sent to the lunatic asylum at Karori.'

Parakaia—'You ought to send Featherston to the madhouse at Karori. I am no madman. The land on one side of this block has long since been ceded to you; you heard then that there was a determination to retain this portion. Subsequently Governor Browne and McLean endeavoured to purchase it, but we refused to sell. Those

other tribes did not take it from us at that time. You have obtained both the Lower and Upper Manawatu Blocks; this is comparatively a small portion which we are retaining. Let Nepia, Takana, Hoeta, Wiriharai, and all the other owners of the various portions first give their assent to the sale; my assent will then follow and be of use; but for me to venture to take the lead, and give a futile assent to the sale, is beyond my power. There is a fixed determination not to sell Rangitikei. I can now do nothing in the matter. With reference to what you say about fighting, we have nothing to do with that; it is for the Governor to put that down. Two men with conflicting interests will continue to quarrel. Now, you are connected with England, Featherston with New Zealand. Owing to the troubles arising from land purchases conducted in this faulty way, you came here to restore peace. It is Dr. Featherston's duty to maintain the peace. It is for Parakaia's chief—for you are my chief—to mediate and judge. Attend now to what I say. My own piece of land is distinct; it has been surveyed; it is, comparatively with the block, a small piece (meaning his and his immediate friends). Nepia's is small, Rawiri's is small, Takana's is small, so is Whiriharai's, Hoeta's, so is each man's on to the cud. They will none of them consent to part with their lands.'

The Governor turned to Puckey (the interpreter) to inquire about Nepia's name. Some conversation took place. The Governor then told Puckey to ask Rawiri to speak, that he might hear whether he thought the Governor or Parakaia had taken the more satisfactory view of the question.

Rawiri Te Wanui said—'Their discussion has made nothing clear to my mind. But this is what I have to say. The old men of the tribe are dead; their resolution to retain this land for the use of the tribe still holds good, and the Governor was plainly informed of their determination at the time. This talk about holding Rangitikei is nothing now—questions about other places in this Island are of later date. Rangitikei still goes on. We who are alive shall not depart from the determination of those who are dead. But with regard to this talk about fighting, it never came from those who are dead, nor shall that evil word originate from us, their children, who survive.

Governor—'You two did well to come to me. I am satisfied. It is well. Parakaia, our talk is ended.'

Present—Hon. J. C. Richmond, Mr. Puckey, Mr. Halse, Parakaia Tokoroa, and Rawiri Te Wanui."

Enclosure 7 in a Despatch from Governor Sir George Grey, K.C. B., to the Right Hon, the Duke of Buckingham. No. 44, 6th August, 1867.

Letter from Mr. Puckey to Mr. Rolleston.

"M. R. ROLLESTON,—

"With reference to the account of the interview between His Excellency the Governor and Parakaia Te Pouepa, appended hereto, I beg to state, that when it first came under my notice, I was under the impression that it must have been some other interview, and not the one at which I interpreted; nor was it until I saw the words, 'the Governor then turned to Puckey,' (the interpreter), that it became apparent to me it must be an account of the meeting at which I was present, though such an account as must give any one not there an exceedingly wrong impression of what took place.

"E. W. PUCKEY.

"10th July, 1867."

Enclosure 8 in No. 44.

Memorandum by Mr. J. C. Richmond.

"My knowledge of Maori is not sufficient to enable me to speak with precision, but my impression of the whole meeting is totally different from Parakaia's report. His Excellency appealed to his patriotism, was altogether conciliatory, and asked concessions as a matter of favour. He used no threat that I heard, and as to the *Ngatiraukawa lands at Maungatautari*, he argued that *Parakaia's claims, which he was preferring in the Native Lands Court were of the same character as those of the Ngatiapa which he refused to recognise in Rangitikei*; and that he looked to the Government for the fair consideration of those Maungatautari claims, and ought, therefore, not to push them into difficulties at Rangitikei.

I added myself, that the Government were resolved, as far as they were concerned, not to have land claims brought against the owners will. That he (Parakaia) knew *we could not put him in possession of his claims now without bloodshed*; but that if he persisted in maintaining them they would remain with him so far as they were right, though he might be many years kept out of possession.

"J. C. RICHMOND.

"18th July, 1867.

"P.S.—Parts of His Excellency's address to Parakaia were in English, in order that I might fully understand them, and Mr. Puckey translated them to Parakaia.—J. C. R."

[TRANSLATION.]

(To the Editor of the Advertiser.)

"Otaki 1st August, 1867.

"SIR,—

"Please to publish my letter in your paper. I hear that Mr. Puckey questions the accuracy of the account given in your paper of Parakaia's interview with the Governor. Attend. I was Parakaia's companion, and heard all that was said by the Governor and him. I confirm all Parakaia's statement contained in the account in your paper. That is an accurate account of what passed between them at the Governor's house. When we returned to our house in the Maori village, Parakaia immediately began to write down what had been said. It was not finished there, but on our return to Otaki it was carefully finished.

"RAWIRI TE WANUI.

THE FOLLOWING LETTERS AND PROTESTS FROM THE NGATIRAUKAWA NON-SELLERS ARE EXTRACTED FROM PAPERS PRESENTED TO BOTH HOUSES OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Copy of a Letter from Parakaia te Pouepa and others to the Assembly.

"Manawatu, 14th April, 1866.

"TO THE ASSEMBLY,—

"That is the word expressing our intention to hold fast to the land which was publicly spoken to Dr. Featherston. First.—This side of Rangitikei I kept back from the hand of Governor Grey and Mr. McLean, that is to say from Ngatiapa, and I surrendered the other side to that Governor. After that Governor Browne urged (upon us to sell) Rangitikei and Manawatu. I agreed to sell Te Awahou and Te Ahuoturanga; the desires of these tribes were accomplished (in respect of the sale, of those lands) to this Governor and that Governor; the desire to sell land to the Queen has ceased. This is my heart's core that you are striving to obtain. 'We do not like to give up this small piece to you.' That was the constant word of Ngatiraukawa to Dr. Featherston on the 5th April. The third word was to the effect that the Land Court alone could solve the difficulty attending this land. This is what we are waiting for.

On the 14th April Dr. Featherston made answer to us. His words were dear to the four tribes. His attaching blame to us was a new word. There are eight hundred of Whanganui, there are two hundred of Ngatiapa, Rangitane and Muaupoko are one hundred; but you, O Ngatiraukawa, are a half—a small portion. Another word of Dr. Featherston's was—'We went together with these tribes to fight against the rebel tribes upon the authority of the Queen; they have consented to the sale. I have agreed to their (proposal). This land is in my hand.' Now we objected to his word. 'Your doing is simply taking our land by force. The eight hundred of Whanganui are not present at this meeting. You utter your mysterious words (kupu tauranga) to intimidate us.' He replied, 'That is all. It is done. I will give the money to the sellers.' We answered, 'It is wrong. I will hold on to my own land for ever. I will not take your money.' This was always the word of all the people."

(Here follow the signatures.)

Statement by Hence Te Nerekau and Hare Hemi Taharape.

"Manawatu, 16th April, 1866.

"This is what was publicly said to Dr. Featherston on the 5th April. These are the words of Ngatiraukawa against the sale of Rangitikei:—

Dr. Featherston, listen attentively. Act justly towards those within your Province. Ngatiapa were desirous of selling this land on a former occasion. Ngatiraukawa refused to let it be sold, and it was not sold. They permitted the opposite side of the River Rangitikei to be sold. It was sold to Governor Grey. Ngatiapa were satisfied. The River Rangitikei constituted the boundary. Subsequently Ihakara wished to sell Manawatu. Ngatiraukawa assented to his wish, and Manawatu was sold to Governor Browne. The boundary began at Kaiwi thence to Omarupapako, and continued to Pukingahau, where it ended. This was the permanent boundary. Afterwards Te Hirawanu sold the upper part of Manawatu. Ngatiraukawa assented, and that was sold to Governor Grey during his second government of New Zealand; Te Hirawanu was satisfied, and the boundary was fixed at Mangawharawhara, Te Kotopiko, and Paripu wha, above Oroua, where it ended. This was a permanent boundary. This land which you are wishing to purchase we will never allow you to purchase—this must be kept for our support. It must be carefully subdivided. We will pay the surveyor and assist him.

Dr. Featherston made no reply whatever to these statement? of ours.

On the 12th April we, Ngatiraukawa, stood in the presence of Dr. Featherston and expressed our opinions strongly. 'Dr. Featherston, do not purchase our land without our assent, lest you do wrong. If there be any dispute about our land, let it remain as it is. Let a law court act that it may be finally settled, because a court has been established for Maori lands. Do not pull a man down by the back part of his head lest he have a had fall and death follow. For our land will not be given up to you to purchase, never. No work has ever been completed in wrong-doing. When it is agreed upon by those dwelling in the land, then a sale may be completed.'

Dr. Featherston replied : 'There are 800 men of Whanganui, 200 of Ngatiapa, 100 of Rangitane and Muaupoko tribes, which went with me to fight against the bad tribes. They have agreed to sell; this land has become mine; I will give them the money.'

Ngatiraukawa replied : 'We shall retain our own land, we shall not receive your money.'

On the 16th April we again stated our views to Dr. Featherston. 'Listen, Dr. Featherston : Do not give your money to those who are selling the land, but survey the land, that you may see the land belonging to those men who are selling; then you will be acting rightly, but you give your money first, to those who are selling the land, and then when you go with your chain to survey our lands, your chain will not touch the land—it will be interrupted. You, the pakeha will be angry without a cause, inasmuch as you are seizing our land illegally.

Withhold your money, lest it be the occasion of stirring up strife, and the people of this place be brought into trouble by you.'

"HENERE TE HEREKAU.

"HARE HEMI TAHARAPE."

Hare Henri Taharape to the Hon. the Native Minister.

"Manawatu, 18th April, 1866.

"To COLONEL RUSSELL,—

"This is my protest against the proceedings of the sellers of Rangitikei, who have settled on my piece of land without authority. This is it. I will explain my boundary.

It commences at Paranui, &c. (here follows a statement of the boundaries). I will not take Dr. Featherston's money if offered by him of his own accord for my land. Sufficient.

"From HARE HEMI."

Copy of a letter from Nepia Taratoa and others to His Excellency the Governor.

"Matahiwi, Rangitikei, 24th April, 1866.

"TO GOVERNOR GREY,—

"Friend—Salutations. This is a statement of ours for your information. Rangitikei is our residence. The piece of land belonging to my father, withheld from your hand, did not produce a murmur from the tribes. After that Governor Browne (arrived). Ngatiapa wanted to sell, but my father and all the tribes arranged for another place; Manawatu (was offered) to that Governor of ours. Governor Browne did not say any bad words to us in those years; that he would kick us with his feet, or would seize our lands close to Manawatu, even to all its branches. No, it was rather our Superintendent who seized the reserves excluded from that purchase of the

Governor's at Manawatu. Te Paretao was one, Te Rewarewa was another seized by him. Now this is Rangitikei which is being seized. If trouble should come upon us this year it will be through Dr. Featherston. This land selling is not by the residents of Rangitikei.

Ihakara belongs to Manawatu, others belong to Whanganui, and others I belong to Porirua. These are the voices (people) approved of by your friend Dr. Featherston. The reason why this land is seized is that these voices (people) intimidate others.

This kind of selling is very wrong. Enough. This is another word to You. This land purchase is by your second Provincial Government.

Should read :—"This land purchase is a foul wrong that is being perpetrated during your second term of Government."—T. C. W.

Enough then. It is for you to prevent this land being now seized by Dr. Featherston. The people have written to the Assembly enough."

(Here follow the signatures.)

Copy of a letter from Nepia Taratoa and others to the Honorable the Native Minister.

"House of Matene, "Otaki, 30th April 1866.

"To CAPTAIN RUSSELL, (Native Minister),—

"What we have said is true. Neither Ngatiapa, Rangitane, nor Muaupoko have anything to do with it (the land).

This is the truth. On our arrival they were all killed or beaten by Te Rauparaha. The authority of the land had also departed, and they remained slaves.

Again Te Rauparaha was continually slaying the people who had murdered his children. On account of our long residence among them, at last Te Rauparaha ceased slaying them, and then they lived.

The word of Te Rauparaha went forth : 'Let all the land remain for Ngatiraukawa as far as Rangitikei, and as far as Otaki.'

By this we obtained authority over these lands, and by this our withholding the land is just. Again, we have been living on it for many years.

The people of Ngatiraukawa who have joined in the sale of the land, and Ngaitapa, these people are jealous on account of the small pieces of land belonging to them; another reason is that they have no influence amongst the people who have large pieces of land at Rangitikei.

Now these are the people who possess the authority, and the greater portion of the land."

(Here follow the signatures.)

"We have lived on the land thirty-one years.

The fire of Ngatiapa has not been kindled up to the present day.

Meaning that Ngatiapa has not occupied the land.

This is why our speech has been put forth—first, to Governor Grey; second, Governor Browne; third, Governor Grey again.

Our determination to hold fast to the land is fixed, and will never cease."

Copy of a Letter from Koro te One and others to His Excellency Governor Grey.

Puketotara, 13th June, 1866.

"O FRIEND GOVERNOR GREY,—

"Salutations to you. This is a writing to you from us, so that you may know our thoughts respecting the land which is being sold by Hoani Meihana and Tapa te Whata. It is situated between Rangitikei and Oroua. We, the Chiefs and all the people, are averse to the sale of that land. This is to be a lasting possession for us. The boundary commences at Whitirea, in the region of Manawatu, thence towards the sea by way of Te Atatuhi to Otupere; the boundary turns off there and goes to Kaikokopu, thence to Kakukuera, Omanuka, Puketotara, Te Kawau, Totarataepa, Kopuapokoro Te Puta, Whakamoetakapu, Pareoa, Papauku; there it strikes off and goes to Umutoi on the Oroua, Te Awahuri, thence following the course of the Oroua to Puketotara, meeting the former boundary at Whitirea. We are the proprietors of this tract, that is to say, of that portion of the block towards Oroua and Manawatu. There are also some persons dwelling on the side towards Rangitikei, who are holding

on to it. Perhaps they have been to you to explain their views, and to let you know who they are; so therefore, when you have seen our thoughts Jo you send them on to the Runanga, so that they may also see.

This is all we have to say to you from the men of the following hapus":—
(Here follow the signatures.)

"Enclosed is a sketch map of the piece of land in question for you to look at."

Copy of a Letter from Koro and others to His Excellency the Governor.

"Puketotara, 13th July, 1866.

"O FATHER THE GOVERNOR,—

"Salutations to you. Mr. Buller has come to Puketotara here, and has desired us to sign our names to the document disposing of Rangitikei and Oroua, but we did not consent to do so, for we are not willing to sell our land. Our letter and chart also were sent to you on the 13th June 1866. That is our fixed determination for ever. Do you then take care of the letter and the chart also.

This is all from us."

(Here follow the signatures.)

Copy of a Letter from Rawiri Te Wanui and others to the Hon. the Native Minister.

"Otaki, 10th July, 1866.

"To COLONEL RUSSELL,—

"Salutations to you, O Friend! We have heard that Dr. Featherston is coming to bring the money for Rangitikei. O friend, give heed; as regards our land at Rangitikei, we are not willing that other tribes and other men leap on to it, and sell it. Is it right that a party not interested, take upon himself to sell land or a house belonging to some one else? No, that person would not agree to it, for another man to sell it in that way. Is such doing in accordance with the law, that which Dr. Featherston and his colleagues are doing? Is that which Dr. Featherston is doing correct in your estimation? To our mind it is wrong; it is not according to law, it is wrong; do you also condemn it. Let not Dr. Featherston come here and go on disturbing the (relations which exist) between you and us. But rather carry it out in accordance with the law. Let the Court decide between Dr. Featherston and his friends, the sellers of our land on the one part, and us on the other part.

That is all."

(Here follow the signatures.)

Notes of an interview between the Hon. Colonel Haultain, Acting for the Native Minister, and thirty five Natives of the Ngatiraukawa Tribe, on the subject of the sale of the Manawatu Block.

"Wellington, 9th May, 1866.

"After some preliminary conversation, Henere Herekan, in the name of all present, stated the object of the interview. He said that those present represented the Ngatiraukawa tribe who were opposed to the purchase of their land by Dr. Featherston. In the first instance only eight of their tribe agreed to the sale; subsequently, however, in consequence of the representations of Dr. Featherston and Mr. Buller, seven more agreed, and ultimately seventeen. Those present, however, were unanimously opposed to the sale, and not one of them had signed the agreement.

Parakaia Pouepa then spoke, and said that he came to protest against Dr. Featherston's statement that 1100 Natives consented to the sale. He had not seen that number, and those who consented belonged to strange places: they came, he believed, from various parts of Whanganui.

Colonel Haultain then informed them that Dr. Featherston had not sent in any report to the Government of what had taken place in respect to the purchase of the Manawatu Block, but when Mr. Buller came down, a full report would be made to the Government. In the meantime they were not in a position to state what they would do, not having sufficient information to enable them to judge of the case.

He wished them to leave a document, signed by all of them, stating their objection to the sale to Dr. Featherston. Parakaia then read a document (enclosed) which was to be accepted as expressing the opinion of

all present.

In reference to this document, Parakaia said that they had applied first to Mr. FitzGerald, secondly to the Bishop, and thirdly to the Government, and expressed in general terms strong disapproval of the course taken by Dr. Featherston in respect to their land.

Colonel Haultain then told them that he would take the letter, and it should be considered by the Government when they had received Dr. Featherston's Report. *In the meantime* they might rest satisfied that *no sale would be allowed unless the owners of the land agreed to it.*

Extract from a copy of a Letter from Hunia Te Hakeke and others (Ngatiapa) to the Hon. the Premier.

"Turakina, 23rd March, 1866.

"Friend Mr. Stafford, and your colleagues,—You know (because) you have distinctly seen that the land of the Ngatirauka was is at Maungatautari. They have sent in their claims. Let the Europeans clearly understand that (Maungatautari) is their land."

* * * * *

(Here follow the signatures.)

Copy of a Letter from, Hunia Te Hakeke and others (Ngatiapa) to His Honor I. E. Featherston.

Turakina 1st August, 1866.

"FRIEND,—

"Salutations to you. We have received your letter of the 26th of last month. O sire, good are you! Great is our joy for the words of your letter to us. We have seen your words, showing us the works of the two men of Ngatiraukawa. We have not seen his work, cutting boundaries; he does it clandestinely in the bush. It is not right for him to cut boundaries at Omarupapako; his work his wrong; he has no land here. The boundaries of his forefathers are at Maungatautari, where he can do such work of his. Our land we don't like him to take the smallest portion of; our selling of the land to you has been proclaimed to all these tribes. Parakaia's work is that of a thief; we have not seen his boundaries. We do not wish that the smallest piece be left in his hands; we have completed the consent of the large boundaries.

Friend, Dr. Featherston, *mine and Mr. Buller's work* is at an end—the writing the names of the people.

Friend, the thought is with you to draw near the day for the meeting at Parewanui, in the weeks of this month. What do we care about that man Parakaia causing trouble; if he is able to cause trouble among the Native tribes *his body will see death*, as it has been settled by all the tribes, the consent of my work to you.

"From your Friend

"HUNIA TE HAKEKE,

"And eight others."

The, following appears in the Speech of His Honor the Superintendent on opening the third session of the fourth Provincial Council of the Province of Wellington, 26th April, 1867.

"MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL,—

* * * * *

"When I last met you, I announced that I had entered into an agreement with the various tribes claiming a title to the Manawatu-Rangitikei block, by which I hoped to set at rest the formidable land dispute which had for several years threatened the peace of the Province. After intimating that at the great native gathering at Takapu, on the banks of the Manawatu, I *had formally accepted the cession of the disputed block to the Crown as the only means of finally and for ever removing the cause of strife*, I informed you that the final deed of surrender had yet to be executed, that it would require to be signed by between one and two thousand claimants, and that several important questions had yet to be settled—namely, as to what tribes the purchase money was to be paid, what proportion each of the tribes should receive, and what chiefs should be appointed to receive and distribute the money. It is satisfactory to me to be able to state that the deed of cession has been duly executed, nearly seventeen hundred claimants having signed it, and that the questions just adverted to have been finally

and amicably settled.

From the detailed minutes of the proceedings, which will be laid before you, you will observe that at the Parawanui meeting in December last, probably the largest gathering of natives ever held in this Province, the six tribes claiming to be more or less interested in the land, after long and angry discussions, failed to come to any arrangement as to the division of the money, and then appealed to me for my opinion on the subject, distinctly guarding themselves from being bound to adopt it. While anxious to evade the responsibility of deciding a question which, by the terms of our agreement, rested with the sellers—a responsibility which I had from the first declined to undertake—I, nevertheless, felt that *the alternative was one of peace or war, that if the meeting should break up without the completion of the purchase, the rival tribes would at once assert their conflicting claims by force of arms*, and that the whole of the West Coast district would be speedily plunged into a general Native disturbance. To prevent, therefore, any further complication of the question, and to aid those chiefs who were really anxious, at almost any sacrifice, to preserve the peace, I at length submitted a proposal to the meeting, which though at first violently denounced by the Ngatiapas, was ultimately unanimously accepted by all the tribes concerned as perfectly fair and equitable. Chiefs were then appointed by the sellers to receive the respective shares, and the distribution of the money was left entirely to the Natives. I stipulated, however, with the Ngatiraukawa chiefs that a liberal sum out of their share should be set apart for the outstanding claimants of that tribe, and this was accordingly done. Since the payment of the purchase money, upwards of one hundred and fifty of these (mostly remote) claimants have given their consent to the sale and signed the deed. There is, however, still a small number of Ngatiraukawa dissentients to whom, in the event of their persisting in their refusal to accept the sum set apart for them, it may be necessary *to make an award in land to the extent of such claims as are admitted by the sellers*.

The question of reserves is now in course of settlement. The Ngatiapa and Rangitane have accepted the portions allotted them, and the Ngatiraukawa reserves will be defined as soon as the claims of dissentients have been satisfactorily adjusted. The back rents, amounting now to between two and three thousand pounds, which were impounded by me in order to prevent hostilities in 1863, are still unpaid, as I have been anxious to get all the minor details of the purchase arranged before re-opening a question not altogether free from difficulties, though not of a very formidable nature. And I here must bear testimony to the great patience and forbearance shown by both the Ngatiapa and Ngatiraukawa chiefs with respect to this matter.

After nearly four years of constant anxiety on this subject, it affords me no small gratification to repeat my assurance to you of the final and peaceful adjustment of this, our only native difficulty; for, in spite of all that has been said and written, I do not hesitate to assert that the Manawatu-Rangitikei purchase, while from its very nature, and the magnitude of the interests involved, probably the most laborious one ever undertaken in this country, is as complete and satisfactory a purchase as could have been effected from the Natives under the peculiar circumstances of the case. My chief difficulty has been caused by a few designing Europeans, who from selfish motives have, by intrigues with the Natives, and misrepresentations in the newspapers of the colony, endeavoured to foment tribal strife and frustrate the purchase—attempts which, had they been successful, must have entailed upon the Province, and upon the Natives themselves, the most calamitous results.

I feel that I am entitled to say that in no previous land purchase has so liberal a price been paid, or such ample justice done to all the Natives concerned in the transaction.

The thanks of the Province are due to His Excellency's Minister's for the readiness with which, in compliance with my request, they advanced (in anticipation of the sale of the land purchase loan) the funds required to enable me to meet my engagements with the Natives. And I venture again to express a hope that the Council will, knowing how much the successful issue of these long pending negotiations is due to Mr. Walter Buller, bestow upon him a substantial recognition of his valuable services.

The Small Farm Association will naturally be disappointed at the slowness of these dealings with the Natives."

Extract from the New Zealand Advertiser, Wellington, 10th December, 1866.

THE MANAWATU PURCHASE.

(From our own Correspondent.)

"Rangitikei, 6th December, 1866.

* * * "The principal, if not the real owners of the land, *the Ngatiraukawa tribe were conspicuous by their*

absence. * * * The Ngatiraukawa have for some time back stated their intention of carefully abstaining from appearing at the meeting, and so determined are they to carry out this policy that the majority have removed to Otaki during the meeting, lest they should be tempted to accept any portion of the purchase money. * * * Probably, when the history of the Manawatu purchase is written, it will be admitted that *never has a Government so systematically countenanced an injustice as this attempt at forcible purchase*, and never have a body of men, supposed to be on the eve of rebellion, *shown more patience in peaceably asserting their own rights* than the Ngatiraukawa Tribe."

Extract from a Leading Article of the Wellington Independent, 13th December, 1866.

THE MANAWATU PURCHASE.

"By the overland mail we have received further intelligence from Rangitikei. It is estimated that there are now some fifteen hundred Natives at Parewanui, about a thousand of whom are males. The tribes represented at the meeting are the Ngatiapa, the Rangitane, the Ngatiraukawa, the Wanganui, the Muaupoko, the Ngatitao, the Ngatiawa, the Ngatikahununu, and the Ngatiupokoiri. * * * The Ngatiapa proposed that they should take £22,000, and satisfy therefrom the claims of the Rangitane, Wanganui, Muaupoko, Ngatiupokoiri and Ngatikahununu, and that the balance of £3,000 should be handed over to the Ngatiraukawa and Ngatitao. * * * The Ngatiraukawa chiefs on the other hand insisted that the purchase money should be divided into two equal sums, the Ngatiapa undertaking to satisfy the claims of all tribes north of the Rangitikei River, and the Ngatiraukawa those of the tribes south of the river."

Extract from a Leading Article of the Wellington Independent, 18th December, 1866.

* * * "It was then that Dr. Featherston brought forward his proposal of giving £15,000 to the Ngatiapas, and £10,000 to the Ngatirauka was each tribe engaging to satisfy secondary claimants. * * * After more debate the whole of the tribes agreed to it, and Dr. Featherston started to Wanganui to bring out the money."

Extract from Wellington Independent, 20th December, 1860.

THE MANAWATU PURCHASE.

* * * "Thursday, 13th December.—The proceedings were short and business-like; Governor Hunia, on behalf of his people, stated that Dr. Featherston's proposal, as to the tribal division of the purchase money, had now been acceded to by all the tribes concerned. He called on His Honor to send it once for the money, and to hand the shares over to the chiefs appointed by their respective tribes to receive them. He had been elected, in conjunction with Aparahama Tipae, to receive the Ngatiapa-Rangitane share of £15,000, and he pledged himself to see a fair and equitable division of the money among the several associated tribes. He called on Ihakara and Aperahama Te Haruhuru, who had been appointed in like manner by their tribes, to be equally careful of the interests of all claimants. The Ngatiraukawa replied in friendly and conciliatory terms, and assured Dr. Featherston that they would make ample provision for the few dissentients of their tribe who had refused to sign the deed, and would, if necessary, hand their allotted shares over to His Honor for safe custody. Governor Hunia apologized publicly for having torn down the Queen's flag, assuring His Honor that it was not done out of any spirit of disloyalty to the Queen, but because of 'the gloom of his tribe,' and in the hope that it would precipitate the breaking up of the meeting. Dr. Featherston (through Mr. Buller) replied in an appropriate speech. After which, Governor Hunia, as the representative of the Ngatiapa tribe and their allies, and Ihakara as the representative of the Ngatiraukawa, headed a procession to the flagstaff, holding between them the tin case containing the Manawatu deed of cession, which they placed on a table at the foot of the staff. Mr. Buller then opened the large roll of parchment, and read aloud to the assembled tribes the deed of final surrender. Dr. Featherston, as Land Purchase Commissioner, then came forward and signed the deed in due form, the signature being attested by the following witnesses :—Howard Kennard, gentleman, London; C. Wentworth Dilke, B.A., Barrister at Law, London; C. Hillingsworth, B.A., London; and Walter Buller, Resident Magistrate, Wanganui. The tribes then chanted a song of farewell to the land, with its forests and lakes, its cultivations and its fisheries, and parted for ever with it according to their own expression) 'under the shining sun of the day.'

Saturday, 15th December.—Dr. Featherston addressed the people, through Mr. Buller, R.M., to the following effect :—He said—"That before handing over the £25,000 in final completion of the Manawatu purchase, he had a pleasing duty to perform towards a chief who had taken *an active part* in the long, difficult, and tedious negotiations now successfully concluded. He was anxious to give Governor Hunia, in the presence of the assembled tribes, some token of *his approbation*. He had decided in his own mind that the signet ring which he was about to present to him was the most appropriate token, because of its symbolic associations. It

was hardly necessary for him to explain that in the holy institution of matrimony the ring is the pledge or token of the solemn vows that are made at the altar; and that, in like manner, he desired to symbolize the establishment of a firm and lasting friendship between the Ngatiapa and Ngatiraukawa Tribes.'

His Honor then placed the ring on Governor Hunia's finger, with the words—'Let this ring be a token that there is no longer enmity between the tribes, and that henceforward they will live together on terms of mutual good will, in friendship with the Pakeha, and in loyalty to our Gracious Queen! And, Governor Hunia, long may you live to wear it!'

The formal handing over of the money then took place, after which the tribes assembled under the Queen's flag, to hear Governor Hunia's speech in reply.

The £15,000 for the Ngatiapa and Rangitane, and their allies, was paid over to Governor Hunia and Aperahama Tipae; and the £10,000 for Ngatiraukawa and Ngatitua was paid over to Ihakara Tukuinaru and Aperahama Te Huruhuru, these chiefs thereupon signing receipts on the back of the deed, 'on behalf of and in the presence of the assembled tribes,' for the respective amounts.

The following gentlemen then affixed their names as witnesses to the signatures and payments, viz. :—H. J. Kennard, gentleman, London; C. Wentworth Dilke, Barrister, London; J. E. Hillingsworth, B.A., London; A. Follet Halcombe, Sheep-farmer, Rangitikei; Maillard Noake, J.P., Rangitikei; M. W. Anderson, Contractor, Wellington; and Walter Buller, Resident Magistrate, Wanganui."

Letter from Archdeacon Hadfield, (now Bishop of Wellington), upon the rights of the Ngatiraukawa and Ngatiapa tribes, in connection with the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block.

"MY DEAR THOMAS,—

"In acceding to your request that I should furnish you with some information concerning the rights of the tribes connected with the Rangitikei- Manawatu district, I will endeavour to condense as much as possible what I have to say on the subject. I came into the district in 1839, before the Queen's sovereignty was established in the country, that is, before it was proclaimed a British Colony. I do not think there are many other Englishmen alive who knew the Natives of the district at that time. Ngatiraukawa were then in undisputed possession of the district. They also asserted claims to land on the north side of Rangitikei, but as they were at war with another tribe to the southward, and had their attention occupied with this, I do not recollect seeing them located on that side. The previous owners, Ngatiapa, had been conquered by them, and were held in a state of subjection; some being actually in slavery at Otaki and Kapiti, others resided on the land as serfs, employed in pig-hunting and such like occupation. They had ceased to be a tribe. They had no organisation, no rights. Even that portion of the tribe which lived between Rangitikei and Whanganui was in a state of degradation. It was without *mana*. It would take me too long to detail the proofs of this, and it is unnecessary. There would have been then no room for questioning the title of Ngatiraukawa. There was no one to question it; it was a self-evident fact that they were in undisturbed occupation. They have never ceased to occupy and hold possession. There is then clear evidence to prove their conquest from Ngatiapa, and their possession in 1840. Well, then, as English law, on a transfer of sovereignty, recognizes all previously existing municipal rights, the title of Ngatiraukawa must remain unchanged until the present time, unless it can be shown that they have alienated their land by some formal act of their own. That there never has been any such formal act of alienation on their part is notorious. It is not, I believe, alleged that there has been any act of the kind, on the contrary, when, at the time the north side of Rangitikei was sold, Ngatiapa attempted to lay claim to the south side by building a hut there, this was forthwith destroyed by Te Rangihaeata, and the attempt was thus crushed in the bud. But further, when Ngatiraukawa, in 1849, consented to forego all claim to the north side of Rangitikei, they distinctly and; emphatically, in the presence of the Land Purchase Commissioner and others, reasserted their title to the south side, and their determination to retain it. I do not think the investigation of any title could have given less trouble to the Native Lauds Court than this, had it been brought before it. There was nothing complicated to unravel. After what I have said, you may think it strange that recent difficulties should have arisen. If you do think so you can have had little acquaintance with the doings of Land Purchase Commissioners. The difficulties were all purposely made by Government officers. I must try to explain what I mean. Notwithstanding the strength, of the Ngatiraukawa title, there was one vulnerable point in its exterior, small indeed, almost infinitesimal. But what can escape the scent of that most omnivorous of all land sharks—a Superintendent created Land Purchase Commissioner? Let me see, then, whether I can make this point intelligible. I am now alluding to the fact that some Ngatiapa men had been allowed to return to, and live in, the immediate vicinity of the late chief Nepia Taratoa, and were permitted by him to receive some part of the money paid as rent for lands illegally leased by Englishmen. I will show how this came about. When Ngatiraukawa accepted the Christian

religion, they, unlike the American slave holders of the Southern States, deemed it inconsistent with their profession of religion to retain their fellow men in slavery. They let their slaves go free. Several of those men continued to reside among their former masters. There were some inter-marriages; they were thenceforth treated as equals, but without any thought of their being again reinstated in their former possessions. There were one or two attempts made about the year 1855 to regain a footing there, but these were instantly stopped. Subsequently it was agreed to erect a mill at Makohai on the Rangitikei River, for the joint use of Ngatiapa and Ngatiraukawa. In consequence of this there was a joint endeavour to raise funds for the purpose agreed upon. This gave rise to the first leases to squatters, in which both parties combined, but this was only a temporary arrangement agreed upon for a specific purpose with a view of arriving at an object concerning which there was no difference of opinion.

Some time afterwards, during the Taranaki war, when the whole of the tribes on this coast had their attention more or less pre-occupied with matters of general interest, Nepia Taratoa, being alarmed, wished to have his old slaves again around him, they being for the most part avowed Kingites. He invited some of them to come to his neighbourhood. In order to secure their services, he promised to let some of his lands, and pay them with money derived from the rents; what was done was to promise them some temporary participation in the proceeds from the leased lands. This act of his, which was done without the sanction of the tribe, could not possibly be construed into a formal transfer of the land.

It has never, I believe, been alleged that there was at this time, or at any other, any division of the land with Ngatiapa; but the joint participation by two different tribes of the ownership of land, is a kind of tenure absolutely unknown to Maori custom, and utterly repugnant to their whole system. I defy any one to produce a single instance of any such joint tenure. When two tribes have lived intermingled, either one was the acknowledged superior and the other the inferior, or there were well defined boundaries to their respective possessions. In my opinion Ngatiapa had no kind of right to the Rangitikei-Manawatu block of land.

Shortly after Nepia Taratoa's death, Ngatiapa began to assert a claim based on his liberality, which, together with rumors that their claim might be acknowledged by the Government, so alarmed the Ngatiraukawa, that they, early in 1863, sent a large party both to remove some cattle and sheep which were supposed to be there on the authority of Ngatiapa, and also to occupy and cultivate land close to the Rangitikei River.

Ngatiapa made some little show of resistance, but there can be no doubt, nothing further would have been heard of Ngatiapa's claims had it not been for the unfortunate fact that, when the Government, after many months delay, thought it advisable to appoint some person to investigate the respective claims of the two tribes, they selected Dr. Featherston, the Superintendent of the Province, who had previously secured the appointment of Land Purchase Commissioner. Anything more absurd and unfortunate than this appointment it would be difficult to imagine.

Nevertheless, Ngatiraukawa, knowing that if there was to be an open investigation their claims must be recognized as good, signed a bond, to abide by the decision of the arbitrator. Ngatiapa, on the contrary, knowing full well that their claim under such circumstances would not hold good, but must prove untenable, positively declined the investigation. They, however, handed over all their supposed rights to Dr. Featherston, in which of his capacities—whether as Superintendent, or Land Purchase Commissioner, or arbitrator appointed by the Government to investigate impartially—does not appear. Dr. Featherston thus became a party to the dispute. He took his side with Ngatiapa. From that time forward any solution of the difficulty was hopeless. Dr. Featherston was determined to obtain the land. Ngatiraukawa were equally determined that, so long as the Ngatiapa claim was acknowledged, they would not sell.

As the Land Purchase Ordinance was still unrepealed, Dr. Featherston impounded the rents, that is he cautioned the squatters not to pay their rents. This was the second blunder he committed. It at once confirmed the suspicion raised in the minds of Ngatiraukawa by his acceptance of the Ngatiapa claims, that he was trying to coerce them into acquiescence with his wishes.

The result was a dogged determination to hold their land to the last. From that time the purchase of the district by Dr. Featherston was simply an impossibility.

I was nearly forgetting to allude to what has been repeatedly asserted, that there was danger of an inter-tribal war. Such an assertion is really ridiculous. I ought to know something of the feelings of the natives of this I district, but I do not hesitate to say, there never was the least chance of it. To suppose it possible for the miserable remnant of the Ngatiapa to have ever seriously contemplated war with their old conquerors, is an opinion that could only have been entertained by those wholly unacquainted with the relative numbers and antecedents of the two parties. I cannot, however, conceal my opinion that the frequent allusions by Dr. Featherston to the probability of war, had a tendency to create in the minds of the natives an impression that the Government would not be sorry to see hostilities take place, in order that it might then either co-operate with Ngatiapa, or make such a war a pretext for confiscation.

But Ngatiraukawa, resting on their clear and undisputed possession ever since the Treaty of Waitangi, have

carefully avoided giving any excuse to the Government for charging them with acting illegally. As Parakaia rightly remarked to the Governor—'It is the duty of the Government to keep the peace of the country, and protect loyal men in their rights.' He and others, who have remained staunch in their support of the Government all through the war, feel amazed when they find Kingites, like Kawana Hunia, who only recently hoisted their King's flags, and strutted about with their guns on their shoulders and their two cartridge boxes on their backs, in defiance of the Government, now allowed at public meetings, at which the Superintendent presides, to utter unrebuked threats of war.

I have, perhaps, said as much as you care to learn from me. That Ngatiraukawa were the acknowledged owners and possessors of the land in 1840 there can be no question. That they have never subsequently alienated it, is equally clear. The attempt of the Superintendent to set up a claim for Ngatiapa on the ground that many years ago they owned the land, and his subsequently impounding the rents to force Ngatiraukawa to sell, are points which I hope I have made clear. I will now conclude with a few extracts from Carlyle's life of Frederick the Great, in order to show that, though Dr. Featherston is supposed to have gained some credit for cleverness by these moves, there is nothing novel or original in them.

'This Duchy of Cleve, all this fine agglomerate of Duchies, Duke Wilhelm settled were to be inherited in a piece by his eldest son. This settlement, by express privilege of Kaiser Carl V., nay, of Kaiser Maximilian before him, and the laws of the Reich, Duke Wilhelm doubted not he was entitled to make; and this settlement he made. The painful exactitude of Duke Wilhelm and his lawyers has profited little, and there are claimants on claimants rising for that valuable Cleve country'. Vol. 1, p. 303-5.

'What greatly complicated the affair was the interest the Kaiser took in it. Evidently what would best suit the Kaiser and Spaniards was this, that no strong power whatever got footing in Cleve to grow stronger by possession of such a country; better than best it would suit, if he, the Kaiser, could himself get it smuggled into his hands, and then hold it fast. Which privately was the course resolved upon at head-quarters', p. 307-8.

'A letter is yet extant from the Aulic Council to their Vice-Chancellor, who had been sent to negotiate this matter with the parties; letter to the effect that he must devise all manner of quirks, and achieve it. And accordingly quirks did not prove undevisable on behalf of the Kaiser. "Since you cannot agree (said the Kaiser), and there are so many of you who claim (we having privately stirred up many of you to the feat), there will be nothing for it but that the Kaiser must put the country under sequestration, and take possession of it with his own troops till a decision be arrived at, which, probably, will not be soon", and the Kaiser forthwith did as he had said.' p. 312.

'It was not till forty-two years after, in 1666, that an effective partition could be practically brought about. In fact, there never was in the German Chanceries, or out of them, such a law suit, armed or wigged, as this of the Cleve Duchies, first and last. And the sentence was not practically given till the Congress of Vienna, 1815, in our own day, gave it; and the thing Johann Sigismund had claimed legally in 1609, was actually handed over to Johann Sigismund's descendants in the seventh generation, after two hundred and six years', p. 323.

"(Signed) OCTAVIUS HADFIELD.

"15th July, 1867."

Statement from Wi Parata, a Maori member of the House of Representatives, and member of the Executive Council.

Waikanae, 17th May, 1873.

"I, Wi Parata, was born at Kapiti in the year 1835. As I grew up, I always heard that Ngatiraukawa were the people occupying all that country, Otaki, Waikawa, Ohau, Horowhenua, Manawatu, on to Rangitikei.

That Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko, were dwelling formerly under the *mana* of Ngatiraukawa.

I know that when Rangitikei was sold, the other side of Rangitikei on towards Turakina, was after due consideration divided off (*ata wehea*) to Ngatiapa by Ngatiraukawa. The same with Ahuoturanga, that was handed over by Ngatiraukawa to Rangitane. That is all the land that Ngatiraukawa agreed to let them have.

The desire of Ngatitoo, that is, of Te Rauparaha, was to have destroyed all these people, but Whatanui and all Ngatiraukawa were kind to them, and protected them against Te Rauparaha.

To my knowledge that block of country, lying between Rangitikei and Manawatu, belonged to Ngatiraukawa alone.

Mr. Buller came to my place of residence at Waikanae, at the time when Dr. Featherston and Mr. Buller purchased that block of land, Rangitikei; he said to Ngatiawa, 'friends, you must sign your names to the deed of purchase of Rangitikei.' I replied to Mr. Buller, 'we have no land at Rangitikei.'

"WI PARATA."

Statement from a Native, a teacher, since ordained a Deacon of the Church of England.

"TO THOMAS WILLIAMS,—

"Dear Friend,—Will you publish what I have to say respecting Rangi-tikei, for the information of the Pakehas. We, the Ngatiraukawa tribe, held it by our own strength till such time as the law came. Ngatiraukawa are still in possession of Rangitikei. Do you listen! It was Rauparaha who first conquered the inhabitants of this country; after that, Ngatiraukawa conquered them. It was Rauparaha's wish to have killed them all—not to let any escape. Ngatiraukawa saved them from death—made slaves and servants of them. They, the original owners, were very humble and submissive to Ngatiraukawa, viz., Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa, dwelling in subjection. Listen! Only when the Gospel came did the original owners begin to hold up their heads and exalt themselves, and so on till Governor Grey's time, in the year 1848, when Ngatiapa attempted to hand over to Governor Grey and Mr. McLean all the land from Rangitikei to Manawatu. When Ngatiraukawa heard that Rangitikei was being sold, they assembled to stop the sale of this side. They agreed to allow the other side to be sold, on condition that Ngatiapa should abandon all claim to this side, to which Ngatiapa agreed. Ngatiraukawa did not receive any of the money payment for the land, though it was through them having given their consent that the land was sold, and Ngatiapa got the money. Next came Governor Browne. When Hirawanu, of Rangitane, tried to sell Ahuoturanga, he tried in vain; for Ngatiraukawa would not permit it to be sold, they alone having authority over all the land—Rangitikei, Oroua, Manawatu, Ahuoturanga, as far as Otaki. Afterwards Ngatiraukawa, out of love to Hirawanu, chief of Rangitane, returned that land, formerly his, to him. It was done quietly; at the same time they told him that he must give up all claim to this other side. To this Hirawanu agreed. When the land was sold no money was paid to Ngatiraukawa. Thus those two blocks of land—Rangitikei and Ahuoturanga—were quietly and peaceably restored to the original owners by Ngatiraukawa. We did not fight about it, as other tribes have done; all that Ngatiraukawa cared for was to retain a portion of the land. It was so in the olden time before the law came, and we are doing the same now that we are living under the law; for you see that the greater portion of the land we have restored to Ngatiapa and Rangitane, we made them a present of it. This is the smaller portion which we are retaining. These people have no gratitude (*koha*) to Ngatiraukawa in return for their kindness to them. As to this last sale by Ngatiapa and Rangitane, it will never be assented to; never! because the only people living upon the land are of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, and they only have any authority over and title to the land.

"(Signed) RAWIRI TE WHANUI,

"Lieutenant. Governor.

Otaki,

26th June, 1873.

The following Letter written by a Ngatiraukawa Chief, was published in the Wellington Advertiser.

"To the Colonists of New Zealand,

Manawatu, 7th February, 1867.

'OUR ELDER BROTHERS,—

"We wish to ask you why you thus treat us, who are dwelling in peace and quietness? For now seven-and-twenty years we have lived peaceably under the protection of the Queen, and under the law. We have been guilty of no wrong, and have always upheld the right. For what reason is justice now withheld? Your constant cry has been—'let the law investigate!' That investigation you have now denied us. You cast the law—the protector—on one side, and you 'jump' upon the land.

Is it right that an innocent man should be condemned unheard! Does not the same law apply to the land? Or is it just to treat as nought what is generally admitted to be right according to the common custom of mankind—to send a man guiltless to prison, there to dwell in darkness? Is it just that a man who has been guilty of no fault, should be driven to dwell in sadness—denied the right of inquiry?

We know that you claim Waikato and all the land that you have conquered; you claim it by right of

conquest; that conquest is but of recent date. It was thus that we got possession, many years since, of Rangitikei and of the country down this coast. Now you say that it is not right that Maori usages should become law.

Our elder brothers, there is no injustice with the law; the law is impartial; man is insolent and unjust, Witness your springing, regardless alike of law and justice, upon Rangitikei. The saying is your's—'let the law decide.'

Te Waharoa came to you, he asked you to give him back Waikato. You replied, 'that cannot be, it would not be just.' Now why do you take Rangitikei out of our hands, and give it back to Ngatiapa!? Here is a Maori proverb, 'Well done, thou parent with the double tongue!'

Here is another of your precepts which we are carefully laying to heart. You have always assured us that the land of those who dwell in peace shall be protected to them by the law. Permit us to ask you where are those laws; are they asleep; whatever can have become of them?

Our elder brothers, we wish you to explain to us what you mean by living quietly—by dwelling in peace. You have told us to live peaceably; we have done so, we are now found fault with. What sort of living in peace is it that you require of us? It is but just that they who disturb the peace should perish by the sword, and that their land should be forfeited. In our case, to those who have been guilty of no fault—who are dwelling peaceably under the law—you have denied the protection of law. Why are love and mercy withheld from those who are peaceably inclined, and who are always ready to submit to the law?

Look you in our opinion. On the first occasion, at Wairau, the enlightened guide was the first to fall, after him the blind. Likewise at the Waitara, the enlightened guide first fell, the blind followed. On the third occasion, at the Waikato, for the first time, they both fell together into the deep. Our elder brothers, is this burden to be constantly borne? It is well sometimes to reflect; reflect then on your own conduct; be not too hard upon that of your younger brother; he is but a poor ignorant fellow.

As the matter now stands, you have hidden away the law, lest by it your treatment of innocent men, who are constant in their respect for that which is right, should be brought to light; and you have lowered the name of the Queen by using it as a menace to a loyal and unoffending people, who are striving to obey the law, and keep the peace.

Our elder brothers, it rests with you to set this matter right. Permit the eye of the law to look into these wrongs of innocent and peaceable men. Cease from withholding the law.

From your younger brothers,

"From NGATIRAUKAWA."

Copy of a Letter from a Ngatiraukawa Chief which was published in the Advertiser.

"To the Editor of the Advertiser."

Otaki, 23rd April, 1867.

"This is an answer on the part of the Ngatiraukawa for our elder brothers, the pakehas, and the Government of New Zealand, to Ihakara Tukumarū's letter. He states in his letter that we have no claim on the Rangitikei. Do you listen! He, on the contrary, has no standing place on the Rangitikei Block, not even the smallest spot. It was only when he joined us in asserting our claim against the Ngatiapa, in 1863, that his foot rested at Tawirihoe. It is true that Ngatiapa had a claim formerly, but it has been ours by conquest since the year 1831, the date of our taking possession of the land.

We don't deny the claim of Rei and Tapa, and their people, each to his small piece.

Is it right, we should like to ask, for strangers to dispose of another man's property? We say that a man ought to have the disposal of his own property, either to sell or to withhold; it is for himself to determine, especially when he has been many years in possession of his property. We have been thirty-six years in possession of the land at Rangitikei, and have held it, and yet all these tribes, whose names have been written, are said to have sold : Rangitikei to Dr. Featherston.

Say, then, our elder brothers, on what ground these tribes rest their claims to Rangitikei. In our opinion they have no claim. This is the reason why they have no claim; because it has become ours by conquest, in the same way that you pakehas obtained land. We are right in keeping possession we do so under the protection of the law, and in obedience to law.

And now, our elder brothers, cease from hiding the law. Let it come and ascertain the right of Ihakara's title, and that of the tribes who are acting with him. Ihakara has not a leg to stand upon—he has no claim to

Rangitikei—his claim rests upon lies. By these means he got hold of his pakeha accomplices, and his lies have been taken up by his pakeha friends, and they all lie together. Let us have done with that. What we still ask of you, elder brother's, who, together with us, are bothered about this matter, is to cease from withholding the law. Let us have the law, that the matter may soon be settled. It is for this reason that we repeat, let the law come.

(Signed) NGATIRAUKAWA.

"Sir, please print this in your paper."

Extract from the Speech of His Honor the Superintendent, on opening the Sixteenth Session of the Provincial Council, Tuesday, 19th May, 1868.

"The vexed question of the Manawatu purchase unfortunately again crops up and requires a few words of explanation.

By the Native Lands Act of last session, the Governor was empowered to refer the claims of the dissentients to the Native Land Court, and some ten claims were so referred. After sitting about six weeks at Otaki, the Court [have recently given their judgment in one case, that of Parakaia and twenty-six other claimants to the small block of 12,000 acres, known as the Himatangi Block. The decision of the Court on the question of the tribal title is entirely satisfactory. It most fully establishes the propriety of the course pursued by me in negotiating with the several tribes as joint owners of the district, and it particularly corroborates my action in giving to the claims of the Ngatiapa and Rangitane, the weight which I attribute to them. It also most completely refutes the case so industriously circulated through the colony by Mr. Williams, the editor of the *Canterbury Press*, and the missionary body who entirely ignored the title of the Ngatiapa and Rangitane, and asserted the exclusive ownership of the resident and non-resident Ngatiraukawa.

In these respects the decision of the Court is the most triumphant and complete vindication of the course pursued by me, and the most absolute refutation of the assertions of those who have so long thwarted and impeded the settlement of the question. Had I been permitted, without their interference, to continue my attempts to bring the matter to a final adjustment on the principle on which the Court now puts it, I have no doubt it would have long ago been arranged to the satisfaction of all parties who had any real interest in the question. So far, then, I repeat, the decision of the Court on the tribal question, is entirely satisfactory to myself; and I understand also to the whole of the natives who sold their rights to the Crown.

But when I examine the manner in which the judges of the Land Court have applied the principle laid down by them to the particular case of Parakaia's claim, I cannot but regard their decision as illogical, inconsequential, and in its practical operation, unjust. Affecting to carry out the principle of divided tribal ownership, they award one-half of the small block under consideration to the Ngatiapa tribe as a whole, while they award the other half, not to the Ngatiraukawa as a whole, but only to twenty-seven members of that tribe. The true application of the principle to the facts proved, would have been, to subdivide that moiety of the block which was awarded to the Ngatiraukawa, into two parts; one of which being the quantity actually occupied by Parakaia and his *hapu*, should have been given to them as resident claimants; the other being the balance of unoccupied and uncultivated land, should have been given to the entire Ngatiraukawa tribe resident on the Rangitikei-Manawatu block. Three fourths of these having sold their claims to the Crown, their share would have passed to it under the purchase deed, and Parakaia and his co-claimants would have received a portion less grossly disproportionate to, or rather less absolutely exclusive of, the rights of the whole resident tribe.

I have further to complain of the very unfair manner in which the block has been divided, nearly all the available land within it being given to Parakaia, while the Crown is put off with the part remote from the river, and consisting of little else than swamp and sand hills. I still further complain of the Court having ignored the thoroughly proved claim of Matene Matuku to the specific holding of the Himatangi bush, the long established residence of Ngatiteupokoiri, on the river bank, and their refusal to recognise the claim of Ihakara and Patukohuru, while they admit that of Parakaia, whose personal participation in the block was at least as weak as that of Ihakara. Nor do I think it creditable to the moral sense of the Court, that it should not only have passed over, without comment, the perjury alleged to have been committed by Parakaia, but, notwithstanding the very convincing evidence on that point, should have awarded to him a share of the block without so much as a word of censure, for what, from the most charitable point of view, they must have regarded as very loose and very hard swearing.

Notwithstanding, however, my objection to the decision of the Court as far as the particular claim of Parakaia was concerned, I felt it my duty to bow to that decision, and to instruct my counsel to attend the adjourned sitting of the Court at Rangitikei, there to oppose the cases of the other claimants in the same legitimate manner as that of Parakaia had been resisted. On the sitting of the Court, however, it appeared that the gentleman who had undertaken the cases of the claimants (Mr. T. C. Williams) had abandoned their cause, and without any excuse offered to the Court absented himself from it, a course for which he was very severely

and most justly censured by the Court. Under these circumstances the claimants in each case, as it was called on, declined to proceed, and the whole of the remaining cases were either dismissed by the Court or withdrawn by the claimants. The Court then closed its session and adjourned *tine die*.

While it is to be regretted that all the cases were not adjudicated on, and finally disposed of, it will now, I presume, rest with the advisers of His Excellency to decide what further action they will take in the matter; for it is quite certain that the sellers whose rights have been so fully admitted by the Court, will not brook further delay, but will insist upon the Crown being put into immediate possession of the block, and upon their rents which have been impounded since 1863, and which now must amount to nearly £3,000, being at once paid up by the squatters. The Ngatiapas have, in fact, I understand, already commenced to mark off the boundaries.

It is unnecessary for me to acknowledge the important services rendered by Mr. Fox to the Province in undertaking to conduct this case through the Land Court, for I know full well that those services will be most warmly recognised and appreciated by you"

Extracts from speeches of Honorable Members in the House of Assembly, during the Second, Session of the Fourth Parliament, 1867.

"Wednesday, 17th September. Native Lands Court at Turanganui. Mr. Carleton, in moving that the correspondence between the Government and the Judges of the Native Lands Court on the sitting of the Court at Turanganui, laid on the table of this House, be considered, presumed the whole case was shown in the correspondence which he held in his hand.

He had risen for the maintenance of a principle, and it was seldom he did rise except for such a purpose. He cared very little for details, but he had a very clear appreciation of principles, especially those in which they had been brought up in the mother country; and whenever he saw a principle infringed, whether by a friendly Government, or one to whom he was in opposition, most assuredly would he rise for the maintenance of that principle. The special principle which he had then risen to maintain was that no interference could be tolerated as to the Courts of law. It was not only on that occasion—not only in reference to the Native Lands Court—that interference had taken place, but it had also taken place with regard to the Supreme Court in a manner that was highly objectionable. He did not specially refer to the present Administration, for he looked upon the General Government as one and continuous. He had seen correspondence with the Judges laid on the Table of which he was ashamed; and on all occasions whatever, upon which he perceived the slightest inclination to any interference with the Judicial Courts, so long should he rise to protest against it in the strongest terms. He could not tolerate an attempt to brow-beat a Court of law. He hoped that the House would think fit to maintain the perfect independence of a Court which had been constituted by itself.

Mr. Stafford said : He entirely agreed to the terms his honorable colleague had made use of in reference to the conduct of Mr. Munro. He could only say it was very fortunate for that gentleman that he had not had to deal with him instead of his honorable colleague. He (Mr. Stafford) should not have let him off so easily, but would have gone a great deal further, and have stopped his salary, and then he would have allowed him to rush to that House, as he appeared to have done. He would bring the question to an issue inconsequence of the language used by the honorable gentleman; and he would let the House determine, so that there could be no mistake about the matter. He would tell the honorable gentleman that, so long as he had the honor to be one of the advisers of the Crown, he would take such action as circumstances might require, even if it should be to suspend the operation of the Judges of the Native Lands Court, whenever such a course was for the public interest—aye, even if the Judges were swept away altogether. He and his colleagues would take the responsibility upon themselves, when they thought public interests demanded it. If, therefore, the hon. member thought that was an improper position, or one which would not be upheld by the Legislature, he had now a fair opportunity of taking issue upon the subject. He, for one, should never hesitate, so long as he had the responsibility of administering public affairs, to arrest any action whatever, which he thought to be injurious to public interests, even though it might be taken under the name of a Court."

Extract from, the closing Address for the Crown of the Hon. Mr. Fox, the late Premier, in the Native Lands Court, at Otaki, Thursday, 23rd April, 1868.

XII.—CONCLUSION.

"In conclusion, I trust the Court will, in this case, do strict justice between the parties. Courts of arbitration are too often in the habit of splitting the difference, without regard to the strict right of the litigants. It is easy to be liberal with other people's property. But this is not a Court of arbitration, and *there are grave reasons* why no such liberality should be exercised in this case; in other words, why the claimants should receive not an acre more than they have proved a title to. *A body of seventeen hundred Natives who affect to have sold the land in question to the Crown, watch with intense interest a decision which may vindicate their honor, or cover them*

with shame and confusion. The credit of the purchasing Government, and of the Commissioner, is no less at stake."

Judgment of the Native Lands Court on the claim of Parakaia Te Pouepa and others, to a portion of the Manawatu-Rangitikei Block.

Otaki, Monday, 27th April, 1868.

"The Court, consisting of T. H. Smith, Esq., Presiding Judge; John Rogan, Esq., Judge; W. B. White, Esq., Judge; Ropata Ngarongomate and Mitai Pene Tauī, Native Assessors; gave the following judgment on the claim of Parakaia Te Pouepa and others to the Himatangi Block.

JUDGMENT.

'Before giving judgment in this very important case, the Court desires to acknowledge the valuable assistance it has received during the conduct of a protracted and very tedious investigation, both from the Agent who has appeared for the Native claimants, and from the counsel for the Crown; also to express its satisfaction at the very orderly behaviour of the Natives.

We do not consider it necessary here to revise in detail the mass of evidence which has been brought before us, nor to advert to the arguments contained in the addresses of the agent for the natives, and the counsel for the Crown, further than to say, that they have been carefully considered by us before coming to a decision.

The claim of Parakaia Te Pouepa and others, to a certain block of land called Himatangi, the boundaries of which have been described, and are delineated in a sketch plan before the Court, has been referred for the purpose of being investigated and adjudicated upon in the manner prescribed by the Native Lands Act, 1865. The claimants apply to the Court to order a certificate of their title, asserting rights alleged to have been acquired by conquest, followed by actual occupation. Evidence has been adduced to prove that the original owners were conquered and dispossessed, and that the land has been in the possession and occupation of the claimants from a period antecedent to the establishment of British government in these islands to the present time.

The Crown objects to a certificate of ownership being ordered, asserting as a ground of objection, and adducing evidence thereon, that the claimants have not acquired rights by conquest—that the original occupants have never been dispossessed—that the latter were the rightful owners of the land up to the period of its cession by them to the Crown; and further, that the claimants have not occupied more than a small portion of the block claimed.

We have found it impossible to give a decision in this case without first determining an important question raised in the course of this investigation—that of the conflicting tribal claims asserted by the Ngatiraukawa on one side, and the Ngatiapa and Rangitane on the other, to the country lying between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers. We consider that there is sufficient evidence before the Court to enable us to decide this question of tribal right, and by recording our decision on this point in the present judgment, we indicate a principle which may be conveniently and justly applied by this Court in dealing with other cases of claims in the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block, which have been, or may be, referred to it. Looking at the evidence, it is clear to us that before the period of the establishment of British governments, the Ngatiraukawa tribe had acquired and exercised rights of ownership over the territory in question. The prominent part taken by this tribe in connection with the cession of the North Rangitikei and Ahuoturanga Blocks, the sale of the Awahou, and the history of the leases, prove also that those rights have been maintained up to the present time.

On the other hand, the evidence shews that the original occupiers of the soil were never absolutely dispossessed, and that they have never ceased on their part to assert and exercise rights of ownership.

The fact established by the evidence, is that the Ngatiapa-Rangitane, weakened by the Ngatitoa invasion, under Te Rauparaha, were compelled to share their territory with his principal allies the Ngatiraukawa, and to acquiesce in a joint ownership.

Our decision on this question of tribal title is that Ngatiraukawa and the original owners possessed equal interests in, and rights over, the land in question, at the time when the negotiations for the cession to the Crown of the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block were entered upon.

The tribal interest of Ngatiraukawa we consider vested in the section of the tribe which has been in actual occupation, to the exclusion of all others.

It has been proved to the satisfaction of the Court that Parakaia and his co-claimants comprise that section of the Ngatiraukawa tribe which has acquired rights by occupation over the Himatangi Block. The tribal interest, therefore, rests solely in them. The claim preferred on behalf of Ihakara and the Patukohuru, founded

on temporary occupation, we do not admit.

A list of twenty-seven (27) persons, proved to be jointly interested with Parakaia, is before the Court. Two of these having signed the deed of cession cannot appear in this Court as claimants.

The decision of the Court, therefore, is that Parakaia and his co-claimants are entitled to a certificate in their favor for one-half, less two twenty-sevenths (2-27ths) of the Block claimed, and an interlocutory order will be made by us in favour of the eight (8) persons who have been named to the Court as representing the claimants.

It is accordingly ordered that a certificate of the title of

- PARAKAIA TE POUÉPA
- ROERA RANGIHEUEA
- PITIUIRA TE KUKU
- HAKOPA TE TEHE
- NIRAI TARAOTEA
- AMIKIA TARAOTEA
- KIPA TE WHITU and
- MIRIKA TE KURU

to a parcel of land at Manawatu, containing, by estimation, five thousand five hundred (5,500) acres, being part of a block of land known to the Court as the Himatangi Block, be made and issued to the Governor, if within six (6) months the claimants shall furnish a proper survey thereof to the satisfaction of the Court, or of the Chief Judge; the said parcel of land to be comprised within the boundaries of the said Himatangi Block, to contain an area not exceeding twenty-five fifty-fourths (25-54ths) of the said Block, and to have for its boundary on the east, the Manawatu River from Pakingahau to Whitirea. And it is further ordered that the Court do recommend to the Governor that the following condition be attached to the grant issuable to the claimants in pursuance of the certificate above referred to, viz.—that no portion of the land to be comprised in the said certificate shall be alienated by sale, gift, mortgage, lease, or otherwise, except by lease for a term not exceeding twenty-one (21) years, until it shall have been sub-divided under the 10th clause of the Native Lands Act, 1865."

Extracts from the Speech of His Honor the Superintendent of Wellington to his Provincial Council, 22nd November, 1869; being those portions bearing upon the judgment given in the Native Lands Court on the re-hearing of the claims of the Ngatiraukawa dissentients to the purchase of the Manawatu-Rangitikei Block.

"I have to bring under your notice once more, the question of the Rangitikei-Manawatu Purchase. After many and vexatious delays, extending over a period of nearly three years, the validity of the purchase has at length been affirmed by the judgment of the Native Lands Court—the highest legal tribunal before which the question could be brought; and the title has been declared extinguished in the regular manner by a notification in the *New Zealand Gazette*.

Gratifying as it is to be able to announce that this valuable block of land will shortly be at the disposal of the Province for colonising purposes, it is not less so to be able to state that after a long and exhaustive investigation before the two ablest Judges of the Land Court, the Manawatu purchase has been completely vindicated, and that the statements thereon, which from time to time I have made to the Council, have been in every particular substantiated and confirmed.

When I last addressed you, I had occasion to comment unfavourably on the decision of the Native Lands Court at Otaki, which I ventured to characterise as 'illogical, inconsequential, and in its practical operation unjust.' You will not fail to observe on perusing the elaborate and interesting judgment of their Honors Messrs. Fenton and Maning, which I have now the pleasure of laying before you, that the terms which I used in reference to the Himatangi case are more than justified by the dictum of the Chief Judge on the broad question of inter-tribal title; and it will scarcely surprise you to be informed that *the block of 5000 acres which was awarded to Parakaia and his hapu by the Otaki Court*, and which he neglected to take up within the period prescribed by the Act—thereby allowing the award to lapse—*reverts to the Crown under the subsequent judgment of the Court*, which excludes the Ngatiraukawa, except the three resident hapus, from the country lying between the Rangitikei and Manawatu rivers.

The decision of the Court is the more satisfactory, considering that it was delivered by *judges specially named by the natives themselves, or those acting for them*; and judges who, from their position and experience, were eminently qualified to adjudicate on so important a case.

To show how complete is the vindication of the purchase, I would point out to you that not only are my published views as to the tribal and territorial status of the Ngatiapa confirmed by the decision on the issues submitted to the Court, but that even in the details of my proposed arrangements with the Ngatiraukawa, the Court has completely endorsed the fairness and justice of my proposals. As I have previously informed the

Council, there was a small number of *bona fide* Ngatiraukawa dissentients to whom I considered it necessary to make an award in land. *To these non-sellers, I proposed giving 6000 acres in full satisfaction of their claims; and it is a significant fact, that omitting the 200 acres awarded to Wiriharai—who was admitted by the Crown as an act of grace—this is the exact aggregate quantity awarded by the Court to the several sections of Ngatiraukawa claimants.* Apart from this, I may mention, that *out of over a thousand claimants, only sixty-two were admitted by the Court, that being the exact number of recognised dissentient claimants whose names were, on a previous occasion, laid before you.* I need hardly assure you that it is very gratifying to me personally to find the whole of my views upheld by the highest native tribunal.

I would also inform you that during my recent visit to Rangitikei, I succeeded in arranging a division of the back-rents, to the apparent satisfaction of the several sections of claimants, who, after four days of fruitless *korero*, consented to leave the matter entirely in my hands.

And I must here acknowledge the readiness with which the present Ministry, in redemption of a pledge of their predecessors, advanced the necessary funds, by way of loan to the Province, to enable me to fulfil my engagement with the natives. The squatters have been called upon to pay up the arrears of rent. If they do so promptly, as I believe and trust they will, I propose, in accordance with the recommendation of a committee of the Council, to protect their interests by adding the value of their improvements to the upset price of the land immediately surrounding their homesteads, as was done in the case of the Lower Manawatu settlers. If, on the other hand, they refuse to meet their engagements, legal proceedings will be at once instituted against them by the Government, and the penal laws will be strictly enforced for illegal occupation. I have so repeatedly borne testimony to the value of the services rendered by Mr. Walter Buller in these protracted negotiations, that I gladly draw your attention to *the high and well deserved tribute paid to him by the honorable the Premier*, for the able manner in which he has fulfilled the difficult and arduous duties entrusted to him.

I hoped that this would have been the last time that I should have occasion to refer to this block, but I regret to inform you that the same parties by whose unprincipled opposition the settlement of this question has been so long delayed, and the peace of the Province so repeatedly jeopardised, are still persisting in their attempts to excite the natives to prevent the survey of the land; for a special messenger arrived a few hours ago with a letter from Mr. Stewart, stating that on arriving at the Oroua, he had been told by the natives not to proceed with the survey. Until these parties find themselves *liable to the pains and penalties of the Disturbed Districts Act*, as I trust they shortly will, it is hopeless to expect them to cease from their vile intrigues. But until I receive advices from Mr. Bailor, I am not inclined to attach much importance to Mr. Stewart's information. We may expect, as soon as the telegraphic communication with Wanganui is re-opened, to be put in possession of the real facts of the case."

Council Taper. Province of Wellington. Session XVIII.

Further Papers Purchase of the Manawatu-Rangitikei Block.

- Notice of Sitting of Native Land Court in Wellington.
- Decision of the Court delivered by His Honor Chief Judge Fenton on the Issues raised.
- Judgment of the Court delivered by His Honor Judge Maning.
- Notice Extinguishing the Native Title over the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block.
- Report of the Land Purchase Commissioner, Dr. Featherston, relative to the Payment of the Rents.
- Letter from the Honorable William Fox, Premier, in reply thereto.

I. Notice of Sitting of Land Court in Wellington.

Whereas by virtue of an Act of the General Assembly of New Zealand intituled "The Native Lands Act, 1867," the Governor may at his discretion refer to the Native Land Court the claim of any person to or any question affecting the title to or interest of any such person inland within the boundaries described in a Deed of Sale to the Crown, bearing date the thirteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and expressed to be a conveyance by Natives entitled to land within the district excepted from the operation of "The Native Lands Act, 1865," by section eight-two thereof. Provided that no claim by, and no question relating to the title or interest of any Native who shall have signed the said Deed of Sale, shall be referred :

And whereas the Governor has by Warrant under his hand dated the twenty-second day of June, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, referred to the Native Land Court all questions affecting the title to or interest of the persons whose names are mentioned in the Schedule hereunder written, : and of all other persons, being persons who have not signed the said Deed of Sale, who may claim with, under, or through them or any of them in land within the boundaries aforesaid:

Notice is hereby given that a sitting of the Native Land Court will beheld at Wellington, on Monday, the

twelfth day of July next, at ten o'clock in the I forenoon, for the purpose of investigating and adjudicating upon the said questions.

F. D. FENTON,
Chief Judge.

Wellington,

30th June, 1862.

SCHEDULE.

- Akapita Te Tewe
- Henere Te Waiatua
- Keremihana Wairaka
- Hare Hemi Taharapi
- Paranihi Te Tau
- Rawiri Wanui
- Pumipi Te Kaka
- Te Kooro Te One
- Wiriharai Te Angiangi
- Te Ara Takana

II. Decision of the Court delivered by His Honor Chief Judge Fenton on the Issues raised.

Native Land Court, Wellington, 23rd August, 1869.

RANGITIKEI-MANAWATU LAND CLAIMS.

The following is the decision of the Court, on the issues, as delivered by His Honor Chief Judge Fenton :—

1. Did Ngatiraukawa, prior to the year 1840, by virtue of the conquest of Ngatiapa by themselves or others through whom they claimed, acquire the dominion over the land in question, or any or what part or parts thereof?

The Court: No.

2. Did that tribe, or any and what *hapus*, acquire, subsequently to conquest thereof, by occupation such a possession over the said land, or any and what part or parts thereof, as would constitute them owners according to Maori custom, and did they, or any, and what *hapus* retain such possession in January, 1840, over the said land or any and what part or parts thereof?

The Court: The words "subsequently to conquest thereof" must be erased. Ngatiraukawa, as a tribe, has not acquired by occupation any rights over the estate. The three *hapus* of Raukawa—Ngatikahoro, Ngatiparewahawaha, and Ngatikauwhata, have, by occupation and with the consent of the Ngatiapa, acquired rights which will constitute them owners according to Maori custom. These *hapus* retain such rights in January, 1840. There is no evidence before the Court which should cause it to limit these rights to any specified piece or pieces of land.

The Court is not quite clear whether the *hapu* Ngatiteihiihi should be also included, and will, if the parties desire, hear further evidence with respect to that *hapu*.

3. Were the rights of Ngatiapa, or any of them, completely extinguished over the said lands, so acquired by conquest and occupation, or over any and what part thereof or did they in January, 1840, have any ownership, according to native custom, over the said land, or any or what part or parts thereof?

The Court: The rights of Ngatiapa were not extinguished, but they were affected in so far as the above three *hapus* have acquired rights.

4. Was such ownership of the Ngatiapa hostile to, independent of, or along with, that of the Ngatiraukawa, or any and what *hapu* or *hapus* thereof?

The Court: The ownership of the above three *hapus* was along with that of the Ngatiapa.

5. Have the Ngatiapa, or any of them, since January, 1840, acquired by occupation or otherwise, any and what ownership, according to Native custom, of the said land so acquired by Raukawa, or of any and what part or parts thereof?

The Court: Docs not require answering.

6. What person, if any, of the said Raukawa tribe (if the said tribe acquired ownership) or what persons of any *hapu* or *hapus* thereof which acquired ownership, if any, over the said land or any part thereof in January, 1840 have not signed or assented to the cession to the Crown of the land owned by them?

The Court: Cannot be answered yet. By Ngatiapa is meant all Ngatiapa, including those persons called half-castes. Rangitane (properly so called) and Ngatiteupokoiri are excluded.

III. Judgment of the Court delivered by His Honor Judge Maning.

Native Land Court, Wellington, 25th September, 1869.

The following judgment of the Court was delivered by His Honor Judge Mailing:—

"This is a claim made by a native named Akapita, for himself and others, to certain lands situated between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers, and which has been referred to the Native Land Court by the Governor, under provisions made to that effect by the "Native Lands Act, 1865."

The claimants ground their title firstly on conquest, stiling that the land in question was conquered from the Ngatiapa tribe, the original possessors, by the Ngatitōa tribe under their chief Te Rauparaha, who subsequently gave, or granted, this land to the Ngatiraukawa tribe, his allies, of which tribe the claimants are members; and secondly, failing the proof of the right by conquest, the claimants claim under any right which it may be proved the Ngatiraukawa tribe, or any section or *hapu* of that tribe, may have acquired, either by occupation or in any other manner.

This claim by Akapita is opposed by the Crown on the grounds that the original owners, the Ngatiapa, have never been conquered, and that the Ngatiraukawa, as a tribe, have not acquired any right or interest whatever in the land; and moreover, that the land claimed by Akapita is now the property of the Crown, having been legally purchased from the right owners.

A great mass of evidence has been taken in this case, from which, after eliminating minor matters and everything which has no very important bearing on the matter for decision, the following facts appear to remain :—

Before the year 1818 and to that date, or thereabouts, the Ngatiapa tribe were possessors of the land in question, its owners by Maori usage and custom, the land being part of the tribal territory or estate.

On or about the above date, the Chief Rauparaha, with the fighting men of his tribe and a party of Ngapuhi warriors, armed with fire-arms, left his settlement at Kawhia and marched to the south with the intention of acquiring by conquest a new territory for himself and tribe. In the course of this expedition he passed through the country of the Ngatiapa, remaining only long enough to ravage the country and drive back to the fastnesses of the mountains the Ngatiapa, who, with some parties of allies or kindred tribes, had attempted resistance, but were at that time obliged to retreat before an enemy armed with fire-arms.

The invaders then passed on to the southward, and after a series of battles, onslaughts, stratagems, and incidents attendant on Maori warfare, but not necessary further to notice here, Te Rauparaha, with the assistance of his Ngapuhi allies, *succeeded in possessing himself of a large territory to the north and south of Otaki, the former possessors of which he had defeated, killed, or driven off.*

After the inroad in which Rauparaha had laid the foundation for a more permanent occupation and conquest, and being therefore, as it would appear, desirous to collect around him as many fighting men as possible—a great object of every Native chief in those days of continual war and violence he returned to Kawhia with the purpose of collecting the remainder of his tribe who had been left at Kawhia, and of inviting the whole tribe of Ngatiraukawa to come and settle on the territory which he had then but partially conquered.

It is to be noticed here that on the return of Rauparaha to Kawhia he was met by the chiefs of the Ngatiapa tribe on their own land, and that upon this occasion friendly relations and peace were established between them, he returning to them some prisoners he had taken in passing through their country when advancing to the southward; presents were also exchanged, and the nephew of Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata, *took to wife with all due formality* a chieftainess of the Ngatiapa tribe called Pikinga, notwithstanding that she had been taken prisoner by himself on the occasion of the first inroad into the Ngatiapa country.

After arriving at Kawhia the Ngapuhi returned to their own country, and need not be again mentioned, as they have not made any claim on account of their alliance with Te Rauparaha on the occasion of the first invasion.

About a year after the return of Rauparaha to Kawhia, he mustered his tribe and some other followers, and taking also the women and children, he again marched for the south, with the intention of permanently occupying and securing the conquest of the lands, which up to this time he had merely overrun.

The effect of the invitation by Te Rauparaha to the Ngatiraukawa tribe to come and settle on his newly

acquired lands was, that soon afterwards strong parties of Raukawa came from time to time to Kapiti, partly to examine the new country which had been offered to them, but chiefly, it would appear, moved by the reports which they had heard that gunpowder and fire-arms were procurable at that place from European traders, who, about that time, had commenced a traffic for flax and other native produce. These parties of Raukawa, on their way south, in passing through the country of the Ngatiapa, killed or took prisoners any stragglers of the Ngatiapa or others whom they met with, and who had lingered imprudently behind in the vicinity of the war track, when the prudent but brave war chief of the Ngatiapa had withdrawn the bulk of the tribe into the fastnesses of the country, whilst these ruthless invaders passed through, being doubtless unwilling to attack the allies of Te Rauparaha, with whom he had wisely made terms of peace and friendship. In passing through the country of the Ngatiapa, these Raukawa parties also took a kind of pro forma, or nominal possession of the land, which, however, would be entirely invalid except as against parties of passing adventurers like themselves who might follow; because the Ngatiapa tribe, though weakened, remained still unconquered, and a considerable proportion of their military force still maintained themselves in independence in the country under their chief, Te Hakeke. But what was no doubt fully as much in favour of the Ngatiapa tribe, and which may probably have been the cause of their not having been eventually subjugated, was the fact already noticed, that Rauparaha, on his return from the north, after having invited the Ngatiraukawa to come down, had made peace with the Ngatiapa, thereby waiving any rights he might have been supposed to claim over their lands; and indeed, from that time, for a long period afterwards, friendly and confidential relations undoubtedly were maintained between Te Rauparaha and his tribe and the tribe of Ngatiapa,—which were only broken off, more by accident than by design of either party, in consequence of a few men of the Ngatiapa having been killed by an attack made by Ngatitua and others on a fort belonging to the Rangitane tribe, in which these Ngatiapa men happened to be staying at the time, and whose death was afterwards avenged by the Ngatiapa—after which peace was again established between them and Te Rauparaha.

To Europeans not much acquainted with the peculiarities of Maori thought and action, the destruction by these passing parties of Ngatiraukawa of individuals of the Ngatiapa tribe—a tribe with whom Rauparaha was then on peaceful and even friendly terms,—their destruction by parties who were not only also allies of Rauparaha, but who were then actually in expectation of receiving from him great benefits in the shape of grants of land, and above all, the opportunity of trading for fire-arms, may appear a strange inconsistency, and not to be reconciled with the fact of the people so treated being in any other position than that of helpless subjection, and not—as has been seen—in alliance with the paramount chief Rauparaha; but to those who know what the state of society (so to call it) was in those days, and have noted the practical consequences arising therefrom, this matter presents no difficulty. The Ngatiraukawa parties would, as a mere matter of course, act as they did without anticipating any reference whatever to the matter by Te Rauparaha, to whom they were bringing what he most wanted, a large accession of physical force, and who would not therefore have quarrelled with them at this time for such a small matter as the destruction of a few individuals, no matter who they were, provided they were not of his own particular tribe. *It was the pride and pleasure of Raukawa to hunt and kill all helpless stragglers whom they might fall in with;—it was customary under the circumstances, and being able also to do it with impunity, they were, according to the morality and policy of those times, quite within rule in doing so.* As for the Ngatiapa tribe themselves, they would not at all blame the Ngatiraukawa in the sense of their having done anything wrong; being Maori themselves, they would appreciate the circumstances of the case, knowing that they themselves would have done the same if in the same position. They would also fully understand the reason why the paramount chief Rauparaha could not notice the matter, and that in fact the Ngatiraukawa had done nothing to be considered as wrong or out of order, but only something to be returned in kind and with interest at some future day, provided that the Ngatiapa should ever be able, and that it would be good policy in them to do so when the opportunity afforded. I have made these remarks, which are applicable to the actions and proceedings of all the different Raukawa parties when on their way south to join Te Rauparaha at Kapiti, for the purpose of showing that no acts of the Ngatiraukawa tribe previous to the arrival of their whole force at Kapiti, whether by *killing or enslaving individuals of the Ngatiapa, or by taking a merely formal possession of any of their lands*, did give them (the Ngatiraukawa), any rights of any kind whatever over the lands of the Ngatiapa tribe according to any Maori usage or custom.

It should be noted here, that on the first coming of Rauparaha on his expedition of conquest, he found living amongst the Ngatiapa a party of Rangitane, a tribe whose proper tribal lands were adjacent to, but distinct from, those of the Ngatiapa. These people, upon the second coming of Rauparaha on his return from the north, were still there, and they, in confederation with some other people of the Muaupoko tribe, did by means of a treacherous stratagem very nearly succeed in killing Te Rauparaha, who barely escaped by flight, leaving four of his children and all, or very nearly all of his companions dead at the place where they were attacked. This affair occurred immediately after Rauparaha had made peace formally with the Ngatiapa tribe, who, it is in evidence, had warned him against the treacherous design of the Rangitane and others; notwithstanding which

they very nearly succeeded in ridding themselves of the most dangerous of all their enemies, Te Rauparaha—famous himself for wiles and stratagems—and who, it is pertinent to the matter in hand to remark, either conquered by force or made tools of by policy, or destroyed by treachery, almost every one he came into contact with. The Ngapuhi warriors, strong in warlike ability, doubly strong in being armed with fire-arms, he made use of to conquer for him a great territory, and then dismissed them, paying them for their great services with friendly flattering words, a few prisoners, and some insignificant presents. *The Ngatiapa he spared and made friends with, and even allowed to purchase fire-arms at Kapiti, evidently with the purpose of using this tribe as a check upon his friends the Ngatiraukawa, who were much superior to his own tribe in numbers, and who in their turn were to be pitted against the numerous enemies by whom he was surrounded, and who had become so in consequence of his recent conquests. The effect, however, of the nearly successful attempt by the Rangitane, as regarded themselves, was to prevent Te Rauparaha from extending to them the same favorable consideration which he had done to the Ngatiapa, and to cause him to pursue them with persistent and vindictive warfare, slaughtering a great proportion of their fighting men, breaking their military force, and driving them from place to place whenever opportunity offered, during which operations we lose sight of them on this block; and when we afterwards find a small company of people called 'Rangitane,' settled unopposed and apparently in a permanent manner at Puketotara, just within the country of the Ngatiapa, and not far from the boundary of the proper tribal estate of the Rangitane tribe, we find on investigation that these people are called 'half-castes,' or children of inter-marriages between members of the Ngatiapa and Rangitane tribes, and who, there is no doubt, owed their undisturbed possession to their Ngatiapa blood. I am therefore of opinion that in the decision to be given as to the ownership of the whole block, these people holding land within the Ngatiapa boundaries by virtue of their Ngatiapa blood, and for that reason unopposed by the Ngatiapa, should be held to be members of the Ngatiapa tribe and have all the rights which may accrue to them from that position, and that when the Ngatiapa tribe is spoken of for the purposes of the decision in this case, it shall be understood to include these Rangitane half-castes.*

For the sake of brevity and perspicuity, I have avoided as much as possible recurring to many minute circumstances, seeing that the questions under consideration can be decided, as far as the Court can decide them on the evidence adduced, on broader considerations, which are more easily understood. I now therefore pass at once to the time, about the year 1829, when we at last find the whole emigration of the Ngatiraukawa tribe arrived and settled about Kapiti, Waikanae, and the immediately adjacent country.

The whole Ngatiraukawa emigration having arrived, it appears that they did not immediately disperse themselves over the conquered country, but remained for about three years in the vicinity of Otaki, Waikanae, and Kapiti, where they employed themselves in manufacturing flax, and producing other commodities for sale to the European traders for gunpowder and fire-arms, without which they could not count on being able to establish themselves on their allotted lands; but, having at last accomplished this object, the different sections of the tribe separated, and each section went to, and took possession of, and settled on, that particular portion or district of the conquered country which had been granted or allotted to them by the paramount chief Rauparaha.

During the above period of time, between the arrival of the Ngatiraukawa tribe and its final occupation in sections of the different districts allotted to them, it appears that the Ngatiapa had also, with the full consent of Rauparaha, and the active assistance of the chief Rangihaeata, made the most of the time in arming themselves with fire-arms, which, it would appear, they succeeded in doing to fully as great an extent as their means of purchasing allowed, and probably to fully as great an extent as the Ngatiraukawa had been able to do. This fact has a very significant though indirect bearing on the questions at issue, as it seems evident that had Rauparaha intended to depress or subjugate the Ngatiapa tribe, he would on no account have allowed, or offered facilities, to their war chief Hakeke in coining to Kapiti with parties of his young men to procure those arms, which, were it not for the friendly relations subsisting between them, *would have made the Ngatiapa formidable even to Te Rauparaha himself. The policy, however, of Te Rauparaha has been evidently, from the beginning, after having made the Ngatiapa feel his power, to elevate and strengthen them as a check on his almost too numerous friends the Ngatiraukawa, who, were it not that they were bound to him by a great common danger, created by himself in placing them on lately conquered lands, he would never have trusted.* He has also evidently had the purpose, and succeeded in it, after having made peace with his enemies in the south, who were not likely to attack him again, to set up both tribes, Ngatiraukawa and Ngatiapa, as a barrier against his far more dangerous enemies in the north.

There, however, is *no evidence at all to show* that Rauparaha, in granting or allotting lands to the different sections of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, *did ever give or grant to them any lands within the boundaries of the Ngatiapa possessions, between the rivers Rangitikei and Manawatu, or elsewhere; to have done which would have been clearly inconsistent with the relations then subsisting between himself and the Ngatiapa tribe, over whose lands he had never claimed or exercised the rights of a conqueror; and, moreover, the Ngatiapa, a fierce and sturdy race, were on the land, no longer unarmed, but well provided with those weapons, the want of which*

had, on the occasion of the first invasion, reduced their warriors to seek reluctantly the shelter of the mountain or the forests. It is however sufficient that we have the fact, that, influenced by whatever motives, *Te Rauparaha did not at any time give or grant any lands of the Ngatiapa estate, between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers, to the Ngatiraukawa tribe, nor is there any evidence to shew that he had ever acquired the right to do so.* It is however a fact, that soon after the year 1835 we find three distinct *hapu* of the Ngatiraukawa tribe settled peaceably and permanently on the Ngatiapa lands, between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers, unopposed by the Ngatiapa, on alliance and friendship with them, claiming rights of ownership over the lands they occupy, and exercising those rights, sometimes independently of the Ngatiapa, and sometimes conjointly with them; joining with the Ngatiapa in petty war expeditions; 'eating out of the same basket;' 'sleeping in the same bed,' as some of the witnesses say, and quarrelling with each other, and, on the only occasion on which the disagreement resulted in the loss of one life, making peace with each other like persons who, depending much on each other's support, cannot afford to carry hostilities against each other to extremity, and who therefore submit to the first politic proposals of their chiefs for an accommodation. Upon investigation of the causes which brought about this state of tilings, with the view of ascertaining what was *the real status or position of the three Raukawa hapu on the land*, we find that they did not make their settlement on the lands of the Ngatiapa by virtue of any claim of conquest, or any grant from Rauparaha, or by any act of demonstration of warlike powers by themselves; but it is in evidence, which from all the surrounding circumstances seems perfectly credible, that two at least of these Raukawa *hapu*, namely, Ngatiparewahawaha and Ngatikahoro, were simply invited to come by the Ngatiapa themselves, and were placed by them in a position which, by undoubted Maori usage, entailed upon the incomers very important rights, though not the rights of conquerors. The third *hapu*, the Ngatikauwhata, appears to have come in under slightly different circumstances. The lands allotted them by Rauparaha were on the south side of the Manawatu river, the lands of the Ngatiapa were on the north, and to quote the very apt expression of one of the witnesses *they stretched the grant of Rauparaha and came over the river*; the facts appearing in reality to have been that they made a quiet intrusion on to the lands of the Ngatiapa, but offering no violence, lest by so doing they should offend Rauparaha, as under the then existing established relations between the tribes, to do so would have been a very different affair to the killing of the stragglers they met with several years before, on the occasion of their first coming into the country. The Ngatiapa, on their part, for very similar reasons, did not oppose the intrusion, *but making a virtue apparently of what seemed very like a necessity, they bade the Ngatikauwhata welcome*; and soon entered into the same relations of friendship and alliance with them which they had entered into with the other two sections of Raukawa. That this was the true state of the case seems very certain, for in those times of rapine, violence, and war, when men could only preserve their lives, and the trifling amount of property which under such a state of things could exist, by a constant exhibition of military strength, it is well known to the Court that all chiefs of tribes, and all tribes, particularly such as were, *like the Ngatiapa, not very numerous*, were at all times eager, by any means, to increase their numerical strength; and that, much as they valued their lands, they valued fighting men more, and were at all times ready and willing to barter a part of their territorial possessions for an accession of strength, and to *welcome and endow with lands parties of warlike adventurers like the Ngatiraukawa*, who would, for the sake of those lands, enter into alliance with them, and make common cause in defending their mutual possessions. In exactly this position we find these three Raukawa *hapu*, in a position which gives them (by Maori custom) well known and recognised rights in the soil. Those who, living on the soil, have assisted in defending it,—who making a settlement, either invited or unopposed by the original owners, have afterwards entered into an alliance with them, and performed the duties of allies,—*acquire the status and rights of ownership, more or less precise or extensive, according to the circumstances of the first settlement*, and to what the subsequent events may have been. But be the motives of the Ngatiapa whatever they were for inviting or not opposing the settlement of these three Raukawa *hapu*, the fact remains that we find them in a position, and doing acts, giving or proving that they had acquired, according to Maori usage and custom, rights which the Court recognises by this judgment; that is to say, firstly, that the three Ngatiraukawa *hapu*—called respectively Ngatikahoro, Ngatiparewahawaha, and Ngatikauwhata, have acquired rights which constitute them owners, according to Maori usage and custom, along with the Ngatiapa tribe in the block of land, the right to which has been the subject of this investigation.

Secondly, that the quantity and situation of the land to which the individuals of the above-named Ngatiraukawa sections who have not sold or transferred their rights and the conditions of tenure are described in the following order.

And the Court finds also that the Ngatiraukawa tribe has not, as a tribe, acquired any right, title, interest, or authority in or over the block of land which has been the subject of this investigation."

In the Native Land Court, Wellington, New Zealand,—Saturday, this 25th day of September, A.D., 1869.

It is ordered that a certificate of land shall be issued for the following blocks of land, viz. :—

as marked in the survey plan before the Court, all of which blocks shall be inalienable by sale for the period

of 21 years from the date of this order; provided that within six months a map of the whole block, on which the position of these blocks shall be accurately represented from actual survey made on the land, shall be delivered to the Chief Judge of the Native Lands Court; and provided also that if it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Chief Judge of the Native Lands Court that the survey has been prevented by force, then, in that case, the Court, by virtue of the discretion which is given by the Native lands Act, 1865, will dispense with the survey, but on no other account will the survey be dispensed with.

[L.S.] By the Court,
W. R. E. BROWN;
Acting Clerk of the Court.

- LIST A.—NGATIKAUWHATA.—36 names.
- LIST B.—5 names.
- LIST C.—NGATIPAREWAHAWAHA AND NGATIKAHORO.—20 names.
- LIST D.—Wiriharai Te Angiangi.

(L. S.) These are the lists referred to in the annexed order of Court.

W. R. E. BROWN,
Acting Clerk of the Court.

IV.—Notice extinguishing the Native Title over the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Wellington, 16th October, 1869.

It is hereby notified, that the Native Title has been extinguished over the Block of Land whereof the boundaries are described in the Schedule hereto, subject to the exceptions therein specified.

W. GISBORNE,
Colonial Secretary.

Province of Wellington, District of Manawatu. Rangitikei-Manawatu Block; estimated to contain 220,000 acres.

Bounded on the north by the Rangitikei river, from its mouth to the Waitapu Creek, thence on the east by a direct line from the mouth of the Waitapu creek to Te Umutoi, the north-western point of the Ahuaturanga, Upper Manawatu Block; thence on the east and south-east by the Oroua river to its junction with the Manawatu river; thence by the Manawatu river to Pakengahau; and thence by the northern boundary of the Awahou Block to Kai-Iwi; and thence by the sea-coast to the mouth of the Rangitikei river, the commencing point.

There are excluded from the said block the lands comprised within the following boundaries, as shown in the plan filed in the Native Land Court, and referred to in the order of the said Land Court made on the 25th day of September, A.D. 1869, at Wellington, in reference to claims of certain natives to land in the said block, that is to say—

V. Report of the Land Purchase Commissioner, Dr. Featherston, relative to the payment of the Rents.

Wellington, 5th November, 1869.

"SIR,—

"I have the honor to inform you of the result of my recent visit to Rangitikei for the purpose of paying the rents due from the squatters to the natives.

The total amount due up the 30th September was £4699, This was to be divided between the Ngatiapa and Rangitane Tribes, and three Ngatiraukawa *hapus* of Ngatikauwhata, Ngatiparewahawaha, and Ngatikahoro.

The natives after discussing the distribution for several days, came to the conclusion that there was little or no chance of their coming to any agreement amongst themselves, and on Thursday afternoon, the 17th October, unanimously resolved to leave the apportionment to me, pledging themselves to abide by *my* decision, the three Ngatiraukawa *hapus* stipulating that they should be regarded as one *hapu*.

Having previously carefully considered the matter I made the following award in the course of an hour, viz :—

This award seemed to give very general if not universal satisfaction. Of the £550 awarded to the Rangitane,

£300 was given in redemption of a promise made by the Ngatiapas that that amount should be deducted from their share of the rents and handed over to the Rangitane, in consequence of the latter not having received from the former a fair share of the purchase money of the block.

The following day was spent by the three Ngatiraukawa *hapus* in wrangling about the division of their £1600, but in the evening they decided to leave the matter in my hands. The difficulty of the division in this case was very materially increased by the *hapus* having received from the government and squatters considerable advances, amounting to £476 10., which I insisted upon deducting. I found that I could only get over this difficulty by adding another £100 to the award of £1600.

Of this £1700 I awarded £900 to the Ngatikauwhata, and £800 to the Ngatiparewahawaha and Ngatikahoro; they expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with this division.

From the enclosed receipts it will be seen that I paid to the Ngatikauwhata in cash £604 10., to the other two Raukawa *hapus* £619, to the Rangitane £525, and to the Ngatiapas £751 10s., making in the whole £2500, being the amount advanced me by the General Government.

There still remains a balance due to the Ngatiapas of £1623 10s., which I have undertaken to pay in the course of this month, or as soon as they have appointed chiefs to receive it.

Some of the squatters will, I think, pay up what they owe within the time specified in the Attorney-General's Circular.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your most obedient Servant,

I. E. FEATHERSTON.

"The Honorable WM. FOX,

"&c., &c., &c.

"P.S.—The statement of rent may not be in every case strictly correct, but there cannot be any material error."

VI. Letter from the Honorable William Fox, Premier, in reply thereto.

Wellington, 6th November, 1869.

"Sir,—

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Honor's letter of the 5th instant, reporting the result of your recent visit to Rangitikei for the purpose of paying the rents due from the squatters to the natives.

The Government cannot permit this opportunity to pass without expressing its sense of the great ability with which you have conducted, to a successful issue, the long protracted and most difficult negotiations which have now happily terminated in the acquisition, for colonising purposes, of one of the most valuable districts in the Colony.

The Government is not ignorant that the difficulties of the transaction have been greatly enhanced by an *unprincipled* and harrassing *opposition*, but for which the Native title might have long ago been declared extinguished.

It is most satisfactory to know that *the judgment of the highest legal tribunal before which the case could be tried, has, after a most exhaustive investigation, sustained in every particular the rectitude of the course pursued by you, as well as the correctness of the conclusions at which you arrived on the question of the native title*

The Government has also to request that you will convey to Mr Walter Buller, R.M., who has assisted you through the whole of this transaction, its sense of the able manner in which he appears to have fulfilled the difficult and arduous duties entrusted to him.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your most obedient Servant.

"WILLIAM FOX.

"His Honor I. E. FEATHERSTON,

"Land Purchase Commissioner, &c., &c., &c."

Copy of judgment given by Judge Rogan, at Cambridge, which excludes Ngatiraukawa from participating in the ownership of the lands of their fathers, on account of migration to Cook's Strait, from 40 to 50 years ago.

The Court then proceeded to give the following judgment on the claims to Pukekura, Maungatautari, and Puahue :—

"The claims preferred by the Ngatiraukawa tribe, who reside at Otaki, to the land called Pukekura and Maungatautari, containing respectively 8393 acres and 5491 acres, having been formally abandoned by Parakaia in Court, on Saturday last, certificates will be ordered in favor of Te Raihi, &c., &c., (here follow the names) for the block of land called Maungatautari.

With regard to Parakaia's application for an adjournment of the hearing of Puahue, after all the claimants and counter-claimants had been heard, it may be stated that an offer was made to Parakaia to adjourn the Maungatautari cases, if he and his people would return to Rangitikei; but this he declined to accept. This application, therefore, cannot now, after hearing, be admitted. The reason now assigned by him is not, in the opinion of the Court, sufficient reason for granting the application.

The claimants to Puahue acknowledge that the land formerly belonged to Ngatiraukawa, who left the district about 40 years ago, in consequence of continual war between the Ngatimaru and Ngatiraukawa tribes; subsequently Ngatimaru occupied the district, and a war ensued between the Ngatihaua and Ngatimaru tribes, which resulted in the defeat of the latter tribe, who returned to the Thames, and the country has been held by Ngatihaua to the present time. This claim is, therefore, simply of right acquired by conquest followed by constant occupation.

The counter-claimants' title to the land is derived from their ancestors. They state that they were not driven from the country, also that they were invited to return from Kapiti and re-occupy their lands by the Wherowhero and other Waikato chiefs.

It is undisputed that the Ngatiraukawa tribe left the district, that Ngatimaru took possession, and were expelled by Ngatihaua and Waikato tribes. It is also clear that the Ngatiraukawa, as a tribe, did not avail themselves of the alleged invitation of Wherowhero, as they still remain in occupation of the land to which they have migrated.

They now request the Native Lands Court to give them re-possession, but the Court considers that a tribe having conquered and having undisputed possession of a district for many years previous to the foundation of the colony, and up to the present time, are, according to native custom and justice, entitled to be recognised as the proprietors of the land. The decision of the Court is therefore in favor of the claimants.

A certificate of title will be issued in favor of—(here follow the names)."

Papers relating to Horowhenua disturbance. (Being a return to an order of the House of Representatives, No. 44, of the 4th October, 1871.) No. 24.

Matene Te Whiwhi to the Hon. D. McLean. Court House, Otaki, 24th May, 1870.

"TO MR. MCLEAN,—

"We lay this letter before you, the Minister for Native affairs. Salutations to you. We now write to inform you of our affliction and our distress, on account of the evil acts of Kawana Hunia, who is always defying us and provoking us. He has left the other side of Manawatu, and from thence to Rangitikei, and has come across to this side; he is in the midst of us, stirring up strife and defying us. Now, O you, the Government, consider what this man is doing. The Ngatiapa claims were confined to the other side of Manawatu by the decision of the Native Land Court, which sat at Otaki in February, 1868; also by the decision of the Court at Wellington, in July 1869, the rights of Ngatiapa were fixed to be on the other side of Manawatu.

Now the old boundary at Tauteruru, which was fixed by the old men who are dead, namely, Te Rauparaha and party, and Te Whatanui and party, as the boundary for Muaupoko, has been abandoned by (Kawana Hunia), and Kawana Hunia and Muaupoko are building houses on the land of old Te Whatanui. His wife, Tauteka lies buried in that very land, Horowhenua.

This is a word from us and from the tribe to you, to request you to do something in the matter of the acts of Kawana, and the Muaupoko, so that they may retire to the other side of the boundary and to their own old pa. Do not allow them to remain on the disputed land, let it be left to be inquired into by the Native Land Court, so that the disputes may be settled.

There is also another important subject for you to consider, namely, the bringing of guns by Kawana Hunia, and the Ngatiapa to Horowhenua. They were brought from Rangitikei on the 21st April, 1870. This was done

by Ngatiapa and Muaupoko to stir up strife, so that the Ngatiraukawa and Ngatitōa might become engaged. But Ngatiraukawa and Ngatitōa did not act on that evil device of Kawana Hunia and his tribes. The bringing of those guns from Rangitikei by Kawana Hunia and his tribe was seen by many. Those guns belong to you, to the Government. They were issued by the Government to Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko, to be used in fighting against Ngatiruanui. Let an order be issued for those guns to be taken to Wanganui, and deposited in the Government store, for it is through his having possession of those guns that Kawana Hunia is so arrogant.

Those are all our words to you, that is to say, to the great Government of New Zealand.

In testimony of the correctness of our writing to you, our names are hereunto affixed.

"MATENE TE WHIWHI,
"and 36 others."

No. 27. *Wiremu Pomare to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Otaki, 4th July, 1870.

"TO MR. MCLEAN,—

"Friend,—Salutations to you. I have been to different parts of Waikanae and Otaki, to hear what these tribes had to say about Horowhenua. They have given up the arrangement in respect of that land to me. On the 25th June I went to Horowhenua to see Muaupoko, and to talk with them quietly, that is to say, in accordance with the law, so that the boundaries of that land may be properly decided upon. The boundary arranged by Te Whatanui and Tauweki, was Tauteruru. That was the boundary fixed long ago. I said to them 'that is the boundary I consider should be between the tribes.' They did not approve of it. I then, to mollify them, shifted the boundary line back four chains. Then they did not approve. They said that when Hunia comes then it can be settled. To this I agreed; so I am delaying the matter that an amicable settlement may be arrived at. That is all.

"Your loving friend,

"WIREMU POMARE."

No. 29. (Telegram.) *Major Kemp to the Hon. Mr. Fox.*

Wanganui Station, 19th September, 1870.

"I have heard that Ngatiraukawa and Ngatitōa are about proceeding to subdivide the land at Horowhenua. Do you write to those tribes not to do so at the present time, lest trouble should arise amongst us, and the negotiations with the King party be interfered with, and that we may be free to define a policy relative to the King movements, either of peace or war.

"MAJOR KEMP."

No. 30. *Hunia Te Hakeke to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Rangitikei, 22nd September, 1870.

"TO MR. MCLEAN,—

"SIR,—Salutations to you, and your colleague, Mr. Fox. I wish to tell you that I am very sore because my people are being jumped upon by the Ngatiraukawa at Horowhenua; they have the impertinence to lay off their boundary. Friend, that place will lead to trouble, they are acting as presumptuously as they are at Rangitikei, where they are driving off the Government Surveyors. If any man of the Muaupoko is touched by the Ngatiraukawa, Te Kepa and I will turn our eyes in that direction.

Friend, issue a notice warning Surveyors not to go to Horowhenua. Leave this dispute to the Maoris, so that when the evil comes to ahead, it will be all right, for the evil will be confined to the Maoris. That is all.

"Your friend,

"HUNIA TE HAKEKE."

No. 32. *Heta Te Whatamahoe and others to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Horowhenua, 28th October, 1870.

"To MR MCLEAN AND THE GOVERNMENT,—

"Salutations to you. This is a word of ours to you. Do not pay attention to what Pomare may say about the boundary which he has interfered to lay off through our land at Horowhenua. You should consider that man's land is at Te Aupouri. We are not willing to accept his ruling with reference to our land. Give heed. We are not willing that our land should be dealt with by the European law, lest the trouble should fall upon the Europeans. Remember, Waitara land was the cause of that trouble, and as this land is held under our Maori *mana*, if trouble should arise it will be confined to Maoris. We are not willing that Europeans should come here to survey. That is all.

"Your friends,

"HETA TE WHATAMAHOE,

"And others, and all the Muaupoko."

No. 36. *Nerihana Te Paea to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Otaki, 27th January, 1871.

"This is what Nerihana Te Paea has to say about the breaking of the fence, the pulling up of the seed of Nerihana and others who live at Mahoenui.

In December, 1870, the clearing was set on fire; it was planted and fenced at the same time; there are about four acres of it; it has not been measured.

On the 11th January, when the plants had grown about six inches from the ground, Muaupoko came early in the morning, about three o'clock a.m., and broke down the fence; twenty men of the Muaupoko came with sticks and hatchets in their hands; they found Ropiha and Tuapeti there; they pulled up the potatoes.

Ropiha said, 'Do you wish to teach us that sort of work?' Muaupoko replied, 'What is that to Muaupoko.' But we have repaired the damage to the potatoes, and they are growing again; but if they return, trouble may arise, for we may not *he* able to keep our tempers from year to year, as they are constantly trying us. This is to warn the Government, so that it will not be able to say that we acted hastily. This is all.

"From your loving friend,

"NERIHANA TE PAEA.

"Witnesses—"Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Raperere, Te Mahirohi."

Enclosure in No. 37.

Horowhenua, 28th June, 1871.

"To OHAU, WAIKAWA, OTAKI, AND TO ALL THE NGATIRAUKAWAS.

"Friends—Salutations. You hearken. On the 28th of the present June, my house at Rataroa was burnt. We were in that house, also Tamati, Heteriki, and Rawiri, and their wives and children. We were dragged out of the house. It was To Keepa who set fire to the house, with Hunia and Mohi, also the Muaupoko, ten in number. The war party were armed with guns. We were dragged out, which is the reason of our being alive to-day. Well, now, friends, on the 28th we were dragged out and saved. On the 29th on to the 30th, and continuing onto July, Hunia may be setting on fire, when I shall be burnt in my house.

Under these circumstances, friends, what am I to do concerning this kind of injury from man? Hasten your word to us at an early day, as Hunia remains to continue his work. That is all.

"From your friend,

"TE WHATENE TIWAEWAE.

No. 38, (Telegram).Mr. W. Buller to the Hon. Mr. Fox.

Wanganui Station, 30th June, 1871.

"Just received telegram from Ihakara, of Manawatu, of which the following is a translation :—'Your men, Kemp and Kawana Hunia, have arrived at Horowhenua; they have burnt down the houses of—; Ngatiraukawa, and Ngatiapa, have gone back to fetch guns. Send word to the Magistrates of Manawatu to stop the guns lest there be trouble. From Ihakara Tukumarū.

"W. BULLER, R.M."

No. 39, (Telegram).Matene Te Whiwhi to the Hon. D. McLean.

Otaki, 30th June, 1871.

"This is a word to you. The house belonging to Te Watene and his companions has been burnt by Hunia and Te Keepa at Horowhenua. They came there with their guns. The persons who were in the house were only saved by being dragged out. This matter has made the Raukawa very much distressed. What is to be done? Please send us word.

"MATENE TE WHIWHI,

Otaki.

[REPLY.]

30th June, 1871.

"To M. TE WHIWHI, OTAKI.

"It is natural that you should feel distressed on account of this work of burning the house. I think the matter should be taken before the judicial tribunal, so that the proceedings of Hunia and Te Keepa may be properly inquired into.

"DONALD MCLEAN.

No. 43, (Telegram).The Hon. D. McLean to Mr. J. A. Knocks.

Napier Station, 2nd July, 1871.

"Can you tell me where Kemp and Hunia are, and what are the Muaupoko doing at Horowhenua?"

"DONALD MCLEAN.

No. 44, (Telegram).Mr. J. A. Knocks to the Hon. D. McLean.

Otaki Station, 2nd July, 1871.

"Kemp and Hunia, I am informed, are still at Horowhenua. A part only of the Muaupoko are taking part with Hunia and Kemp, the others side more or less with the Ngatiraukawa. Hunia has a strong determination not to allow the Ngatiraukawa to have any claim to the Horowhenua district, and is prepared to prevent occupation of the disputed land by force of arms. They have built a war pa, and keeping military guard. I do not think anything serious will come of it.

"J. A. KNOCKS.

No. 45, (Telegram). *The Hon. D. McLean to Matene Te Whiwhi.*

Napier, 2nd July, 1871.

"Matene—I have written a letter to Te Keepa and Hunia, telling them they are not to fight. I am waiting for their answer. I want to know where they are living, whether at Horowhenua or elsewhere. Be clear in managing this dispute.

"DONALD MCLEAN.

No. 47. *Na Parakaia Tokoroa to Mr. Halse.*

Otaki, 3rd July, 1871.

"To MR. HALSE.

"Friend,—Salutations. I and Ihakara have been to inquire concerning Kawana Hunia's house burning. Te Keepa informed us that Kawana Hunia was the cause of that house burning; but the building of the war pa was by his (Te Keepa's) direction.

Our word to Te Keepa and others (present here), the Ngatiraukawa will not submit quietly to injury. When you actually kill a person, perhaps they will submit, but this kind of offence will be placed in the hands of the law to look into.

"NA PARAKAIA TOKOROA.

No. 48, (Telegram). *Major Edwards to the Hon. D. Bell.*

Otaki, 4th July, 1871.

"Much ill feeling between Ngatiapa and Ngatiraukawa. The latter have determined to bring the case of house burning against Hunia and Te Horo before the Resident Magistrate in Wellington. Hunia boasts he will take the land and hold it by force of arms. I hope to be able to persuade them to refer the matter to the Native Lands Court, as the only successful way of settling the difficulty.

"J. T. EDWARDS.

No. 51. *Na Meiha and others to Major Edwards.*

Horowhenua, 6th July, 1871.

"To EDWARDS,—

"Salutations. Your letter has been received. Well, you need not have any anxiety about my intentions, because you have heard our thoughts expressed. Rather we will continue to wait for the consent about the boundaries :—that the disputed boundaries are to be left unoccupied. Enough, we will be steadfast in our thoughts, we will not act contrary to the talk we had together. Enough.

"From your friend,

"NA MEIHA
"KEEPA TE TAITOKO
"KI TE URU
"NA HUNIA HAKEKE.

"A word omitted. If the Ngatiraukawa do not consent to the arrangement about the boundaries, I suppose that will put an end to the purpose you came for."

"Forwarded for the information of the Hon. the Native Minister.

"J. T. EDWARDS, R.M."

No. 52. *The Hon. D. McLean to Major Kemp.*

Napier, 8th July, 1871.

"It will be right for both you and Kawana Hunia to respect the law, so that the people may be saved.

"DONALD MCLEAN.

The Hon. D. McLean to Matene Te Whiwhi.

Napier, 8th July, 1871.

"I have telegraphed to Te Keepa and Hunia, to leave it for the law to settle this dispute—that is, for the chiefs of the Maori and Pakeha. Be strong, so that the people may be saved.

"DONALD MCLEAN.

No. 55. (Extract from a Letter.) *Major Edwards to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Wellington, 10th July, 1871.

"That Ngatiapa is much better armed than Ngatiraukawa, added to the wish of the latter to keep the peace and trust to the law alone for protection, has been the cause of their remaining passive under the great provocation they have received.

I have, &c., &c.,

"J. T. EDWARDS, R.M..

The Hon. Native Minister, Wellington.

No. 79. *Ihakara Tukumarū to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Tererengaohau, 29th July, 1871.

"To Mr. MCLEAN,

"Salutations to you. Friend, it will be good for you to come and settle this dispute, and also to speak to these persons, Hunia and Te Keepa, who are living in the midst of Ngatiraukawa, and causing trouble amongst the Ngatiraukawa. You have perhaps forgotten your word about the Ngatiraukawa Reserve. Friend, take away the arms belonging to the Government; do not leave them in their possession to do evil with; they do nothing but curse Ngatiraukawa. You have heard the curse of Te Peeti for the chiefs of Ngatiraukawa. The curse is, 'That the bones of Te Whatanui should be dug up and thrown into the Horowhenua Lake.' You understand the

Native custom relating to curses. You have these persons tried by the law; do not leave them here to bring about war, and sin against God. That is all.

"From your affectionate friend,

"IHAKARA TUKUMARU.

No. 80. *Major Kemp to the Hon. D. McLean.*

(Forwarded through Mr. Woon, R.M.)

Horowhenua, 30th July 1871.

"RICHARD WOON,—

"Salutations to you. I have arrived at my home at Horowhenua. Upon my arrival I found that the Ngatiraukawa had taken possession of this place—that is to say, Te Ropiha, Te Matene, and Te Whiti. They have left Mahoenui. This is another place in dispute; this place is three miles from Horowhenua, but now they have come to the Horowhenua Lake, and are taking it away. Hunia seeing this set fire to our houses. The reason Hunia set fire to the houses was owing to his anger respecting our land, which he wanted to take away from us. I endeavored to prevent Hunia from this, but he would not listen to me. Owing to this, I am remaining quiet during these days, waiting to see what steps Ngatiraukawa are going to take. I shall not come. I have sent word to Hunia to return; but he will not listen. Sufficient. You send my words to Mr. McLean.

"From MAJOR KEMP."

No. 96, (Telegram). *Mr. Clarke to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Otaki Station, 26th August, 1871.

"I have just returned from Foxton. There are only two pas; one at Horowhenua, the other at Poroutawhao, which were built before I came into the district. Watene is building a large house, which I believe is intended for a pa, but I think I have succeeded in stopping its completion. There is not so much excitement as there was a week ago. If I could only get Watene to leave Horowhenua, the Natives would quiet down, as he is a cause of irritation to Hunia and Kemp.

"M. CLARKE.

No. 97. *Te Watene Te Kaharanga to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Horowhenua, 28th August, 1871.

"To Mr. MCLEAN,

"Friend,—Salutations to you. I have heard that you have received a letter from Kawana Hunia, asking that I should be sent away from Horowhenua. Listen! I shall not go away from Horowhenua, as I am not a near claimant for that land, neither am I an evil-disposed man. I am a peaceable person; and I don't want to have anything to do with the work of Te Keepa and Kawana Hunia. Friend, Mr. McLean, that is all on this subject.

This is another subject. After you received my letter about the burning of the houses at Koutouroa, Kawana Hunia came to you, and handed the land over to you, so that it might be investigated. Hearken! I have lived for several years at Horowhenua; and there is no cause why this land should be investigated. All that I wish to have investigated are my houses alone—those burnt by Te Keepa and Hunia.

"This is all I have to say to you.

"From your friend,

"TE WATENE TE KAHARANGA.

No. 98. *Hohuate Te Ruirui to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Otaki, 28th August, 1871.

"To Mr. MCLEAN, Native Minister,—

"Salutations to you. This is a word to you in reply to what you asked, namely, that Te Watene should come from Horowhenua (*i.e.*, go away). Now, this is the word of all Ngatiraukawa. It will not be possible to move Te Watene from Horowhenua; let him remain there. Let Muaupoko also remain on their portion at Horowhenua. But the right thing is for Hunia and Te Keepa to go away from Horowhenua. It is not right for these mischievous persons to remain at Horowhenua. But let the Government be strong in asking these persons who carry guns, build pas, burn houses, and cause all evils, by their thoughts, to move.

"From your people,

"HOHUATE TE RUIRUI.

No. 107. (Telegram). *Mr. R. W. Woon and others to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Wanganui Station, 15th September, 1871.

"Left Horowhenua on the 3rd instant; arrived here on the 13th. On arrival, found Wanganui and Ngarauru natives had returned home, except some chiefs. Were some time on the road, calming minds of natives, as directed by you. We have settled about going to Wellington. Meeting of Wanganui, Ngatiapa, Mongawhero, Ngarauru, and Apokoiri, have agreed to this. On Meti's return from up river, principal chiefs will be chosen to go to Wellington—30 or 40 in number. Will the Assembly be long sitting? When will it be over? Please reply to-day for my consideration.

"From KAWANA HUNIA

"MAJOR KEMP

"R. W. WOON, R.M.

The Hon. D. McLean, Wellington.

No. 109. (Telegram). *Mr. R. W. Woon and others to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Wanganui Station, 15th September, 1871.

"Yesterday saw Karanama Whakakeke and Okapita Te Tewe's letter, to effect that Watene would be kept at Horowhenua by Matene Te Whiwhi and 200 of the Ngatiraukawa. By this our minds are disturbed and disordered. You said you would be strong to remove Watene from off disputed land. Ngatiraukawa are trampling on you, and your word is set at nought.

"From KAWANA HUNIA

"MAJOR KEMP

"R. W. WOON."

No. 110. (Telegram). *The Hon. D. McLean to Mr. R. W. Woon.*

Wellington Station, 15th September, 1871.

"I will telegraph at once to Ngatiraukawa, in reference to Horowhenua, and will find out the truth of the report about Watene. I do not believe this to be true.

"DONALD MCLEAN.

No. 114. (Telegram). *The Hon. D. McLean to Major Kemp.*

Government Buildings, 28th September, 1871.

"I have spoken to Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana about Te Watene. Matene will go to see Ngatihuia and Watene, and will urge Watene to leave the disputed land till it is settled by a *runanga* of chiefs as proposed. Ngatiraukawa agree to my request about Watene, but Tamihana Rauparaha does not; but I feel sure that the differences can be settled when the matter is fairly discussed. In a fortnight's time I would be better able to see you and the Wanganui chiefs.

"DONALD MCLEAN.

No. 115. (Telegram). *The Hon. D. Mclean to Mr. M. Clarke.*

Government Buildings, 29th September, 1871.

Use your endeavours with Ngatiraukawa for Te Watene to remove from Horowhenua for a time. Matene promised to use his influence. Tainihana is *hikaka* in the other direction. Let me know from you if there is anything going on.

"DONALD MCLEAN.

No. 130. *Tuka Orangi and others to the Hon. D. McLean.*

Putiki Wharanui, 8th October, 1871.

"To Mr. MCLEAN,

"Friend,—Salutations to you who are working with the Parliament for the benefit of this Island of New Zealand, and for the good of the two races, the European and the Maori. God taught you the people who know the law, for prosperity; that is the reason that you, the Ministers of the Parliament, work every year. Our word to you all is, that you all come to Wanganui, both European and Maori chiefs; never mind whether they be members or otherwise. Come all of you. The reason that you are asked to come to Horowhenua is, that the enquiry can take place here, as you would not like 400 of the Wanganui to come to Wellington; this is the reason we ask you to come here. We are collecting food for you. Do not have Horowhenua investigated at Wellington. Major Kepa is coming to Wellington; he will tell you to come on the day upon which the Wanganui Bridge is to be opened. This is all we have to say to you all.

"From TUKU ORANGI

"From all the Council of Wanganui." (Here follow 13 signatures.)

No. 134. (Telegram). *Major Kemp to the, Hon. D. McLean.*

Wanganui, 15th October. 1871.

"I have received your telegram about Watene agreeing to remove from Horowhenua till arbitration is over. This is good, his submitting to your requests. I am waiting to see Hunia, and discuss matters with him.

"MAJOR KEMP,

"*Per R. W. Woon, R.M.*"

Opinions of the Press.

THE following extracts from leaders and sub-leaders of the *Evening Post*—a newspaper published in Wellington, and mouth-piece of the Wellington Provincial Government—may tend to show how one Government may speak the truth when it has fallen out with another Government. The italics are my own.—T. C. W.

Evening Post, 10th July, 1872.

"The indifference shewn by the General Government to the interests of the Province of Wellington is in nothing more clearly exhibited than by the manner in which they allow persons in employment under them, and private parties, mischievously to interfere with the operations of Mr. James Grindell in paving the way to a purchase from the natives of the land between the Otaki and Manawatu rivers. That agent is himself attached to the Native Department, and an officer of the General Government; but he has been lent, as it were, by them to the Provincial Government for this special task, and acts under instructions from the Superintendent. If he were simply let alone, he would have difficulties enough to contend with. The tract of land in question is claimed by two great divisions of natives—*on one side the original inhabitants at a period between thirty and forty years ago; on the other, the conquerors* who, at that time, themselves driven by the Waikato tribes from the Kawhia district, between the head waters of the Waipa and Waikato rivers and the West Coast, *poured down upon the shores of Cook's Strait, killed many of the ancient inhabitants, and suffered the wretched remainder to live in a state virtually amounting to serfdom. The conquerors have been until recently, in uninterrupted occupation of the district.* But the effects of civilization have combined to put the conquered occupiers on sufferance and claimants by ancestry, in a position of equality, if not of superiority, to the occupiers and claimants by conquest. Only in the middle of last year, some of the *discontented conquered used force to dispossess Watene and some other descendants of the conquerors from the birth-places and the burial-places of their fathers. A Major in the Colonial army, Kemp, and 'Governor' Hunia, a protégé of Dr. Featherston, were at the head of this raid, both of them directly aiding and abetting in the burning of a house, and the beating and otherwise ill-treating of a woman, and in pulling her out of a house in which she declared she would stay until she was burned with it. Government and Parliament were both appealed to in vain.* Mr. McLean promised to arbitrate in December, and has not arbitrated yet; and the difficulty remained much as it was until Mr. Grindell began to operate.

"If the General Government were in earnest in wishing the Provincial Government to succeed in buying this magnificent district of land, so eminently suited for immediate colonization, and absolutely required in order that incoming population may extend uninterruptedly from Wellington to Manawatu, Wanganui, Patea, and Taranaki, they would at once take measures to prevent, or even punish, interference with the negotiations by private surveyors, and by other self-interested individuals. To look on, and allow these obstacles to be thrust in the way, is giving them a tacit sanction more injurious in effect than direct opposition to the purchase would be; and affords one of the strongest arguments against the Government's recent claim, in its mouth-piece the *Independent*, to credit for 'the actual regeneration of Wellington.' Such treatment may more truly be described as letting Wellington die by slow torture."

Judgment on the block of land lying between the Manawatu river on the north, and the Kakutauaki stream to the south.

Evening Post, Monday, March 10, 1873.

NATIVE LAND COURT.

"At an adjourned sitting of the Native Land Court held at Foxton on the 4th March, the following judgment was given on the subject of the Kuketauaki Block :—

"This is a claim of Akapita Te Tewe and others, representing certain sections of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, to a block of land lying between the Manawatu river on the north, and the Kuketauaki stream on the south, on the West Coast of the Province of Wellington, and extending inland from the sea coast to the watershed of the Tararua range of mountains. These boundaries include lands the title to which have been investigated and decided by this Court, which lands are therefore excepted from; the present inquiry. The claimants apply to the Court to order certificates of title in favor of individuals and of sections of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, asserting an exclusive ownership founded on conquest, and on continuous occupation from a period anterior to the Treaty of Waitangi. The claim is opposed by Te Keepa Rangihwinui and others representing five tribes—Muaupoko, Rangitane, Ngatiapa, Wanganui, and Ngatikahungunu, who contend that Ngatiraukawa has acquired no rights of ownership over the said block, and that the land belongs to them as inherited from their ancestors, and is still retained in their possession. The claimants and counter-claimants, with their witnesses, have been heard by the Court on the general tribal question, and the Court finds that sections of the Ngatiraukawa tribe have acquired

rights over the said block, which, according to Maori custom and usage, constitutes them owners thereof (with certain exceptions), together with Ngatitua and Ngatiawa, whose joint interest therein is admitted by the claimants. That such rights were not acquired by conquest, but by occupation, with the acquiescence of the original owners. That such rights had been completely established in the year 1840, at which date sections of Ngatiraukawa were in undisputed possession of the said block of land, excepting only two portions thereof, viz. :—1, A portion of the block, the boundaries whereof are not yet defined, situate at Horowhenua, claimed by the Muaupoko tribe, of which they appear to have retained possession from the time of their ancestors, and which they continue to occupy. 2. A portion of the block at Tuwhakatupua, on the Manawatu river (boundaries not defined), claimed by a section of the Rangitane tribe, whose interest therein is admitted by the claimants. And the Court finds that the Ngatiapa, Wanganui, and Ngatikahungunu tribes, have not separate tribal rights as owners of any portion of the said block, nor any interest therein, beyond such as may arise from connection with the Muaupoko residents at Horowhenua. That the Rangitane as a tribe, have no rights as owners of any portion of the said block, nor any interest therein, beyond such as may arise from connection with Muaupoko residents at Horowhenua, or with that section of Rangitane whose claims at Tuwhakatupua are admitted by the claimants.'

With reference to the above decision, it is a matter for congratulation that this vexed question, which at one time threatened to be of serious moment to the Province of Wellington, if not to the colony generally, has been so satisfactorily disposed of. From the *violent and continued opposition* offered by the five tribes, represented by Major Kemp and Kawana Hunia, to the claims of the Ngatiraukawa people, and *their attempts to interrupt the proceedings of the Lands Court*, some considerable apprehension existed that, in the event of a decision adverse to their interests being given by the Court, serious complications would arise, and several powerful tribes, who were only waiting for the occasion, would be drawn into the quarrel.

We are bound to express our appreciation of the services of the Judges who presided over the Court during the investigation of this business, namely, Messrs. Rogan and Smith. Had these gentlemen exhibited less firmness and patience, or possessed less knowledge of the Native character and tact in managing them, we have no hesitation in saying that the Court would have been broken up at its sitting in November last, and the whole business would have resulted in 'confusion worse confounded.' At that time the Natives in opposition strained every nerve to get the Court adjourned indefinitely. *Threats, intimidations, and every imaginable artifice was adopted by them, but all to no purpose.* The Judges remained firm, evincing at the same time, by judicious adjournments and concessions, a desire to afford the opposing parties every facility to come into Court and prove their claims."

Evening Post, Monday, 24th March, 1873.

"Messrs. McLean and Vogel are shortly expected in Wellington, and we believe that one of the questions which will be brought under the notice of the former is the propriety of granting a re-hearing of the case now before the Native Lands Court at Manawatu. Our readers are not perhaps aware of the position of this matter. There is a block of land between the Paikakariki hill and the Manawatu river, extending along the Tararua ranges to the sea coast, of vast extent and average fertility, which, looked at from an agricultural point of view, is the key to the city, while it lies on the high road to the fertile plains of Manawatu and Rangitikei. It is well known that at present, in consequence of this block of land being in the hands of the natives, the Government are precluded from making a road through it into the Manawatu district, as to the wisdom of forming which, there can be only one opinion. The present route along the beach is one which is intolerably disagreeable. First it passes over a zigzag break-neck road and hill, then along the beach over rivers at times too dangerous to be crossed in safety, while nearly always there is the certainty of a good sound wetting, notwithstanding the extreme care of the coach drivers. The Provincial authorities being cognizant of this state of things—the shocking roads and the want of suitable places for settlement for incoming immigrants—entered into arrangements to get this land surveyed for the native owners; claimants and counter-claimants alike marking off the boundaries of the land to which they deem themselves entitled, and this, too, at the expense of the Provincial Government.

The usual notices were given, and a day was appointed for the sitting of the Native Lands Court to investigate the cases. The most patient hearing was given to each of the witnesses, some of whom wearied the Court for *four solid days*, and in one case, as we are informed, the witness spun out his story for *nearly five days*, calling to mind facts of which *he personally knew nothing*, but had derived from the mere hearsay of his ancestors and *his own invention*. Counsel was heard on both sides, and the decision being unfavourable to certain tribes, they are now desirous of ventilating their grievances before the great pacifier of the country—the Honorable Mr. McLean—at whose nod whole blocks of land are given to disaffected Natives in order to keep the peace of the North Island. We are *informed on good authority* that Kemp and his followers, who are in *possession of Government arms and ammunition, threatened to use them* in the event of matters proving

unfavorable to them. The threats have not been carried out, owing, no doubt, to other influences, such as the attendant loss of a commissionership, and its accompanying, £1 per day with the etceteras. The Court will resume the hearing of a portion of this case on the 25th March instant, and if the hearing be as tedious, and the patience of the Judges and counsel be anything equal to their last effort, there is every hope of a satisfactory termination to this long vexed question, unless the Native Minister steps in and says to his pets, 'you shall have it all over again.' We protest against any such action on the part of Ministers, and we do so before the mischief is done, since objections afterwards would be of little avail, and we warn the Government that if such a course is pursued after the great expense which this Province has incurred in order to facilitate the settlement of the West Coast of this Province, upon their heads will lie the blame of having impeded the progress of this city and its adjacent back country in order to please a few men, whose *claims are merely those which were admitted by generous conquerors*, and who now, believing themselves to be backed and supported by Government, are *endeavouring to accomplish their ends by threats of violence.*"

Horowhenua Judgment.

"This is an application made by Ngatiraukawa claimants for a certificate of title to that portion of the Manawatu Kukutauaki Block which was excepted from the previous order of the Court made in their favour, excluding only the portion admitted to belong to the Muaupoko tribe.

The application is opposed by the Muaupoko, who claim the whole of the excepted portion as owned by their ancestors, and still owned and occupied by them.

The claimants have brought forward evidence, and have sought to prove such an occupation of the land, the subject of enquiry, as would amount to a dispossession of the Muaupoko.

We are unanimously of opinion that the claimants have failed to make out their case, and the judgment of the Court is accordingly in favor of the counter-claimants.

The claimants appear to rely principally on the residence of Te Whatanui at Horowhenua, and there can be no doubt that at the time when that chief took up his abode there, the Muaupoko were glad to avail themselves of the protection of a powerful Ngatiraukawa chief against Te Rauparaha, whose enmity they had incurred.

It would appear that Te Whatanui took the Muaupoko under his protection, and that he was looked up to as their chief, but it does not appear that the surrender of their land by the Muaupoko was ever stipulated for as the price of the relations which subsisted between that tribe and Te Whatanui.

We find that Muaupoko was in possession of the land at Horowhenua when Te Whatanui went there, that they still occupy these lands, and that they have never been dispossessed of them.

We find further, that Te Whatanui acquired by gift from Muaupoko a portion of land at Raumatangi, and we consider that his claim at Horowhenua will be fairly and substantially recognised by marking off a block of one hundred (100) acres at that place, for which a certificate of title may be ordered in favor of his representative."

Wellington Independent, Tuesday, 3rd June.

"South of the Manawatu river, and stretching towards Paikakariki extends a large tract of land, estimated at about 350,000 acres, and presenting every variety of soil, from the rich upland of the interior to the barren sand-hills of the coast. Inhabited and surrounded by various tribes, some more powerful than others, each of whom had its tale to tell of past conquest and occupation, it was impossible but that the actual ownership of this valuable piece of country should form a subject of dispute. Accordingly we find that for some time past claims and counter-claims have been put forward and denied, angry feelings have been excited, and *irritated claimants have gone so far as to threaten violence* and, in one case, to *actually carry it out by forcibly taking possession of a piece of disputed ground. This happened at Horowhenua, a smaller block of some 50,000 acres, comprised within the area of the larger one mentioned above.* There is no doubt that at the time of this occurrence very strong passions were aroused, and that each party, confident in its own rights, was thoroughly *preparing to assert them by force of arms; pas were constructed*, and the aspect of things for a time looked serious. However, the Government interfered—not in a threatening manner, which would most probably have widened the breach between the contending parties and brought matters to an undesirable climax, but in a conciliatory spirit which assuaged the heat of the disputants and induced them eventually to forego all notions of taking the law into their hands, and to refer the question to the Native Lands Court. The case stood shortly thus : The Ngatiraukawa claimed the entire block, *founding their claim on original conquest, and on occupation from a period anterior to the Treaty of Waitangi.* Opposed to them were *five tribes*, Muaupoko, Rangitane, Ngatiapa, Wanganui, and Ngatikahungunu, who asserted their *rights from inheritance.* In the case of the smaller and included Horowhenua block, the Ngatiraukawa right to which was chiefly based on the residence at the spot of one of their leading chiefs, Te Whatanui, the Muaupoko tribe put in a counter claim. It was in 1871 that a mutual agreement was arrived at to let the Horowhenua case be settled by arbitration, a decision which was

afterwards annulled in favor of a reference to the Native Lands Court. Several sittings have taken place, adjournments having been requested by both parties; and at the last, held at Foxton, a final judgment was given in both cases, Ngatiraukawa being found to be the owners, by occupation, *and consent of the original inhabitants*, of the whole block with the exception of two portions, one of which, Horowhenua, was decided to be the property of the Muaupoko. It need scarcely be said that the investigation of the title in this case, involving the consideration of an immense mass of native history and tradition, was attended with no small degree of labor. It was a difficult case, not only on account of the quantity of conflicting evidence adduced, but also because it formed the pacific outcome of what threatened at one time to be a serious disturbance. Every credit is due to the presiding judge Mr. Rogan, who with Mr. T. Smith and Hemi Tautari 'sat on the case,' for the patience and tact displayed during the whole proceedings; he has at all events the gratification of knowing that the decision of his court has generally given satisfaction to opposed tribes who were *ready two years ago to fight* for what they believed to be their rights.

We cannot conclude these brief remarks on the South Manawatu claims, without making reference to the attitude taken in this matter by the Natives concerned. It is well known that land questions were wont to be at the bottom of most inter-tribal wars; thus, *in at first assuming a threatening attitude*, the Natives interested were only carrying out ancestral notions. But the spirit of European institutions had made itself felt; and that, which in former days would have led to a fierce conflict, has now been peacefully referred to the decision of a Court of law. The *behaviour of the chief Te Kepa Rangiweweki*, of the Ngatiraukawa,

Te Kepa is a chief of the opponents of Ngatiraukawa, the Major Kemp alluded to in the following article from the *Evening Post*. T.C.W.

and indeed of all the interested tribes, is deserving of high commendation.

Evening Post, Thursday, 5th June, 1873

"The *Independent*, of Tuesday, referring to the South Manawatu Block, and the danger that existed at one time of a collision between the Native claimants, says :—'Each party, confident in its own rights, was thoroughly preparing to assert them by force of arms; pas were constructed, and the aspect of things for a time looked serious.' Our contemporary then, 'ever strong on the strongest side,' goes on to say :—'However, the Government interfered—not in a threatening manner, which would most probably have widened the breach between the contending parties, and brought matters to an undesirable climax, but in a conciliatory spirit, which assuaged the heat of the disputants, and *induced them, eventually to forego all notions of taking the law into their hands, and to refer the question to the Native Lands Court.*' (The italics are our own.) Now, with all deference to the superior knowledge of our official contemporary, this statement is hardly correct. In the first place, the Ngatiraukawa were *never desirous of asserting their rights by 'force of arms.'* *It is a well-known fact to every settler on the West Coast that they invariably behaved towards their blustering opponents with the greatest moderation and calmness, and always evinced an earnest desire to have the dispute settled amicably by arbitration.* Even when Kemp's party, *presuming upon their forbearance*, proceeded to *open violence, and burned down one of their houses at Horowhenua (nearly smothering a feeble old woman in it)*

"The behaviour of the chief Te Kepa is deserving of high commendation." *Wellington independent, 3rd June.*

they *never for a moment abandoned the cool and dignified position which they had taken up.* And this was by *no means the effect of fear*, for they had *numerous allies in different parts of the island only awaiting their summons to rush to their assistance.* Again, the only fortified pa that was erected was built by Kawana Hunia, of Major Kemp's party, as a challenge to Ngatiraukawa. It should be stated that out of the five tribes opposed to Ngatiraukawa, the Muaupoko *alone professed to claim* the Horowhenua block in their own right, the others claimed through that tribe as relations and allies. The matter at one time was referred, by mutual consent to the arbitration of a number of tribes which assembled at Horowhenua for that purpose, on which occasion a block was awarded to the Muaupoko, of about *half the area of that lately given to Kemp by the Native Lands Court.* *This would have been accepted by the Muaupoko proper, but Kawana Hunia and Kemp refused to abide by the decision, and extending their claims to the whole coast, became more clamorous and unreasonable than ever.* The Government endeavored to get them to submit the dispute to arbitration, or to the decision of the Lands Court, but without avail. Kemp and Hunia were invited to dine at Government House, and feasted to their hearts' content, but all the blandishments bestowed upon them were of no effect—*they persisted, (as they themselves state) in their resolution to maintain their claims by force, if necessary.*

It will thus be seen that *'each party' were not 'thoroughly preparing to assert their right by force of arms,' but only the one party*, and that party *led by a man who holds a commission in Her Majesty's service, and receives, we believe, a salary of £300 a-year as a Land Purchase Commissioner;* and, further, that the interference of the Government did not result in *'inducing them to forego all notions of taking the case into their own hands, and to refer the question to the Native Lands Court.'* It was not until after the Superintendent's

interview with the natives at Otaki last year, that matters began to assume a more favorable aspect. An officer of the Native Department (Mr. Grindell), acting under the directions of His Honor, was then sent up the coast to endeavor to reconcile the differences existing among the natives, and induce them to submit their disputes to the decision of the Lands Court. We notice that the *Independent*, while bestowing liberal praise upon Mr. Rogan, has altogether ignored the services of this officer. Without wishing to detract in the slightest degree from the merits of Mr. Rogan in the performance of his onerous duties, we think that a fair mede of praise should be given to a man who has certainly worked well for the Province. We are informed by those who have every opportunity of knowing, that things would not have been brought to their present position, and that the Lands Court would not have sat at all, but for him. By his exertions, coupled with the valuable assistance of Hoani Meihana, a chief of Rangitane, it was that Kemp and the tribes opposing Ngatiraukawa were induced in the first instance, to send applications to the Lands Court to have their claims investigated; and, subsequently, by his firmness and perseverance, the preliminary surveys were completed, in spite of continual and vexatious interruptions by the natives on both sides. The *Independent's* assertion, that the decision of the Court has generally given satisfaction to the opposed tribes, also does not appear to be correct. The Ngatiraukawa are far from satisfied with the Horowhenua decision, and are continually holding meetings on the subject, and numerous applications are being sent to the Government for a re-hearing. Even Major Kemp is not satisfied, although he has been awarded a large block of land, *upon the greater portion of which none of his ancestors or relations have resided for a period beyond, the memory of the oldest settler, it having been continually occupied and cultivated by the Ngatiraukawa since their migration to this coast.* Kemp claims the whole coast, and declares he will apply for a re-hearing."

The following, which was re-published from the Wanganui Times, in the Wellington Independent of July 9, 1868, is an account of the slaughter, by order of Dr. Featherston, then Superintendent of the Province of Wellington, of some 400 out of 1500 sheep, belonging to a Mr. Gotty, given in charge of Ngatiraukawa, on a portion of the Manawatu Rangitikei block, before judgment on the question of title was given by the Native Lands Court:—

"Extraordinary reports reached town yesterday of fighting at Manawatu. On Dr. Featherston's arrival at Rangitikei, a meeting of natives was convened, when he wrote to Nepia and Mr. Gotty, requesting them to have the sheep removed. No attention was paid to this letter by Mr. Gotty, and so Governor Hunia *was told to have the sheep driven off*, if Mr. Gotty refused to remove them. The Ngatiapa ultimately commenced to drive the sheep off, and were attacked by the Ngatiraukawa. A shindy ensued, and some broken heads were the consequence, but nobody was much hurt. On Sunday morning, thirty Ngatiapas on foot, and twelve on horseback, crossed the river. A few of them carried tomahawks, to cut down the fences of the paddock in which the sheep were penned. On approaching the paddock, the Ngatiraukawa came out, both men and women, and defied the Ngatiapa to dare to advance. The Ngatiapa did advance, and then there was another small fight, one or two slight cuts being inflicted on a few of the belligerents. While this was going on, the sheep were driven into an adjoining bush, and both parties to the quarrel commenced to fence them in. Then from each side there were violent threats, and on Sunday evening Governor Hunia sent to say that he would pitch his tents on the prohibited spot, and both parties commenced to prepare for the coming contest."

Wellington Independent, 14th July, 1868.

"We have some later intelligence from Mr. Scott, relative to the late disturbances at Rangitikei. Mr. Scott, who left Rangitikei on Saturday morning, states that Mr. Gotty's sheep, to the number of 1500, were still in the enclosure which the natives had fenced, and that the Ngatiapas had commenced killing them. Mr. Scott states that his sons were up at the place in question (which is near Mr. Bevan's), on Friday, and that 419 were killed by the Ngatiapas on that day. Some were tomahawked, and others had their throats cut; but in one way or another, Mr. Scott's informants were positive that 419 had been done to death."

Wellington Independent, 4th December, 1869."

"'The Disturbed Districts Act.'—The terms of this Act are threatened to the Maoris and Pakeha-Maoris who are resisting the survey of the Rangitikei- Manawatu block. The Act is strong enough to frighten any missionary out of his senses. The 20th clause says :—'Be it therefore enacted : It shall be lawful for the Governor to make and issue his warrant, or warrants, under his hand, for the arrest, committal, or detention in custody, of any person or persons charged with, or *reasonably suspected*, of high treason, treasonable felony, or treasonable practices, or any offence within the meaning of this Act.' We think it would be justifiable to put the Act in force against those who are resisting the law. If Maoris submit their claims to the judgment of a Court, they ought to be prepared to abide by the decision; but if they will not do this, *we must simply make them.* This is just the time when the Government can act with decision and authority. Inspector Brannigan and 100 men

ought to be able to seize all the *suspected* persons on the Manawatu block in twenty-four hours."

The following extracts from the Wellington Independent will show that though it was absolutely necessary that the Government should purchase the Manawatu-Rangitikei block, the property of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, from some eight tribes, as the "only means of preventing bloodshed and an inter-tribal war," Ngatiraukawa chiefs could be forcibly arrested for opposing the survey of their land, sold against their will by their former slaves of the Ngatiapa tribe, such tribe having been "previously permitted by their old conquerors to sell the land on the north side of the Rangitikei river," and "for whom a sufficiency of land had been reserved." Also shows how the Premier gained credit for his firm and decided action in the matter:—

Wellington Independent, 7th December, 1869.

"LATEST TELEGRAMS.

"(From our own Correspondent.)

Wanganui, 6th December, 10 A.M.

"Mr. Buller went down to Mangamahoe (on the Rangitikei-Manawatu block), on Saturday, accompanied by two constables and some 20 Ngatiapa. He arrested Miritana, in spite of some 35 or 40 Ngatiraukawa, who refused to give the man up, and resisted his capture forcibly. After nearly an hour's scuffle, the prisoner was secured, handcuffed, and sent in to Wanganui. Hard knocks were delivered on both sides, but no heads were broken. The arrest, it is believed, will have a good effect. The survey was going on without interruption. The Hon. Mr. Fox was in the district, and assented to the proceedings that were taken. Some of the leading dissentients to the sale of the Manawatu were present when the scuffle was going on, and entirely concurred in the action taken by the Government."

Independent, 9th December, 1869.

"By telegrams received yesterday, we are informed that the Maori, Miritana, who was apprehended and brought to trial for destroying a survey station on the Manawatu block, has been convicted, and fined £25, or, in default of payment, is sentenced to three months' imprisonment in the Wanganui gaol. Two other natives were at the same time brought up before the Resident Magistrate's Court, on the same charge, but as it was not pressed against them, they were mulcted in the mitigated penalty of 1s., and dismissed. The voluntary surrender of the two last mentioned offenders may be taken as a proof that there is no great sympathy with them among the majority of the natives. A promise was made on their behalf by several of the native chiefs, to Mr. Fox, that they should surrender themselves for trial, and, as we learn, the promise was faithfully kept. *The firm, decided action of the Premier seems to have gained the confidence of the natives* in this case, as fully as his recent visit to Topia appears to have disarmed all suspicion, and cemented the friendship of the Wanganui tribes."

THE following are letters from Ngatiraukawa Natives to myself, asking me to do what I can for them with respect to their land taken from them in the Manawatu-Rangitikei Block, and at Horowhenua. Also, a letter from the Native Office, informing them that no land will be given to them out of the Manawatu-Rangitikei Block.—T. C. W.

Wellington, 27th July, 1872.

"FRIEND RAWIRI,—

Salutations,—Your letter of 23rd May, asking that some land at Rangitikei should be given to you has been received. This is to inform you that a good deal of land was set apart for those who might be found to have any title to land there; that land is all gone; none is left to be given away. This is a final answer to you (*koutou*) and your friends. This is all.

"From your friend,

"NA TE HARETE.

(Signed) "H. HALSE."

Otaki, 17th May, 1873.

"To THOMAS WILLIAMS,—

"Friend,—Salutations. Listen. We wrote to Mr. McLean, asking that our land at Rangitikei should be given back to us, because, when Ngatiraukawa first arrived, Kingi Te Ahoaho and his *hapu*, Ngatimaeotaki, got possession of that land at Rangitikei, and Ngatiraukawa know that Kingi Te Ahoaho and his *hapu* have been the owners of that land up to the present time. That piece of land of ours is near the mouth of the Rangitikei River, on the south side, between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers, and consists of 18,600 acres. The boundaries are (here follows a description of the boundaries). We have sent several letters to the Government to which no attention has been paid.

We, the descendants of Kingi Te Ahoaho and all his *hapu*, none of us gave our consent to the sale of that land; nor did we receive any of the money; nor did we sign our names to Dr. Featherston's deed of purchase of that land. We have expended on the survey of that land, with the lawyers, and during our visits to Rangitikei and Wellington, attending the Lands Court, £136, and we are still holding on to our land up to the present time.

This is why we write to you about our loss of our land, that you may seek out some means by which we, the descendants of Kingi Te Ahoaho and his *hapu*, the Ngatimaeotaki, may get our rights. We altogether, men, women, and children, who are left alive of the *hapu* of Kingi Te Ahoaho, number 80.

This is all From all the *hapu* of Kingi Te Ahoaho. From Ngatimaeotaki.

(Signed) "RAWIRI TE WANUI."

Otaki, 17th May, 1873.

"To Mr. WILLIAMS,—

"This is to ask you to make clear to us some plan by which I and my *hapu*, Ngatitukorehe, may get justice. We number 50—men, women, and children. We, none of us, took any money, nor did we get any land; nor did any of us sign our names to Dr. Featherston's deed of purchase. We expended, with the lawyers, on the survey, and our visits to Wellington and Rangitikei, £110.

Friend, do you be strong to seek out some way whereby we may get our rights.

"From NGATITUKOROHE

(Signed) "HARE HEMI TAHARAPE."

Manawatu, 21st May, 1873.

"To Mr. WILLIAMS,—

"Salutations. This is to ask you to make known to us by what means we, the three *hapus*, Ngatituranga, Ngati Te Au, and Ngatirakau, may get our rights with respect to our land at Himatangi. There are 60 of us—men, women, and children. We none of us took any money on account of Dr. Featherston's purchase. We are in great distress about our land that has been taken from us by the Government. It has cost us a good deal of money contending about our land. You were our lawyer when our title was investigated at Otaki, and Himatangi was divided, and 5000 acres were awarded to us; and since then, Mr. McLean returned the whole of Himatangi to Parakaia; but now it is all taken by the Government.

Friend, do you be strong to contend for our rights. This is all.

"From PINEAHA MAHAUARIKI.

"That is from the three *hapus* of Parakaia, who is now dead."

Waikanae, 23rd May, 1873.

"To THOMAS WILLIAMS,—

"Salutations. This is to ask you to seek out some remedy for us who were thrown out, and who got nothing from that land at Rangitikei. We did not take any of Dr. Featherston's money, nor did we sign our names to the deed of purchase of that land. Therefore we ask you to take up our cause with respect to the loss of our land, as well as of our money which was paid to the lawyers. Those who are with me number 25.

"From AKAPITA TE TEWE."

Statement from Henere Te Herekau, for many years native teacher, lately ordained a deacon of the Church of England, being a statement of the case of the three hapus of Ngatiraukawa occupying the inland portion of the Manawatu-Rangitikei block.

"After Horowhenua, Ngatipikiahū returned to Taupo, to bring down their friends to occupy Rangitikei, they had a claim there, according to old custom, by right of conquest. In the year 1841, two *hapus*, Ngatipikiahū and Ngati Tuwharetoa, settled at Otara; it was Tuwharetoa's doing that they settled there. They occupied from Otara to Rangitaua; but Ngatiupokoiri were jealous, and quarrelled with them. When Ngatiraukawa heard that those people were quarrelling there, they assembled at Poutoa—part of Manawatu—to the number of 500. The Upokoiri were there. Ngatiraukawa decided to send for Ngatipikiahū and Ngati Tuwharetoa, and move them lower down to Te Reureu. Mohi Kahira was sent to fetch them. They then came down and settled at Te Reureu. They, the three *hapus*, settled there under the authority of the chiefs of Ngatiraukawa, in the year 1846. Ngatipikiahū, from Manawatu, joined them; Ngatimaniapoto went there also, making three *hapus* who settled there; because there was no other tribe or *hapu* of any tribe occupying that country, only Ngatiraukawa, which made it quite right their settling Ngatipikiahū and their friends at Te Reureu. In the year 1849, Nepia Taratoa, with other chiefs of Ngatiraukawa, went up and fixed the boundaries of the land for the three *hapus* (here follows a description of the boundaries.) There are 20,000 acres in that block of land. Paranihi and his friends granted leases over that land; they, the Ngatiraukawa, alone received the money; no other tribe or *hapu* received any; none was paid to Ngatiapa or Rangitane. These *hapus* occupied that land peaceably under the *mana* of the chiefs of the Ngatiraukawa, who placed them there. No tribe nor *hapu* went near them to disturb their occupation of that block of land up to the time when Dr. Featherston purchased Rangitikei; then they lost. If Dr. Featherston had not purchased that country, these three *hapus* would be still in possession. These *hapus* number 250; the acreage of this land is 20,000; the portion of land returned to these *hapus* by the Government is 3000 acres. These *hapus* did not join in the sale of Rangitikei; they did not sign their names to the Commissioner's deed of purchase; nor did they take any money. There were no grounds for taking away the land from these *hapus*.

"From me, HENERE TE HEREKAU.
"23rd May, 1873."

Waikawa, 6th June, 1873.

"We, the *hapu* of Ngatiwehiwehi, had *mana* over the land at Rangitikei; we had *mana* because we cultivated there, and we always received a portion of the rents. We cannot enumerate all the grounds of our title, for we are a *hapu* who always had a strict right to the land up to the time when the Court sat to investigate the title to the land.

Secondly, the Ngatiapa, Muaupoko, and Rangitane, had no title to that land formerly up to the present time, as shown by their names not appearing in the sale to Mr. Wakefield, up to the time when Mr. Spain came to write the names of the chiefs of Ngatiraukawa. Also, when Ihakara sold land at Manawatu (Awahou) to Mr. McLean, their names did not appear in that sale. Afterwards, when Rangitikei was sold, we did not touch any of the money for our land. Now we are in great grief about the loss of our land and our money. We spent over the survey of the land at Rangitikei, and the Court expenses, £150 10s. 6d.

"From MOKOWHITI,
"TOHUTOHU,
"IHAKARA NGATAHUNA,
"REWITI TE KOHU,
"WIREMU TE KOHU,
"And 45 others.
"That is, from all the *runanga* of Ngatiwehiwehi."

The following letter refers to that portion of the Horowhenua block marked No. 2 on the plan.

Horowhenua, 22nd May, 1873.

"To THOMAS WILLIAMS,—

"Salutations. This a letter to you, a statement respecting our loss of our land, about Horowhenua, which has

been given to Keepa (Major Kemp), to Muaupoko, and friends. This land was taken by Te Rauparaha by conquest. After Te Rauparaha had conquered this country, he invited Ngatiraukawa to come here to Kapiti. Te Whatanui then came here with his tribe Ngatiraukawa. Te Rauparaha then gave Horowhenua to Te Whatanui, and pointed out all the various portions of this land to the chiefs of Ngatiraukawa; but Te Rauparaha insisted that all the Muaupoko were to be destroyed in payment for his children, for Uira, Poaka, and Rangihwinui, with many others. But the word of Te Whatanui went forth to Taueki, 'cease to dwell upon the mountains; come out and occupy the places where men dwell.' Then that chief came out with his people, with Muaupoko; but they lived as slaves under the *mana* of Whatanui. After Whatanui had saved them, he gave them a portion of land at Horowhenua. Tawhitikuri is the name of that boundary (here follows a description of the boundaries of that portion of the Horowhenua Block marked No. 1 on the plan). This land, (the portion marked No. 2,) was occupied by Te Whatanui (and his sons) upwards of forty years. Whatanui was always kind to them, and these people never misbehaved themselves during the lifetime of Te Whatanui and his sons, Whatanui Tahuri, Whatanui Paiaka, and Whatanui Tutaki. Whatanui leased Horowhenua to Hector McDonald, and these people did not receive the rents. But in 1869 (Keepa) Major Kemp and Hunia came and made a disturbance; in 1870 they built *Kupe* a large house.

Horowhenua was then investigated by chiefs of certain tribes (here follows a list of the names); that *runanga* decided that the house *Kupe* should be the boundary. After that investigation, Kemp and Hunia came, in 1871, with their people and burnt my house, which was occupied at the time, and injured the head of a woman; they came with guns in their hands, and built a pa. The Government sent Major Edwards to talk about this disturbance. I asked for a trial about the burning of my houses, but the Government did not agree. Mr. McLean promised to investigate in October, afterwards in December; but nothing was done up to the time when the Court sat, when our land was given by the Court to Muaupoko; and now we, the descendants of Te Whatanui and his *hapu*, have lost all. Therefore, we write to you, Mr. Williams, and request you to take up our cause with respect to our distress about our land, that you should work out this our grievance, because we, the descendants of Te Whatanui, are left without anything; we have no land elsewhere. Listen, only 100 acres were given to us, the burial ground of Te Whatanui; Tauteki, wife of old Te Whatanui, lies buried there. The greater portion of that land is swamp; it is not a fit place for the habitation of man.

This is all I have to say to you; do you work this matter out.

"From WATENE TIWAEWAE,

Nephew of Te Whatanui

"Muaupoko never occupied this land formerly during the life time of old Te Whatanui, but two small portions were given to them by his sons, Whatanui Te Tahuri and Whatanui Tutaki, by the side of the lake; very small pieces. Tahuri gave his piece in 1847; Tutaki gave his in 1857."

(Watene has supplied me with a list of 87 names of natives claiming to be interested in the portion of land at Horowhenua—marked No. 2 on the plan—and which belonged to old Te Whatanui and others. In the list appear the names of two Pomares, sons of Whatanui's daughter, who married Pomare, a chief of Ngapuhi. One of the Pomares was lately ordained at Auckland, a deacon of the Church of England; the other had the honor of being presented, with his wife, to the Queen; and his son, the great-grandson of Te Whatanui, has the honor of being god-son to Her Majesty.)

The two following letters refer to that portion of the Horowhenua block marked No. 3 on the map.

"23rd May, 1873.

"To THOMAS WILLIAMS,—

"Here are we in great grief and distress about our land which has been given by the Court to Muaupoko; that is about Papaetonga with all its boundaries, with the plantations, the fences, the houses, the eel *pas*, and the canoes. In the year 1870, Major Kemp sent 20 of his men to breakdown my fences, and to root up my crops, and to burn down my houses at Mahoenui, on my own land, across my own boundary. The land, the other side of that boundary, was Whatanui's—Mahoenui is the name of that boundary. Friend, we are in great distress, therefore I ask you to be good to us in this, our affliction; we have been murdered by this Court. There are 27 of us who have lost our land at Waiwiri. Friend, we will not move out of our houses.

"From NEREHANA TE PAEA.
"of Ngatikikopiri *hapu* of Ngatiraukawa."

Otaki, 24th May, 1873.

"To MR. WILLIAMS,—

"Salutations. Friend, this is to inform you of our loss, about our land at Waiwiri, which was given by the Court to Muaupoko. Muaupoko had no right whatever to the land at Waiwiri when our fathers were alive; but Whatanui was kind to his slaves, the Muaupoko, who lived near him. Whatanui's permanent boundary was between Horowhenua and Waiwiri, to Te Whatanui the side next to Horowhenua, to Te Paea the side next to Waiwiri. Horowhenua and Waiwiri are two distinct blocks—but now we have been brought to ruin by this Court, the people of Horowhenua and Waiwiri These are very mad people the people of this Court. They did not bear in mind that Jesus Christ is in Heaven, and Te Whatanui on the earth. That he (Te Whatanui) saved these people from out of the ovens of Te Rauparaha, and settled them on a portion of land. Had the object of the Court been to show its love for Muaupoko, they should have returned to them all their land, commencing from Wellington up even as far as Rangitikei, that all might suffer alike. That would be right, but they have smitten us alone.

Friend, Mr. Williams, it rests with you to take up our cause. There are a number of Pakehas who know this country, Bishop Hadfield, Mr. Wakefield, Mr. White, and Mr. Yule. These Pakehas have lived at Horowhenua formerly, when Te Whatanui was alive. That is all I have to say; do you work this matter out.

"From TE PUKE TE PAEA."

Printed by J. Hughes, Lambton Quay, Wellington.

map of Horowhenua and Kapiti

The Coming Crisis: A Sketch of the Financial & Political Condition of New Zealand, with the Causes and Probable Results of that Condition.

BY W. L. REES,

OF THE SUPREME COURTS OF VICTORIA AND NEW ZEALAND, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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The Coming Crisis: A SKETCH OF THE FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF NEW ZEALAND.

Chapter I.

Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said
This is my own, my native land."
Lay of the Last Minstrel.—SCOTT.

The present condition of New Zealand demands the best consideration of her children. And this consideration must not only be earnest and thorough, it must be instant also. The position is one of extreme gravity, and a few false steps may land the whole colony in bankruptcy or civil war. Mutterings of discontent, both loud and deep, like the distant thunders of an approaching tempest, are bursting and echoing both, in the North and in the South. Nor are these idle sounds. They are not the voices of a summer storm passing over us upon swift wings, scarcely clouding the skies as it soars away, leaving the air cool, the earth glittering with its grateful shower, and heaven spanned with its radiant arch. They are rather the rattling volleys of the tempest's advance guard, at whose sound the sailor furls his sails, and the traveller quickens his pace to gain some friendly roof. We are told by historians that after great battles there come as a rule great storms of rain. The silence which succeeds the strife of embattled hosts is broken by the artillery of heaven, and elemental war

treads swiftly on the heels of human strife. So every struggle in any representative Assembly is followed by a contest equally fierce among the different portions or sections of the people. The past teems with examples. Greece, Rome, Carthage, England, France, and the United States afford to the philosopher or student numerous great occasions which fully illustrate and enforce the comparison. And so New Zealand, on an infinitely small scale indeed, is at the present adding its tiny rill to the mighty stream of history. And yet not to us small, for is not the theatre our country, and is not the contest a contest upon the results of which depends our political honor, nay, perhaps, our political existence? Two months since, or even less, and the political world of New Zealand was asleep. There was a dull stagnancy in the Legislature. Most men foresaw a period of trial, but no one imagined that it was near at hand. Members of the Assembly were already preparing to take wing towards their homes, and the constituencies were flattering themselves that they could see the close of another session, and as yet there was no crisis. When suddenly—as the boom of the cannon echoed thro' the streets and halls of Brussels on the eve of Waterloo—the Premier, the Hon. Julius Vogel, threw down upon the table of the House of Representatives his three celebrated resolutions.

The echo of the Premier's voice had scarcely died away upon the hangings of the Representative Chamber in that address when Mr. Vogel promised the House and the country that no constitutional change should be introduced during the session. But in the debate on a Bill for the Conservation of Forests, the Premier was so deeply stung by a speech made the Superintendent of Wellington, Mr. Fitzherbert, that he threatened in anger to bring down a Bill which would do away with the province of Wellington altogether. It is probable that this was but an idle threat, spoken in the heat of the moment when the Premier was smarting under a most severe attack. But—

There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will.

It so happened that at this time there was in Wellington a gentleman well known to New Zealand politics, Mr. Thomas Russell. This gentleman, by dint of many enquiries among the members of the House of Representatives, had ascertained that there was a majority of the members in favor of such a measure as that hinted at by the Premier. For what purpose or with what object Thomas Russell pursued these enquiries, and then confided his acquired knowledge to the Premier, it is difficult to say. Rumour, however, with its busy tongue whispered that Mr. Russell had been commissioned by the Premier to propose to Mr. Stafford a coalition before never dreamed of—for few men thought that, even amidst the changes of New Zealand politics, Vogel, Fox, and Stafford would ever be found side by side. Stafford declined the doubtful honor, but for the occasion at any rate was found ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with his political antagonists. And so it came to pass that, from an angry threat, a series of resolutions destined to figure largely in New Zealand's history, which indeed marks the third important epoch in the progress of this colony, came into existence, and were obtruded upon the notice of Parliament and people. The future historian will note the foundation of New Zealand as a colony, the receipt by it of a constitutional and representative government, and the organic change by which Provincialism was swept away—and the people and their rulers left face to face—as the three great steps of our early existence.: For it needs no prophet's vision to foresee that New Zealand is committed to a struggle which must end in the total abolition of the Provincial system of government. Before considering the resolutions and the circumstances which immediately introduced and surrounded them, it may be wise for us to glance back and trace so far as we are able the growth of those principles and events which have ultimately led to our present position.

Chapter II.

This land became the subject of much eager conversation; but the general opinion seemed to be that we had found the *terra, Australia incognita*.—COOK'S VOYAGES.

NEW ZEALAND, in the method and manner of its colonization, stands singular and alone. No colony, ancient or modern, can be said to afford a parallel, nor even an analogy. Upon the vast sea-board of its two islands are found numerous capacious harbours. Its hills and plains and valleys lie equally stretched out between the frigid and the torrid zones, but touching neither. From the climate of the North of Scotland to that of the south of Spain or Sicily, the traveller may pass in easy gradations. Perhaps no region upon earth is so peculiarly suited to the British race as this youngest child of the great mother of nations. It has been not inaptly called "The Britain of the South." But no fair charge of egotism can be brought against the New Zealander who asserts that Nature has been more bountiful to the child than to the mother. It may take ages indeed, and generations, to produce the likeness of England in New Zealand. The ruddy orchards, the green-embowered lanes, the stately domes,

the wide expanse of golden corn, the vast and intricate work of civilized life spreading over and enriching every part and portion of this country may not be seen till our children's children sleep in the "sleep which knows no waking." But by virtue of the gifts of nature New Zealand is superior to the land of our fathers. Her skies are clearer; her atmosphere more pure. Her riches, both mineral and metallic, are practically illimitable. Coal, iron, copper and gold abound. Her forests are as useful and accessible as any upon earth. The land is fertile; the seas which sweep her coasts literally swarm with fish. The rose blooms for nine months in the year. The peach, the apricot, the grape, and the melon, ripen in the open air. Snowdon and the Cheviot Hills are objects of pride, but what are they beside Tongariro, with its lofty summit for ever flaming to the reddened sky; and Mount Cook—grander in its silent majesty than even the monarch of the Alps itself. Every aspect of pictorial beauty can be seen in the two islands, and travellers who have been well nigh over the habitable globe assert that the world presents no fairer spectacle in alternation of land and sea, of wood and flashing stream, of mountain and valley, than that which may be viewed on a summer's morning from the public Domain in Auckland. And what places, not only in Great Britain, but in the world, will venture to dispute the palm of natural wonder and glory with the marble terraces and glowing tints of Rotomahana and Rotorua.

By reason of the peculiar facilities existing for colonization in different parts of the two islands this colony has been peopled in an unique way. In the extreme South a settlement of rigid Scotch Presbyterians was formed. The very names of the different settlements are sufficient to shew the origin of the people. Dun-Edin was built within the harbour of Port Chalmers, and a hundred miles away to the South : Campelltown and Inver-Cargill speak their Scotch descent with unmistakable sound. Two hundred miles to the North of Dunedin a special settlement was formed of members of the Church of England. Here again the names are significant :—Lyttelton, Christchurch, and Oxford. There can be but little uncertainty as to their origin. In the North Island Wellington and Taranaki were both special settlements; while in the far North Albertland was settled by a colony of Dissenters—to make weight, we presume, against the Presbyterian and Episcopal influences of the South. For many years the seclusion and exclusive nature of these small communities remained unbroken, but time has worked wonders. The narrow and bigoted prejudices—the worst form of conservatism—which had begun to grow in these isolated communities was at length from various causes more or less swiftly shattered. New blood—new faces—new opinions—new pursuits—new hopes and fears forced an entrance, and established a footing. The discovery of gold—the progress of agricultural and pastoral pursuits—the spread of commerce—the birth of manufactures, and the thousand voices of the outside universe, broke rudely in upon the dull and secluded little worlds, filling the streets, the homes, the shops, and the seats of government with new people and new thoughts. But there yet remained in each miniature people a large proportion of the original constituent elements, and to this day it is easy to discern the peculiarities of their birth. Every rule, however, has its exception; and the exception to the rule as to colonization in New Zealand is to be found in its once capital city—Auckland. Auckland alone has no common article of faith; no common foundation on which to build. Its people have been thrown together from the distant corners of the earth. In strong contrast to the other colonists, in their several homes, the people of Auckland are essentially heterogenous. In the professions, in trade, in private and public life you may jostle in one short day against the extremes of character. Every changing tide of events has brought its accession of strange persons. The hangers-on of a Government remain although the Government has departed. The toadies who cringe to the great and give themselves airs to the humble, and who always infest the Government-house of a Colony are here. Here, also, are gentlemen in the true sense of the term living in some instances almost side by side with those who "Left their country for their country's good." And these last are gentlemen in comparison with some who, by reason of their being in a position of wealth, are permitted to occupy a leading position in affairs. Perhaps there never was an English-speaking community so mean and cowardly in this way as the community of Auckland. Auckland alone has no traditions. The people of Auckland alone have no *esprit du corps*—no public spirit. The inhabitants of Auckland are not indeed a people. They are an aggregation of individual human atoms, each one as a rule thinking only of his own miserable interests. And so they can never act together. Their representatives are true to their constituencies. They also never act together. Given any subject of importance debated in the House of Assembly, especially any subject affecting the welfare of Auckland itself, and you shall see half of the Auckland members voting on one side and half on the other. Thus she has no voice in the councils of the country. Her hands are fettered; her feet are tied. One good man representing the whole Province would be better than the sixteen members who annually go down to Wellington. He, at all events, would give utterance to the wants, the complaints, the hopes of the community. But now the sixteen are split into two factions, and "a house divided against itself cannot stand." No other community in the British Empire would endure such conduct. Auckland is rightly served. If the electors will return such men as are half the members they must expect the treatment which they experience. And if they endure with disgraceful apathy such conduct in their representatives, they will be sold like cattle to the end of the chapter; and they will deserve it.

New Zealand having been thus colonized at different points and from different sources, each little

settlement became a world to itself. Separated by long distances from the other settlements, with infrequent communication, and scarcely and interchange of thought, or commerce, the Provinces silently grew. Thus nearly every settlement became the centre of a distinct Province; and so when New Zealand received a Constitution, and entered upon the era of Representative institutions, the Provinces were already in existence. At that time, and indeed for a long period afterwards, without Provincial institutions the country would have been practically ungoverned. Auckland was the seat of Government. It is in one sense a misfortune for New Zealand that she has no large central city from which—as the blood from the heart in the human body—political life-streams would flow forth to the distant members. In this colony there can never be a Melbourne or Sydney or Adelaide, and this fact has mainly contributed to that position of parties and Provinces which has made New Zealand so disunited. The Provinces have always been antagonistic, and in the General Assembly their different representatives have been accustomed to look more after the interests of the separate Provinces than the general welfare.

Chapter III.

The applause of listening Senates to command;
The threats of pain and ruin to despise;
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation's eyes.
—GRAY'S ELEGY.

WHEN the first representative Assembly of New Zealand met, this Colony could look with pride upon a body of men confessedly equal, if not superior, to any other Colonial Parliament. In oratory, in statesmanship, in demeanour, perhaps no Assembly save the famous Convention which declared the independence of the American States ever approached so nearly to the standard of an English Parliament. There were many causes conducing to an end so happy. The Provinces were themselves newly formed. In every special settlement there were a few men who naturally by force of character were leaders among their fellows. And these were nearly all men not only of exceptional vigour and ability, but also men of sterling moral worth. Thus the Hengists and Horsas of the tiny Colonies came together into council to deliberate and work, for the public good. The Parliament of New Zealand sprang like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, complete in stature and equipment. But few of those men remain in the Assembly, and they have outlived their reputation. Twenty years ago Fox had not run mad upon one subject, nor Stafford upon another. Twenty years ago Fitzherbert was not merely a leader of free lances; he had not sunk into the position of a "sturdy beggar." But even yet, as a fragment of sculpture dug from the ruins of the Parthenon speaks of the glorious past, when there is some question of grave political importance before the House, the voice of Fox, or Stafford, or Fitzherbert will enchain the attention of members and recall something of the eloquence and arguments of the days gone by. The members of that Assembly are scattered far and wide. Some are gone "upon that bourne from whence no traveller returns," and the places which once knew them shall know them no more for ever. Some have retired from political life. One governs with credit and approval an English Colony. One sits upon the New Zealand Bench, and would adorn the Bench of any of the Courts at Westminster. Some fill high offices under the Government. It is pleasant now from the barefaced corruption and the unblushing degradation of the present to look back to the honourable past. Those were in truth the morning—the halcyon—hours of the New Zealand day. The eloquence of FitzGerald, the critical accuracy of Richmond, the scholarship of Carleton, the suavity of Weld—these are but memories now, but memories treasured deeply by those who are fortunate enough to possess them. The very names, like sudden bursts of martial music, fire the heart and make the blood dance quickly through the veins of those who can look back over the stream of time for twenty years. To compare them with the servile and wretched crew which now holds sway where they once reigned, would be like comparing that Roman Senate which met and conquered Hannibal and Carthage, with that other Senate which trembled at the frown and kissed the feet of the most worthless of the Cæsars. To compare them would be to place side by side a squadron of the Life Guards and Falstaff's ragged company, who were, according to their valiant captain, "slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth, where the glutton's dogs licked his sores, discarded unjust serving men, younger sons to younger brothers, revolted tapsters and ostlers trade-fallen; the cankers of a calm world and a long peace. You would think I had a hundred and fifty prodigals lately come from swine-keeping, from eating draff and husks. No eye hath seen such scarecrows. There's but a shirt and a-half in all my company, and the half-shirt is two napkins tacked together and thrown over the shoulders like a herald's coat without sleeves. But that's all one; they'll find linen enough on every hedge." We will not compare them. The task is too invidious.

How are the mighty fallen! In other Colonies the Houses of Parliament have been growing in ability, in uprightness, and popular favour. In New Zealand, however, this is not the case and although we started with the best of all Colonial Assemblies we have in twenty years sunk to the very lowest depth. There is not now throughout all the Empire a Parliament so venal, so selfish, or so unfit to govern a people as the House of Representatives of New Zealand; and perhaps there never was. There are seventy-eight representatives. Among these there are honourable men, and men of ability, and men of scholastic attainments and political experience. But there are also men of a different stamp. There are men innocent of ability, devoid of honourable principle, guiltless of education, and whose only political experience consists in the skill with which they manage to exist upon the precarious favour of the Premier and his friends. And yet no great skill is requisite, for Julius Vogel is only too willing to command a majority in the House by such means, and to supply their little wants out of his own abounding fullness. Of these some eke out a precarious existence by means of small Government commissions, which do not disqualify them from sitting in Parliament. Others are supported by Mr Vogel upon the staff of various papers in the Colony, in which he and his friends hold a commanding interest. And it is remarkable, and indeed without parallel in any Anglo-Saxon Colony, that the Prime Minister should hold a large proportion of the newspaper press in his hands, not as a business speculation, but for two distinct objects—first, that these papers may lead the public and uphold any scheme, however selfish, which it might suit their owner to originate; and second, that they afford an easy method of giving the wages of unrighteousness to any member of Assembly who, while open to such unhallowed influences, could possibly, through being a fifth-rate writer, be put upon the staff of a daily paper. To readers at a distance from New Zealand this may appear incredible; but it is a statement of sober fact, easily to be ascertained and proved. Others again are reached through their friends, or through hopes of personal or relative advantage. So easily obtainable are some that to be asked to the Premier's dinner parties, and to drink his wine, are sufficient to ensure their obedience. This may be accounted for, perhaps, by the fact that of these last some never saw such dinners before, much less tasted them. Unless report speaks falsely, Julius Vogel—who entered political life a poor man—spends in these dinners during the session more than his Ministerial salary and allowance. It is not impossible, however, that these entertainments may be charged, like the cost of the Ministerial residence itself, to the funds of a country which should be grateful to such a man when he spends its loans in this generous and princely fashion. In these ways nearly a third of the votes in the Assembly belong to Mr. Vogel and his friends. How long it may so continue remains to be decided by an indulgent and careless people. Beyond these the Premier can always count upon a large number of votes to support him in any important political change, inasmuch as in the House of Representatives there are so many antagonistic cliques, mostly Provincial, that what one party supports the other will always condemn.

Chapter IV.

PROVINCIALISM.

The cities thus mutually repelling each other the sympathies of a Greek became more centred in his own. It was this exclusive patriotism which rendered it difficult for the Greeks to unite under circumstances of common danger. It was this political disunion which led them to turn their arms against each other, and eventually made them subject to the Macedonian Monarchs.—DR. SMITH'S *"History of Greece."*

THE question of the abolition of the Provinces, and the absorption of the revenues arising from the public lands into the colonial assets, are so intimately connected that they must be discussed and determined together. The two great sources of revenue in New Zealand are the Land Fund and the Customs. At the present the land Fund, large as it is, becomes, under the Land Revenue Appropriation Act, 1858, payable to the different provinces in which the different portions of the fund arise; while, on the the other hand, Customs become at once Colonial Revenue, although a certain small portion is deducted, and goes to the credit of the different provinces in proportion to the numbers of the white population resident in the different provinces respectively. It must be evident even to the most superficial observer that this is unfair, not only to the provinces but to the people. For it may happen—indeed it does now happen in seven out of the nine provinces—that there is, so to speak, no land fund out of which to provide a revenue. The seven Provincial governments are, therefore, practically bankrupt. This, how ever, is far from being the case with the other two, Their public lands together. The two great sources of revenue in New Zealand are the Land Fund and the Customs. At the present the land Fund, large as it is, becomes, under the Land Revenue Appropriation Act, 1858, payable to the different provinces in which the different portions of the fund arise; while, on the the other hand, Customs become at once Colonial Revenue, although a certain small portion is deducted, and goes to the credit of the different provinces in proportion to the numbers of the white population resident in the different provinces respectively.

It must be evident even to the most superficial observer that this is unfair, not only to the provinces but to the people. For it may happen—indeed it does now happen in seven out of the nine provinces—that there is, so to speak, no land fund out of which to provide a revenue. The seven Provincial governments are, therefore, practically bankrupt. This, however, is far from being the case with the other two. Their public lands are now valuable, and are producing enormous rents and prices. The rents of the public lands in Otago and Canterbury are about £130,000 a year. And on so grand a scale has the land in these two favored provinces been sold and disposed of lately, that during this year they have voted nearly two millions of money for Provincial works—all arising from the public lands. They are making superb endowments for education, and in every way are pushing forward with energy and foresight, (always of course within their own boundaries) roads, railways, public improvements, and the manifold hands and feet of civilization, which are at once the products, the evidences, and the producers of wealth and power. In this Otago and Canterbury are much to be praised. Indeed the authorities of these two great provinces are an example to the General Government of the colony. And were it not that the public welfare and the public safety imperatively demand the abolition of all Provincial institutions, the abolition of the semi-independent administration of these provinces would perhaps be a change for the worse. It may be said, indeed, and said truly, that there will soon be an end to the sale and leasing of public land in Otago and Canterbury, by reason of the rapid rate at which their public estate is passing away into private hands; and it may also be said that the now bankrupt seven other provinces will then be in a position to hope for full exchequers, because their landed estate will be of value. Were things allowed to go on as at present this would undoubtedly be the case. But they cannot go on thus. New Zealand is like an auxiliary screw in a gale on a lee-shore. The officers have tried a new and short cut to the port of success, but they have been caught by the prevailing winds, and thrown upon the stern and rugged coast of financial difficulty. For days she has struggled gallantly in the storm with sails alone. But the gale increases—the sails are carried away—the ship heels over on her side, and the captain and most of the crew have at last resolved to cut short away the fore and main masts. But now the ship drifts more helplessly upon the dark and gloomy rocks. The cry is raised—"Light the fires, get up steam! It is our only hope to escape wreck and get safe to port." But the engineer and a part of the crew object. "Oh, no!" they cry; "the coals are ours. You agreed to that long ago. The coals are sacred! Do what you like with the masts and the cargo. Never mind the shippers; never mind the ship. You must not touch the coals or the engines; they are sacred!" No reasonable man expects that any of the Provinces can much longer retain its lands. Every pound, therefore, spent out of the proceeds of the land by one Province beyond that spent by the rest is a direct act of robbery against the public creditor and the other portions of the Colony. It needs but very little logical discernment to perceive that it is not the land fund, but the Customs revenue, which should belong to any district or province. In no proper sense can it be said that the people of a place provide the land fund in it. For it is the State which allows them to occupy its lands, either for a time as tenants, or for ever as freeholders. They either become tenants to the State, or they buy a certain amount of property for which they pay a certain price. For their money they get their money's worth. Thus every individual who rents a station, and every individual who buys a hundred acres of land from the Government, gets back immediately his money's worth—in the same way as if he were dealing with a private person. The run-holder or the purchaser does not give his rent or his purchase-money for the purposes of the good government of the country. He gives it for so many acres of land on which to build his home, and feed his cattle, and rear his children. In fact it is a mere contract. The Government, as a trustee on behalf—not of a Province, but of the people of New Zealand—sells a portion of its estate to an individual member of the community. The land then belongs to the purchaser; the money belongs to the Government in trust for the people, irrespective of Province or district. This is not the case with the Customs. The duties demanded from the people on the goods they eat, and the clothes they wear, are paid by them solely for the purposes of Government. They get nothing but government in exchange. If any funds should belong therefore to the Provincial Governments they should be funds such as these last, which the people pay individually for the purposes of Government. More especially is this true as the Provincial Governments are now called upon to supply nearly all the wants of the people as members of the body politic. It is manifestly unjust that the people should be taxed more heavily than any other people in the world, and should, while the funds of the General Government are being directed to objects alien to the true purpose for which they were raised, be then taxed again by the Provincial Governments to support those necessary public objects—such, for instance, as Education—which should be borne by the General chest. The injustice is monstrous, when it is seen that other Provinces are permitted to escape this additional tax through the use of the moneys belonging to the whole of the people, which arise from public lands; while the taxes wrung from the pockets of the working classes are being devoted to paying, not the cost of government, but the interest of a public debt, incurred for the very purpose of improving the public lands, the improvement of which does not benefit the people, or lessen the taxation one sixpence. The case stands thus:—

- The General Government of New Zealand taxes the people for the purposes of government more heavily than any other people in the world are taxed.

- The proceeds of that taxation are refused for the purposes of government, but are in a great and yearly-increasing measure used to pay the interest of the public debt.
- From this in many Provinces the people have to remain practically without the benefits of good government, unless they choose to tax themselves a second time, in order to do the work they have already paid the General Government to do.
- The loans are being spent principally in Otago and Canterbury, and are making the public lands in those provinces of great value; but in no instance are these lands made to pay the interest or bear any part in the charges or responsibilities thus arising.
- Thus two Provinces are becoming enormously rich, while the others have now become bankrupt.
- Soon all the general revenue will go simply for interest, sinking fund, and one or at most two departments of the General Government; and if the people desire education, police, gaols, road boards, lunatic asylums, or indeed any portion of the blessings of civilised society, they must be taxed increasingly.

How beautifully applicable to the present state of things are Mr. Vogel's words spoken in 1870 in that very financial statement which was to produce exactly the contrary of all this. Then one Province was entitled to as much consideration as another. Then it could not be endured that one Province should languish while it saw others in prosperity, especially if the languishing Province contributed of its scanty means to supply the fullness of its neighbour. Heavens! what a satire does the present history of this Colony offer upon the theory of 1870! Unequal as things now are they must become still more unequal if the Provincial system be continued and the public money be still spent as at present. To them that have shall be given, and from them who have not shall be taken the little that they have. The Provinces have been badly treated. They have not had a fair trial. They have been deceived, entrapped, and robbed. Looking back now from the experience of sixteen years we can see that it was a great mistake to credit the Provincial Exchequers with the Land Fund. The land of the country is the first and most tangible security for a public debt. There can be but little doubt but that when the English public—who have already contributed to our loans, or who may yet be asked to do so—learn that the rich lands of the South are to be perpetually given over to the Provinces, and that by some process also the lands of the North—acquired from the Maoris by the money lent by them—are to be withdrawn and not included in the security they hold they will be alarmed. And the people of New Zealand should feel alarmed also. The trust funds—the money of the widow, the orphan, and the insane—have gone into the great general borrowing gulf. And yet the only tine security for it is to be withdrawn. It is a plan which paves and prepares the way for repudiation. Start not, oh reader, at the words! Look it fairly in the face and consider. Already the people are taxed to a greater extent than they can pay when wages fall. Further taxation must come in order to meet existing liabilities. But when another two pounds a-year have to be paid by each inhabitant, or six pounds for each bread-winner, to meet the increased interest upon borrowed money—when another thirty shillings, or four pounds ten shillings a-year for heads of families, have to be ground out of the people to pay for the defence force, and the expenditure necessary to save from destruction all the great works now being undertaken—when wages fall, when trade declines, when the revenue decreases, and the soil tillers and gold miners, the toilers of the earth, with many sighs turn their backs upon a land so fair—then how will the Government meet its liabilities? It will not then be able to borrow more money. The first time the interest on the debt is not paid the credit of the country is gone, and what follows then? The Provinces therefore, although not fairly, must perforce go. And they may go without leaving a pang behind them. The same system of discordant government was the ruin of Greece. It is the one weakness of the United States. It provided for her a great civil war, and it will yet split asunder that mighty nation. It has been a source of weakness to Switzerland. It makes here different land laws, different fencing, education, licensing, and other Acts. Let the Provinces go, but let them go together, and in their place let something sensible and workable be placed, which shall perpetuate the usefulness of provincialism, but shall leave New Zealand one country.

Chapter V.

JULIUS VOGEL.

Exegi monumentum ære perennius.

—HORACE.

A man so various that he seemed to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome.
Strong in opinions, always in the wrong,
Was everything by starts, and nothing long,
And in the course of one revolving moon.
Was chymist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon.
—DRYDEN.

THROUGHOUT the Australasian Colonies no public man has, during the last five years, attracted to himself so much attention as Julius Vogel. Before 1869 he was mainly known as part proprietor and editor of the *Otago Daily Times*. Coming to this country from Victoria at that time when the discovery of rich goldfields in Otago had drawn thousands of energetic colonists from Australia Felix to the rich goldfields of South New Zealand, Mr. Vogel—already connected with the press—commenced the publication of the *Otago Daily Times*. After a little time he began to take a part in Provincial politics, and ultimately obtained a seat in the House of Representatives. There are in some men's lives strange vicissitudes and events. Twenty years ago Mr. Vogel kept a small chemist's shop at Avoca, in Victoria; and Mr Kerferd, the present Premier of that Colony, was just about to put up a little brewery at Beech worth. Who could then have forecast the present? One at the head of the first and most wealthy of England's Colonies, and the other Premier of New Zealand, engaged in gigantic schemes of public work, and borrowing millions from European capitalists with the same equanimity which he might have then shewn in taking five shillings for a box of "Singleton's Golden Ointment." Mr. Vogel's introduction to the General Assembly was at least romantic. A writ had been issued for the return of a member to the House of Representatives for one of the electoral districts of Dunedin. Mr. Gillies, the father of the late Superintendent of Auckland, being Returning Officer, repaired to the appointed place of nomination to perform his duties. Mr. Vogel, as editor of the *Otago Daily Times*, in lieu of an ordinary reporter, also attended. The time was one in which men were making money rapidly. The Otago goldfields were very prosperous. Politics were at a discount; they did not pay. Especially was this the case in reference to the politics of the General Government, for at that time the Provinces were everything. When the scene of operations was reached Mr. Gillies began to read the writ to the solitary auditor, Julius Vogel. There was no candidate, no proposer, no public. Suddenly Mr. Vogel thought—"I will be elected!" He went instantly to the adjacent Provincial offices; asked two gentlemen (one of them since dead) to come out and nominate and second him, and with them came back to where Mr. Gillies yet stood patiently waiting for the return of the future dictator of New Zealand. By this time, however, a crowd was gathering. One man, attracted by the somewhat remarkable circumstance of an elderly gentleman reading a public announcement to nobody, stood to listen; while Mr. Albert Devore, now a solicitor practising in Auckland, on his way to one of the Courts, also attracted by the peculiar appearance, joined him. Then returned Mr. Vogel and the two gentlemen. He was duly proposed, seconded, and declared elected, and the six people separated. The two gentlemen whose services launched Mr. Vogel upon his political career returned to their official toil, little dreaming of the part they had taken in the history of New Zealand. The strange man who stopped, with with open mouth, to listen to Mr. Gillies reading to nobody, and who himself supplied an auditory, came there for a moment unknown, and then passed away into the unknown from whence he came. Mr. Devore is a rising solicitor, and Mr. Vogel is Premier of New Zealand. His career, however, as a member of Parliament is uninteresting until in the year 1870 he astonished the country, and indeed all the Colonies of this group, by enunciating a bold and enterprising scheme, called by himself "The Public Works and Immigration Policy." Abundant criticism was evoked both in New Zealand and Australia by the proposed measure, but without much opposition it became law. The main features of the scheme are sketched elsewhere. Its windings and ramifications have been the main objects of public attention during the last four years, and even now, although the three famous Resolutions have asserted their right to absorb the notice of the people, yet it must be remembered that but for the working out of that policy these Resolutions would not have appeared perhaps for twenty years. The progress of continued borrowing and our increasing liability have compelled the Ministry to bring at last the questions of Provincialism and the Land Fund to the bar of public opinion. For five years Mr. Vogel has been the real strength of the Cabinet, and it may perhaps be of advantage to examine the career of one who is destined either for good or evil, to leave his mark upon New Zealand's history. Julius Vogel is a little above the medium height. Dark hair and eyes. In manner, when it pleases him, pleasant; or the contrary. In speech somewhat abrupt and jerky, and of a comprehensive although not well-balanced mind. He has what very few statesmen possess—a strong and even over-mastering imagination, and a highly sanguine temperament Fruitful in expedients to arouse admiration or to avert defeat he is in no way scrupulous as to the instruments he employs to achieve his ends, nor the means by which those

instruments are secured. With him in a high degree "success is virtue." Extravagant in his private life, he gauges his public expenditure by the same scale. His continued success is largely attributable to his knowledge of men and his power of using them. During the last four years he has, with the exception of about a month, managed to secure a majority in the House. Something of this is to be credited no doubt to the presence in the Lower Chamber of so many who, as we have seen, are mere hangers-on and dependents upon the favour of individual Ministers or the Cabinet collectively. Allowing, however, for these, it is strange that a majority of members could still be found to follow the lead of Mr. Vogel although it led them to different points of the compass and to contradictory and unmistakable. One session Mr. Vogel solemnly announces that Provincial institutions are necessary, and the majority see it clearly. Next session the majority see that, Provinces are an obstruction, and straightway his obedient servants alter their former opinions and adopt his. The next Mr. Vogel solemnly pledges himself to continue the Provinces in existence, and attempts to alter the established law of the land, and give them once more that power to borrow, which had not long before been forbidden as being highly inimical to the public welfare. Still again his faithful followers change their ideas—for it would be sacrilege to call them beliefs—and even indecently threaten the Upper House because, in the exercise of a wise and prudent discretion, the Council put a drag upon such preposterous legislation. And, at last, after they had heard publicly from the Ministry, that no organic change was about to be introduced during the session just closed, and had smilingly and warmly agreed to it, they one and all supported the three startling Resolutions of Mr. Vogel. Few men will forget the exquisite satire of that scene in Hamlet where Polonius enters to Hamlet with a message,—

- HAMLET.—"Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in shape of a camel?"
- POLONIUS.—"By the mass, and 'tis a camel indeed."
- HAMLET.—"Methinks 'tis like a weasel."
- POLONIUS.—"It is backed like a weasel."
- HAMLET.—"Or like a whale?"
- POLONIUS.—"Very like a whale!"

There are some members of the present Assembly who would willingly—nay, who do each session—play Polonius to the Hamlet of Julius Vogel, and until they are driven out of the halls of legislation the country will not be safe. They first pass resolutions, and then ask what those resolutions mean. As a politician Julius Vogel is unscrupulous, but clever; as a financier, bold even to recklessness; as a debater, plausible; as a Minister, tricky, and deceitful. He conciliates those who may be useful to his plans, and adapts his measures of conciliation with wonderful adroitness to the peculiar weaknesses of each individual character. Whatever be the verdict which posterity may pass upon Julius Vogel it is, at least, certain that he possesses in an eminent degree that perception of the character of others which so largely enables all successful men to keep others in accord with themselves and antagonism with their opponents. To Sir George Bowen, who loved ease and a well-timed geniality, and to Sir James Fergusson—somewhat impatient and ambitious—he seems to have been equally acceptable. Cleverer, in his own peculiar way, than either, he managed to preserve with both the most friendly relations. Indeed the only men who, being either his friends or indifferent to him and strangers, have become alienated are those who, like Mr. Waterhouse, Mr. O'Rorke, and Mr. Macandrew, have been suddenly driven off by some swift turn or change which Mr. Vogel deemed necessary, but which they could not endure; or men like Mr. Firth, who, quietly observant of passing tilings, have for a long time seen that the peace and welfare of the Colony are being desperately imperilled by the rash and headlong financial course which he has adopted. He has been singularly favored by that capricious goddess—Fortune. The last four years have been wonderfully prosperous, and would have been so without the Public Works and Immigration policy. Wool has reached a price which has increased the wealth of the Colony—according to the statement of well-informed men—by about ten millions since 1869. The Maories, broken by their long succession of wars and losses, were unable to offer a determined resistance to the onward march of the Pakeha. So far as England and her Colonies have been concerned the world has rested in perfect peace. No great financial or commercial panic has, like the stormy cyclone, spread ruin and despair on our shores. Our credit, aided and sustained by the wonderful wealth, stability, and expansion of the Colonies of Australia, has been excellent. No circumstance has occurred to dim the brightness, or break the serenity of the past four years. And Julius Vogel has been clever enough to take advantage of all this, and in his last utterances at Auckland, claims it as the natural consequence of his own pet plan. But amid all this outward, and to a large extent temporary and fictitious prosperity, there has been gradually festering a large mass of rotteness and corruption. Nothing has been debated in the Legislature but the increase of, or catching at, material prosperity. No measures of public utility have been attended to or thought of, and where some Bill possessing any real intrinsic merit has been introduced it has been passed, or else thrown out, with an indecent haste which clearly revealed the little interest taken by members in anything outside the gambling political scheme in which they were engaged. The massive features of a truly great character are entirely wanting in Julius Vogel. He possesses imagination, but no originality. He has indeed a remarkable faculty of absorption. One source of his influence is the peculiar talent he enjoys of taking in the

thoughts of others and then recasting them. None of his plans are the genuine fruit of his own brain. The Public Works and Immigration are not only a mere expansion of an ordinary colonial practice, but are in New Zealand adapted by Julius Vogel from Stafford. The Conservation of Forests he obtained from other sources. The Polynesian trading scheme has been agitated by Mr. Sterndale, Mr. W. J. Hunt, and Mr. Coleman Phillips for years. His three Resolutions do none of them originate from him. He is not the man that we could imagine leading the way at a risk of personal danger, or self-denial, or self-sacrifice in a struggle for any lofty national principle. His are not the thews that throw the world. His statecraft is essentially and entirely mercenary. At this critical period of the history of New Zealand, partly from irritation, partly from a selfish desire to buy a new support from the three most united votes of New Zealand, and partly pushed on by men behind more far-seeing than himself, he has started questions of infinite importance to his country,—the manful and honest handling of which would prove his fitness to be the Premier of this colony. And this is the moment that he chooses to go to England for the purpose of borrowing more money. When the feelings and convictions of a large section of the people have been outraged,—when he has coolly proposed to defraud the public credit and the people of New Zealand by making a gift of the public lands of the South Island to the provinces of Canterbury and Otago,—when he has obtained the assent of the wretched and corrupt majority of the House of Representatives to his startling and violent plans—he then quietly leaves the country, and hands over the moulding of the future constitution of the Colony to some unknown lawyer, who is to go forth and learn from the intellectual Chairmen of Country Road Boards how to frame a system of Government which shall make New Zealand famous. It is difficult to understand how a free people can tolerate this conduct. To many men, however, it is fast becoming a question as to how far the people of New Zealand are entitled to be called free. When Mr. Vogel addressed his constituents at Auckland prior to his departure for England the people did not appear to approve of all his actions. The next morning the *Southern Cross*—a paper belonging partly to Mr. Vogel himself, and edited by one of the followers of Mr. Vogel in the House, a being who in the presence of his patron dare not call his soul his own—contained a long and virulent article, partly directed against the writer of these pages and partly against the people of Auckland. The people were distinctly threatened. Because they had dared to express dissent from Mr. Vogel, Mr. Vogel's flunkey burned with indignation. They had insulted the great man, and they would suffer for it. They would remember it to their sorrow! And the people of Auckland took the threats meekly and in fear. Some of them even regretted that they had not followed the miserable lead of the parasites and panderers who hang around the Premier, "Let us eat any amount of dirt," say these. "Let us fall down and worship the golden calf. What matters honesty or freedom? It is better for us to fawn upon the Premier, who has the dispensing of the borrowed millions, than to indulge in expensive ideas. We may be pointed at and scorned; but let those laugh who win!" Cowards and slaves in spirit, you are not fit to breathe the air of liberty! You are a blot upon a free people. Follow your natural instincts. Be dictated to by Mr. Vogel's newspapers and Mr. Vogel's servants, who sit in their editorial chairs; but do not interfere with the liberties of others, or it may chance that you also will repent it! Mr. Vogel has completely demoralised the Lower House. He has bribed some of the members as Provincial representatives; he has secured others by constant promises of individual preferment. In one session a Bill was proposed to appoint a Board of five members of the House at very large salaries, and it is said that the seats were pledged to fifteen men; but luckily the Bill was thrown out. A million and a-half of money, according to Mr. Vogel's own statement, was given to purchase the adherence of the Provinces, while a warm supporter of the Government said from his place in the Assembly that he believed if this had not been done the Ministry could not have held its seat for eight and forty hours. One Minister appoints himself to a Resident Magistracy. Strange rumours are afloat in connection with another as to the destiny of a sum of three thousand pounds on the purchase of the "Luna" steamer. Accusations are made against others in relation to the purchasing of vast estates from the native owners. The corruption has spread downwards. In no dependency of Great Britain have so many complaints been made of the conduct of Magistrates as in New Zealand during the last five years, and even lately the Colony has been ringing with a Judicial scandal, affecting seriously the truthfulness and honesty either of a Judge of the Supreme Court or one of the District Court. But complaints against Magistrates have been more than useless. So gross is the administration of justice in many of the Courts of this Colony that men will sooner put up with a loss or an act of tyranny than bring their case before a tribunal which they believe will decide against them irrespective of the merits of the cause, and from whose judgment there is practically no appeal. The whole system of the administration is wrong. It begins with the Supreme Court. The five Judges are scattered far and wide. Each resides in the same district for many years—ten or it may be twenty—there is no change. They meet only twice a-year, when a few cases—generally reserved on trifling and technical points—are considered in a full Court, then called the Court of Appeal. It so happens that the Judges of New Zealand are men well known and equally respected. They are men of highly-conscientious minds, who are above a base action or an unworthy motive. Each has to live say for fifteen years in a small community, in which but few people can ever meet him in society on anything like equal terms. He lacks the advantage of converse and argument with his brother-judges.

He wields a power over the Supreme Court which is for all practical purposes despotic. To say that a man can do this without gradually becoming more kindly-disposed to some than to others, without raising some legal practitioners to that happy state where they are said to have "the ear of the Court," while others are regarded with but ordinary complacency—and without contracting friendships and antipathies which must, however unconsciously, influence the purest mind—is to say that he is more than mortal. Besides this, there grows up a grave uncertainty as to decisions of law on disputed points. I have argued a case before one judge on certain grounds, and he unhesitatingly decided against me; I have argued the same case on precisely the same grounds, and against the same antagonist, before another judge, three months afterwards, and he as unhesitatingly gave it in my favor. I have seen a practitioner almost always successful before one judge, and almost always unsuccessful before another, while there seemed no appreciable difference between his arguments, the weight and solidity of the grounds upon which those arguments were urged, or the justice of the case he supported. The people are wearied of these lonely tribunals. There never will be a satisfactory Supreme Court in New Zealand till there is a powerful Central Court of at least three judges, always sitting at the capital city of the Colony. Then there will be a strong Bench and a strong bar. Then the people will have a "Supreme Court" in truth, and then the legislation of the country will not be conducted in the beggarly, ridiculous, and slipshod manner in which it is at present. It will then no longer be a shoddy legislation, but the country will get statutes which do not need tinkering, and repealing, and altering, and amending every session. From this digression let us return. Julius Vogel has done much to demoralize the people. Such promises have been made to them of immediate and great prosperity that they are no longer patient enough to toil and wait for ordinary success. The laws of the land also have been notoriously broken, especially by the wealthy and by people in authority, since the present Ministry came into power. Complaints have been made, but in nearly every instance instead of the wrongdoers being punished *the law has been altered* to shield them. It was thus with the Stamp Act. It was thus with the Winding-up Act. It was thus with the Native Lands Act. It was thus with the Timber Floatage Act. It was thus with the Petty Sessions Act. The Ministry have let contracts to their friends without calling for public tenders, and have allowed their friends to throw up contracts when to have carried them out would have been a loss to them but a gain to the country. By means such as these the present Assembly has been corrupted, and although in each large centre of population Mr Vogel and his friends have secured the services of the newspaper press to a very large extent, and placed in charge—especially in one or two places—the very meanest and most servile of the members of the mean and servile majority in the House of Representatives, yet the public mind retains no respect whatever for its Parliament, and they hold it up to continual ridicule and continual contempt. The very extremes of character and ability have been ascribed to the Premier. To some he is a bold and unscrupulous adventurer. He is called by some an honest and upright Minister, anxious only for the welfare of his adopted country, and toiling with vast courage and conduct for her welfare; while others stigmatise him as a mere political swindler, waiting only a fair opportunity to retire from the scene of his trickery and spoliation. But one thing is certain—whether he be a clever rogue or a heaven-sent statesman—he has been by far the most prominent man in the Colonies for the last five years. His name is deeply carved for weal or woe in the annals of this country, and future historians will mark as the one solitary figure which stood out in bold relief in New Zealand during the last five years the figure of Julius Vogel. His voice introduced the vast policy of borrowing in 1870, and now his hand has placed upon the table of the public mind these Resolutions, which are destined to exert a mighty influence upon the future of New Zealand. Thus, irrespective of his own purposes, and beyond his own hopes and fears, he has set in motion forces and principles which will act, and work, and grow, when the hand which now writes these lines is stilled in death, and all that remains of Julius Vogel shall be the

"Storied urn or animated bust,"

which will tell to our children's children the history of a man in many ways remarkable.

Chapter VI.

THE THREE RESOLUTIONS.

There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gathered then

Her beauty and her chivalry; and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men.
A thousand hearts beat happily, and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell
Soft eyes looked love to eyes, that spake again,
And all when merry as a marriage bell.
But hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a rising knell.

—BYRON.

IT was at a period of perfect calm in the political world of New Zealand that the famous resolutions of Mr. Vogel were promised to the Assembly. On the 31st of July the Hon. Dr. Pollen in the Council, during a debate on the Constitution Bill, used the following words: "This is emphatically a quiet time. What an honorable friend of mine was wont to call the political atmosphere is absolutely serene at present, even upon the distant horizon; it is difficult to see the small cloud out of which any violent tempest or disturbance may possibly emerge. Whether it is that the policy of immigration and public works is eminently and entirely acceptable to the public, or whether this serenity arises from the confidence which the Assembly and people repose in his Excellency's present advisers, it is not for me to determine." But the small cloud was there, though Dr. Pollen could not see it. At the very moment that Dr. Pollen was giving utterance to the somewhat self-complacent and inflated words above quoted Mr. Fitzherbert was in the other House delivering that philippic against Mr. Vogel which brought down upon himself and the House, on August the 4th, the Premier's now historic sentences :—"It seems to me there can be but one reply—Abolish the provinces of the North Island."

In a week that which was at the time considered but an idle threat, made in retaliation, assumed shape and substance, and the three Resolutions were brought down. They are as follow :—"That this House is of opinion that taking the circumstances of the Colony into consideration the Provincial form of Government in the North Island should be abolished : and that in the measure giving effect to the same there should also be included a provision declaring Wellington to be the seat of government of the colony, and for continuing the localisation of the land revenue, in accordance with what is known as the compact of 1856."

It was evident, however, that Julius Vogel was not the only mover in these resolutions. It was also evident that he had gone outside the Ministry to seek inspiration, for Mr. O'Rorke, to his honor be it said, at once rose in the House and left the Ministry; because these resolutions, having been suddenly and without consideration brought down, struck at the Provincial system of Auckland, which he had always held sacred. Honesty is always refreshing in these days, especially in the Assembly. As we have seen, Mr. Thomas Russell was concerned in the preparation; and besides this the House could truly say, like the Patriarch when deceived by Jacob, "The voice is Vogel's voice, but the hands are the hands of Stafford" So far, however, as Mr. Vogel is concerned the Resolutions do not seem to be the result of honest conviction, but merely a fresh bid for popularity in anticipation of a general election—the first to secure the vote of the Centralists, the second the Wellington vote, and the third that of the two great Southern Provinces : Otago and Canterbury. Perhaps the second resolution may be altogether eliminated. It contains no principle, and can only be said to be a question of usefulness, of public convenience, and of expediency. It is also settled, so far as it can be settled, by the private and dishonest agreement that it should be left out of the Bill, but that a large vote should be taken for public buildings in Wellington, which, being expended, the question would be practically decided. Irrespective of the merits of the the question this proceeding was an outrage upon political decency. Representatives then said—"Oh! yes; do that. We get out of a difficulty with our constituents. Leave it out of the Bill, so that we can tell our people that it is so to be left out, and thus deceiving them we shall be safe from their displeasure, and the same end will be accomplished." It will be wise, therefore, simply to consider the two questions which remain.

Mr. Vogel's plan for governing the North Island.

It is a fortunate thing that before leaving Auckland Mr. Vogel announced himself more fully upon the proposed Government of the North Island when the Provinces are abolished. There is, it seems, to be local government, which will be a reality and not a sham, and abundant means are to be found for all the purposes of good government, both that which is now the work of the General Government, and that which is Provincial. This is upon its face clear nonsense. The sole reason urged for the destruction of the North Island Provinces is that they are bankrupt. Without local and provincial taxation they cannot live and work. Without entering here into the merits of the case, it is yet a fact that the General Government can afford to give but the most paltry assistance to the Provinces; and yet Mr. Vogel is about to localise the goldfields' revenue and the license fees—two of the largest sources of the Provincial chest—and with what remains he will carry on the work of a

vigorous administration. No saving can be effected in the present administration. Take the Province of Auckland for example. The only offices abolished will be that of the Superintendent and his Executive; but all their salaries will be more than absorbed in the salary of the Resident Minister at Auckland, proposed by Mr. Vogel. Every Provincial servant must be continued by the General Government, for it is notorious that the Provincial officers do more work and get less pay than their brethren in the General Government employ. All the funds now sustaining the public institutions of the Province will be "localised," which means that Mr. Vogel is making a bid for the votes of Auckland, the Thames, Coromandel, Tauranga, Waikato, and other places where there would be any revenue to localise. It would be a good and wise thing if it could be accomplished, but Mr. Vogel well knows it cannot. Supposing, however, that this localization be carried into effect: where, then, is the money to come from for education, for hospitals, lunatic asylums, gaols, and all other public institutions. For the province of Auckland alone at least fifty thousand pounds a-year must at once be provided. From whence? Not certainly from the consolidated revenue. Our Southern friends will say—and, indeed, under those circumstances justly say—"Oh!—no—wo pay for our institutions ourselves—let Auckland do the same. We are able to enrich our schools and colleges with princely endowments that in future years will give to our children an education equal to that of the public schools and universities of England. We sympathise with Auckland. We trust that she may be able to give to young Auckland a systematic and diligent training in those liberal arts which soften the manners of men, nor suffer them to be brutal; but they really cannot expect that we should do it for them. We support our schools in a very handsome way, and they must not touch the consolidated revenue—already too heavily drawn upon—but must educate their own children themselves. As for the Auckland gaols, they must sustain themselves. Criminals are a luxury, and if the people of Auckland will have criminals they must pay for them. So also in relation to hospitals and asylums. We really cannot be expected to provide these for Auckland; they must support these themselves. If a mysterious Providence will insist that there shall be old and infirm people in Auckland, and accidents and diseases to the poor, and that mental aberration shall afflict men there, really it is no affair of ours. We might just as well be asked to support the benevolent asylums of Madagascar or the hospitals of Japan." The only possible source from whence the necessary funds can be obtained is by levying a special local tax upon the people of the North Island for these purposes. Indeed if the South were willing that the cost should be borne by the consolidated revenue it would be found that that revenue could not bear it. After this year the general revenue of the country will not be sufficient to pay the yearly charges upon it. It would therefore be idle even to suggest that it should bear additional burdens. One source, as I have said, alone remains. But if such a tax were levied would the people pay it? As Mr. Vogel said in Auckland, "Endurance has its limits." If the people, already groaning beneath the yoke of an almost intolerable taxation, find that this change of Government means merely increased taxation; with the lavish wealth and expenditure of Otago and Canterbury flaunted in their faces, who will answer for their quiet submission to what they cannot but feel to be a crying and enormous injustice. The spirit of Hampden and Cromwell, of Milton and Washington, yet lives and breathes in every community of our countrymen. Supposing, however, that this difficulty were met, only half the task of the Government is accomplished. What is to become of Nelson, Westland, and Marlborough? How will they exist. Year by year their position must become more galling. The General Government will increase, as indeed they must, the taxation of the individual colonists living in those provinces. Can their Provincial Councils tax as well? They cannot. What then will they do? They may ask for assistance from the consolidated revenue. But how remote will be their chance of obtaining such assistance. The colonial exchequer will be drained. You cannot take the "breeks" of a Highlandman, nor squeeze water from a dry sponge, nor drain blood out of a stone. But if the colonial exchequer were full the three Southern Provinces would then be met by two opposite cries. Otago and Canterbury would say "Oh! they must help themselves. We support our institutions; let them support theirs." While from the North Island would come a still more bitter cry: "We cannot allow this. We not only pay as much as you to the general revenue, but we are ruinously burdened with local taxation also. You people of Nelson, Westland, and Marlborough have assisted through your members to lay these terrible burdens upon us, and you cannot in common justice ask us to pay towards those institutions in your provinces which you have compelled us to pay extra for in our own." Now, the people of those three provinces have a potential voice. Their members can turn the scale, and if they are true to the interests of their constituents and the Colony they will do it. They can carry the total abolition of all the provincial institutions of New Zealand, and thus equalise all burdens, and place all: North, South, East, and West upon a permanent equal footing. Leaving for a time the consideration of this first Resolution let us look at the third,

The Compact of 1856.

Here we are at once met by two propositions, the first being that in 1856 a certain compact was made in relation to the Land Fund, and the second that it is desirable to recognise that compact and make it unalterable.

It is necessary that this subject should be approached with extreme moderation. The calm and dispassionate attention, therefore, of the reader is invited to the consideration of a question of momentous importance Unless the third Resolution be thus considered, and in this spirit determined, it threatens to rend New Zealand into fragments. It is well that we as a people have nearly twelve months in which to weigh the whole matter, and to view it from every stand-point. What, then, is the "compact" which is alluded to? In the year 1856 there were, as there have ever been in New Zealand, two parties—one headed by Mr. Fox, and the other by Mr. Stafford. Each party had its separate and opposing principles. Mr. Fox contended that the Provinces should be assimilated to the United States of America; that the Land Fund should be Colonial, and the Customs Provincial revenue. Mr. Stafford held that Land Fund should be Provincial, and a small portion of Customs revenue should be used for the purposes of general government. Prior to this time the Land Fund was by the Constitution liable to certain public liabilities. The question in 1856 was to pay off these liabilities, including a claim by the New Zealand Company. To a certain time Mr. Fox was in a majority, but only a majority of one. By-and-bye Mr. Travel's came up from Nelson to Auckland, then the seat of Government, and being an adherent of Mr. Stafford, the votes became equal. Still, however, Mr. Fox was in a majority, for it was well known that the Speaker of the House was in his favour; when, to every one's surprise, Dr. Campbell suddenly turned on a division, and walked into the lobby with Mr. Stafford. In such trivial incidents do the larger events of history find their source! It may well be doubted whether if Dr. Campbell had not thus strangely voted with Mr. Stafford the Land Fund would not to this day have been Colonial revenue, and liable primarily to the whole burden of the public debt. And so little of actual interest upon the question itself was felt in its thus peculiar decision that when Mr. Robert Graham and Captain Daldy asked Dr. Campbell why he had thus acted, that gentlemen replied, "I thought I was bound in honor to vote with my party." It is not too much to say that out of that thoughtless vote has arisen the present state of things which bids fair to convulse New Zealand from end to end. Afterwards a series of resolutions was carried, but it was disallowed by the Imperial Government. Power, however, was given to the Colonial Parliament to alter the Constitution within certain limits. In 1858 was passed an Act called "The Land Revenues Appropriation Act," by which the land revenue of the different Provinces was to be paid to the credit of the respective Provinces in which it was raised. How grotesque is the position of political affairs. The country now beholds Mr. Fox and Mr. Stafford side by side, working in conjunction with Julius Vogel, who has cleverly pledged them both to pass these famous Resolutions! For the Resolutions go but half-way on either subject: only half the Provinces are to be expunged; only half the Land Revenue is to become the property of the General Government! Fox—Stafford—Fitzherbert sole survivors of an Assembly once famous—you who join the miserable present to the happy past—will it be too much to ask you to listen for a moment to the advice of a younger man than yourselves, of one who dreamed not of visiting the Britain of the South when you were lighting her standard to the morning winds, but still one who loves New Zealand as well perhaps as you, and who sees in her the infant who will expand and grow thro' storm and sunshine to a glorious queen? Will you not join together in this coming day of storm and tumult to lead the country into peace? Throw away all half measures. Realize the perils of the situation. Bury the hatchet, and together, side by side, determine these questions; and as you once led the people to the first enjoyment of Constitutional government, now guide them through the dangers of the straits which they have entered. These objects once achieved, all other reforms will follow. The Assembly, no longer the scene and theatre of contending Provinces, will set itself to the great task of governing an united Colony, and the wild chaos at present existing will rapidly subside into regularity and order. Thus then the Land Revenue Act was passed, and since that time the two questions, the Provincial and the Land Revenue, have stood like gloomy shades in the path of this Colony. Sooner or later they must be swept away, and at last the time seems to have arrived. It behoves the people of New Zealand in all places to see that the work is done once and for ever. We have seen the origin of the so-called compact of 1856. Supposing, however, that there ever was such a compact, we must not forget that the public safety is the suprema law. If such a state of circumstances ever arose as would make it necessary for the public welfare that the public lands should be resumed by the State he would be a traitor to the country who would oppose it. Nor must we forget that the Provinces as such never paid for or acquired in any way these public lands. They are held by the Crown in trust for the people of New Zealand. But, says Mr Vogel, if there had been no compact of 1856 it would be wise now to settle the public lands of the South as Provincial property. And in his speech at Auckland he reproached those who had spoken in his absence upon this matter with not having told the people that the Assembly had agreed to spend £700,000 on a landed estate for the North. This, however, does not seem of much importance to the North, as if the Provinces be destroyed the lands will remain in the hands of the General Government, and directly they are wanted as security for a public loan they will be so given. It is not, however, for Julius Vogel, but for the people to determine this matter. Should the third Resolution become law it will of course keep the Provincial exchequers of Otago and Canterbury full for many years. It will ensure in those Provinces not only the vigorous administration of the ordinary duties of a Provincial Council and Executive, but also a complete system of roads and railways. The

value of property in many places will be greatly enhanced—the price of labour will for a time be kept up, and the circulation of large sums of public money will give a temporary though powerful impetus to trade. Even, however, for benefits so material as these the people of Otago and Canterbury may pay too much. They are colonists of New Zealand although they happen to live in the favored Provinces of the South. And they must recollect that they must share equally as individuals and families, as consumers and tax-payers, with their brethren in Westland and Nelson, in Wellington and Auckland. There are portions of Otago and Canterbury, and it may be said very considerable portions, which will derive little or no benefit from the expenditure of Provincial treasures. There are other localities where but an unequal portion is distributed. To these and people who reside in them the increasing colonial taxation will come with aggravated bitterness when they remember that Otago and Canterbury are selfishly keeping from the public creditor those funds which would avert the necessity of such growing demands upon the people as a whole. In every Province, in every community, there are different classes of society. Of these the most numerous are the labouring and small trading classes. To them, although they treat it seemingly with no concern, the question is one of vital importance. To them the expenditure of large sums of public funds means a very small and evanescent increase in the price of daily labour, swiftly reduced by competition of incoming strangers from less prosperous Provinces, or immigration, or by the cessation of the extraordinary distribution of money. But a permanent increase in the Customs duties, or other taxation, means the taking away for good a certain number of shillings per week, which will not be replaced when employment becomes more scarce and wages fall to their natural level. If the taxation of the Colony be permanently increased it will be as much a burden upon the working men, the small settlers, and the tradesmen of Dunedin and Christchurch as those of Hokitika and Grahamstown, for naturally wages will gradually become equal, and prices also. No inconsiderable portion of the population is" composed of those whose incomes are settled and subject to few fluctuations—ministers of the Gospel, Government officers, Bank clerks, other clerks and officials, schoolmasters, persons who have small annuities or live upon the interest of money invested. To these it is of the last importance that there should be no increase in the cost of living. To these, five pounds, or ten pounds, or twenty pounds in the year of additional taxation means the loss of some moderate pleasure. It means the robbery from some dear friend of a yearly present, and in every case the loss of some one of the many little sources of the happiness of life which they only know who are called upon to suffer. Already has this been recognised. The Government have made a gift of about ten per cent, to their more poorly paid servants last year because the cost of living has so much increased. Living will be as dear this year, but this cannot be repeated. What consolation will it be to the Government or Bank clerk when he finds that one or two of his children must go without proper clothing, or that an invalid mother or wife must lack her accustomed little comforts, or that his subscription to a pleasant Club or Friendly Society must cease, to know that the roads are in good condition, or that the Provincial exchequer is in a state of plethoric abundance, and that his Province has seen the so-called compact of 1856 adhered to. The classes enumerated, counting amongst them the goldminers and bushmen, are by far the largest portion of the population of Otago and Canterbury, and they possess the power of deciding this question in a manner consistent alike with the dictates of common sense, kindness, and honesty. And they must not forget that if one portion of the Colony suffers all must suffer, and if population decreases in the North Island they will have to pay for the deficiency. If by the retention to Otago or Canterbury or any other Province of the land funds arising within that Province the rest of the Colony suffers, then the suffering will soon extend to that Province so causing it. Soon the General Revenue of the country will be utterly too small to meet the demands upon it. When the time arrives in which the Public Works and Government expenditure cease, the Consolidated Revenue will suddenly go down to a very large extent. The demands on it will not decrease, but steadily grow, until the interest and sinking fund, with the vote say for defence purposes, will absorb it all. The Colony will then be in nearly the same position that the seven bankrupt Provinces now occupy. To what sources will our statesmen then turn for funds? What unknown mines of wealth can they hope to discover that they may satisfy the hungry craving of the public creditor, and carry on the ordinary government of the Colony? Mr. Vogel—for he cannot avert the advent of that disastrous day—will perhaps exclaim like Glendower, "I can call moneys from the vasty deep"; and the people, like Hotspur, may answer, Ay, so can we, or so can any men. But will they come when you do call for them?" Let the people of this Colony remember that no more provision is being made for colonial future wants than has been made for the wants of the Provinces. When Mr. Vogel began his political alchemy the Provinces were rich, strong, and prosperous. So was the Colony. The Provinces have fallen; and, under the same guidance and conditions, the Colony will fall also. They were the outposts. They have been carried by the foe, and now the Colony stands face to face with difficulties and dangers, which it will not recognise nor prepare to meet. Nor are the wealthier classes in Otago and Canterbury altogether beyond the reach of argument. If they withhold the land fund a heavy property tax and a tax on wool will form the best source in lieu of the proceeds of land. At present gold is taxed; why should not wool be taxed also? All the argument is in favor of the exemption of gold. That is produced at enormous cost, and toil, and danger. None of these conditions attach to wool. All taxation is at

present taken equally from the people. And yet not altogether; for the gold-miners are specially taxed. In 1871 they paid £120,000 to the revenue in the shape of special taxation more than any other class. This is absolutely unfair and impolitic. Why should not property bear its share of the common load? Is it just that the labourer should pay as much as the man of property? Taxation should fall equally upon men in proportion to their power to pay. After our time of plenty there will come a time of want, but Julius is not Joseph, nor is he making any preparation for the approach of the years of famine. If however the Land Fund become Colonial Revenue, and is made available to pay interest and various charges, then we may hope without serious enlargement of taxation in any way to hold on till population increases, and our northern and western lands can aid to replenish the Colonial chest. The course of a young country like this is onward. It must go forward. No barriers can stay its course. The finger of destiny points it to a brilliant future. But to its immediate future the third Resolution would be as disastrous as the first. That would tend to destroy the oneness of the people, and split them into local and angry factions. This would unfairly and unevenly place the public debt upon the shoulders of colonists, unduly increase taxation, clog the development of those truly vast resources, which must, when opened, increase the revenue of the colony and the wealth of the people, and produce a spirit of discontent among large sections of the community. No sane man can believe that seven of the Provinces will bear an undue share of the taxation, while to please a few and only a few of the little great men of the other two, the land fund of those two is expended in order to improve the property of the rich and to add to the wealth of the wealthy. The end of that would in the nature of things soon come. The seven Provinces would not endure the tyranny of the small although wealthy minority which forms the governing class in Canterbury and Otago. To the true-hearted men of the South there are higher grounds on which to stand in these matters. For these are but the arguments of expediency and what is prudent. To them the first question arising will be—Is it honest that the land funds should be spent by these Provincial Governments when the people want them? What right have these Provinces to them over the people of the other Provinces? And to such—who recognise the laws of justice and uprightness, who understand that the foundations of a nation should be honesty and truth, who are prepared to suffer if need be on behalf of their adopted land, who look to the future with hope, because they resolve to act so as to deserve success—to these the question will be one easy of solution. And to them the very sacrifice—if sacrifice it can be called—will make this land more dear and its best interests more cherished. Too long have we permitted provincial and local jealousies to keep the different members of this national family apart. At length a noble opportunity is offered of perpetual union. And upon the altar of our common country may now be offered that provincial selfishness and greed which alone can impede our speedy steps in the colonial race to greatness.

Chapter VII.

THE PUBLIC WORKS AND IMMIGRATION POLICY.

The Egyptians built pyramids over the dead : we build roads to give life and swiftness to the living. The Chinese erect a wall to shut themselves in : we open roads and ports, and span the ocean itself with floating bridges, that we may go everywhere and behold the coming of all people.

—DR. BUSHNELL.

No political scheme was ever launched with a more certain prospect of success—at least according to its projector—than this. Its future course was definitely marked. The unerring finger of its author pointed out its future development with an assumption of absolute certainty. His prophetic eye, piercing the shades and clouds which hide the future from ordinary mortals, saw in the coming years the golden harvest while yet the seed remained unsown, and his melodious voice told with accents of unerring foresight the ultimate glory of New Zealand; when, unmindful of the fact that she had but just emerged from her infancy, she would rise to her full maturity, and take her proud position among the other nations" of the earth. Julius Vogel introduced his great scheme with a becoming modesty. He spoke of his pet scheme as Cromwell or Blake might have spoken of some immortal victory; the only difference being that they generally spoke after the victory was achieved, and not when they were starting forth to meet the foe. A nearer likeness to the style of the statement in which the Public Works and Immigration policy was introduced to New Zealand is found in the soliloquy of that ill-starred dreamer in the Arabian Nights, who, taking a basket of his wares to market, mapped out clearly in his own mind the course of speculation by which, with the proceeds, he should rise to wealth, and at last become the husband of the Sultan's or Vizier's daughter. The end however of his forecasting was but a sorry termination to a dream so bright, and it is not at all impossible that the end of Mr. Vogel's day-dream may be equally disastrous. No project was ever promulgated with greater particularity of circumstantial detail as to its future development and consequences. The statement in which Mr. Vogel laid the great Public Works and

Immigration scheme before the Assembly is more like the prospectus of a Gigantic Bubble Company than the calm delineation of a national policy. Indeed it may well be called the prospectus of "The New Zealand Public Works and Immigration Association." Incorporated by Act of Parliament. Capital, £10,000,000, in 10,000,000 shares of £1 each. Liability unlimited. Managing director—Hon. Julius Vogel. In this vast Company every colonist of New Zealand is compelled by law to hold one or more shares. The managing director has power to borrow eight and a-half millions of money, to be spent partly on the construction of roads and railways, partly on telegraphs and public buildings, partly on introducing immigrants to the country, and last, but by no means least, partly to create offices for the friends of the directors, to build and furnish fine houses for those gentlemen, to bribe and corrupt the persons who could elect other directors to manage the great Company, and in a thousand ways to please the directors by sending them on jolly trips to England and elsewhere, with all the style and cost of ambassadors, and by providing them and their friends with nice percentages on borrowed moneys and fat contracts. To secure the eight and a-half millions to be borrowed by the directors they were authorised to pledge part of the waste lands of the Colony, and the whole credit of the people. While commending this new speculation to the House Mr. Vogel was modestly enthusiastic. He displayed with charming innocence a quiet acknowledgment of a "higher power." He admitted that the success of the undertaking must depend upon a power greater than that of mortal cabinets. But he was gratefully thankful to believe that the hand of the Supreme Governor would endorse the patriotic and brilliant plans of Julius Vogel. Providence had indeed been good to this land. The very best proof was to be found in the gift of such a heaven-born statesman as himself. The projector then pointed out to the House and country the limits and conditions of the plan. 1st. The public credit was to be very carefully guarded, and therefore only £850,000 a-year were to be borrowed and spent, thus spreading the loans over ten years, from 1870 to 1880. 2nd. The Government, fully acknowledging the danger arising from undue competition in labour, were to be on their guard lest by taking too much in hand at once they should create a demand for the working power of the country which would draw the labouring classes from their ordinary employment. 3rd. It was remembered that the Colony as a whole would be responsible for the borrowed money, but that the expenditure would more immediately and largely benefit the public lands, and thereby benefit the Provinces; and it was provided that in these cases a sufficiency of lands thus improved should be taken to become a solid guarantee to the Government, the people, and the public creditor for the moneys so spent. 4th. The ordinary functions of the Government were not to be interfered with. The Provinces were to receive a regular payment of £2 per head of their population, besides a special grant of £50,000 a-year. The two pounds per head was to be liable to a reduction of 2s. per year till it fell to 30s. per head, and there it was to stop. 5th. The taxation of the people was not to be increased. The borrowed money was to be so spent, and the public works so carried on, as to avoid casting any additional burdens upon the shoulders of the people—already, indeed, more heavily taxed than any other community. 6th. No organic change in the Constitution was to be attempted, at any rate, as to the Provincial and Central question.

In relation to the Provincial and Central question, Mr. Vogel said : "I have already said it is desirable to avoid as much as possible mixing up organic political changes with the great colonizing question. I would not shrink from declaring that if the existence of the present institutions of the country are inconsistent with the promotion of public works and immigration, and a choice must be made, I would infinitely prefer the total remodelling of those institutions to abandoning that stimulating aid which, as I believe, the condition of the Colony actually demands. But violent political changes are much to be deprecated, and in the present case they would net answer the end in view. You may sweep away the Provinces and Provincial institutions by legislation, but you could not destroy those feelings of separate and distinct interests which have grown up with the settlement of the Provinces. In the course of time as the separate interests become blended, the distinctive sentiment will subside; but time and the progress of settlement and inter-communication must work their undemonstrative yet inevitable effects. To attempt to anticipate their action would be to induce an exciting political struggle, in the determination of which public attention would be so much absorbed as to lead to the neglect of the great colonizing question. We may undervalue local distinctions, but why should the inhabitants of one Province submit to a lengthened period of depression whilst the means they partly contribute are devoted to consolidating the prosperity of another Province? It is very well to talk about narrow views, but one body of settlers is entitled to just as much consideration as another. If the settlers in any Province understood they were occupying an outlying district which would only be entitled to attention after more favored districts had been served, we might then deal with the Colony as with others; but it is quite otherwise. Each Provincial community has been taught to believe itself on a par with its neighbours, and a colonizing scheme, to aid which the credit of the whole Colony was pledged, would be looked upon as a gross injustice if it did not provide for due consideration to every Province. That is why we must pledge ourselves to a large scheme if we wish to do justice to all. Inter-provincial barriers will in time be removed; but the removal should be effected through the agency of prosperity—not of adversity."

Passing then from the conditions of the proposed plan he sketched the results which would surely follow the introduction of his scheme :—1st. The taxation of the people was to be reduced. 2nd. The public works were to be of such a character that they were gradually to repay the cost of their construction. 3rd. The revenue from the public works, the sale of lands made valuable by the roads and railways, and from stamps, &c., was to be sufficient to pay the increasing interest upon the public debt. In the tables so elaborately got up by Mr. Vogel the following are the results submitted to the House and country. The interest on the borrowed money was to be:—

"On the other side," said Mr. Vogel "merely as conjecture recollect, let us see to what desperate lengths this might drive the Colony." He then goes on to say that six millions of acres of land may be taken as railway estate. That two and a-half millions of acres would be directly given for public works, and that three and a-half millions could be sold or leased, producing as follows :—"1st. year, £5,000, and ranging onward till in the tenth year the sum would be £130,000. In the same way the railways were to repay over and above working expenses, beginning with the third year £10,000, and going on the tenth year up to £250,000. The stamp duties also were to yield from £80,000 to £170,000 on the tenth year, the half of which would be available, making a total of receipts for the first year of £45,000, and the tenth year of £465,000. Thus there would always be a surplus of receipts over current expenditure." "Now as to the modes of paying for these railways. It is essential, in order that we do not proceed too fast and undertake more than our means will justify, that we should fix a very effectual limit to the liabilities to be incurred. Speaking broadly, I contend that during the next ten years the Colony will run no risk if it commit itself to an expenditure, or a proportionate liability for guarantee of interest of ten millions for railways, and for other purposes comprised in these proposals." 4th. As the general outcome of the whole scheme Mr. Vogel portrayed with a becoming and subdued pride the brightest picture ever presented to a Colonial audience. New Zealand, like the Phoenix, was to rise glorious from its ashes. No quack, no charlatan from a donkey-cart in a fair, ever descanted in more glowing language upon the virtue of his wares than did Mr. Vogel upon the universal merits of his scheme. Holloway's pills and ointment were nonsense beside the panacea mixed by Julius Vogel for the welfare of this body politic. It was once said of Mr. Gladstone, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, that he made the figures of his Budget burst into flowers and become interesting to a Parliament which hated figures; and in this matter Mr. Vogel aspired to wear the mantle and wield the rod of the greatest statesman of modern days, But Mr. Vogel's rod is not like the rod of Aaron, which budded, nor has the cloak of Gladstone fallen upon the shoulders of Vogel. Any person who choose to look behind the pretty array of figures neatly set down in Mr. Vogel's financial statement could see that the so-called policy shadowed forth was not a sketch by a master hand, but rather a sort of public-house daub, in which colours were plentiful and details amplified. There was, so to speak, no backbone in it. It had a limp and all-too-pliable appearance. The true architect will sketch out his plan in bold and decided, perhaps rough strokes; the draughtsman may put in the details and colours. Mr. Vogel's plan was in truth no plan, but a mass of details and colours. The plan, so far as any exists, has been made since. The colouring, however, if not tasteful, was at any rate profuse. Raphaël in his best clays could not have equalled it. Turner would have died with chagrin at the sight. Had Ruskin or Carlyle but heard that statement with a full knowledge of New Zealand either would have immortalised Mr. Vogel in spirit-stirring sentences. As it was Mr. Vogel seemed anxious to emulate the prophetic vision of Isaiah when that great Prophet looked over the clouds and wars of centuries to the distant glories of the millennium. The wilderness and the solitary place was to be glad. The desert would rejoice and blossom as the rose. The valleys would be covered over with com. Cattle would feed upon a thousand hills. The valleys should be exalted, the mountains and hills made low. He would plant in the wilderness the cedar, the myrtle and the oil tree, and in the desert the fir tree and the pine. Mr. Vogel, however, did not intend to wait until the days of universal peace for the fulfilment of his hopes. In a single decade his public works and immigration policy was to effect a mighty change. The silent recesses of the forest would be for ever penetrated by the iron road, and echo to the tread of civilised life. Upon the sacred ground where once the Maori scraped in solitude the bones of his fathers the spire of the village church would point with silent finger to the skies. On plains, and pathless swamps, and gentle uplands the golden corn would bend beneath the reaper's arm. Upon a hundred village greens the lads would pitch the wicket or urge the merry football to the goal. The seas would be white with the sails of commerce, and the land instinct with prosperity; and then as a fitting climax Mr. Vogel, still with prophetic vision, saw in the distance, in the purple haze, the golden and amber tints of the summer of New Zealand's prosperity, the demarcations and divisions of the Provinces fading and melting away until through this happy state of things New Zealand would throw off its chrysalis sheath of Provincial existence and burst into the warm sunshine a gorgeous butterfly. But no violence was to be used in this transformation. No sacrilegious hand was to touch the Constitution of the Colony. The natural inherent power of growth in a young nation—especially aided by the genius of a Vogel, and warmed and fostered by the pure administration of public works and immigration—would accomplish the desired consummation amid the rejoicings of a happy and contented people. Now no reasonable man would be likely to object to a proper

scheme of public works and immigration. I use the term "proper" in contradistinction to the Vogelian scheme. In Mr. Vogel's enterprise the money was first borrowed, and then the Government found out ways in which to spend it. There was nothing like a well-digested plan of railroads and other public undertakings for which the money was borrowed. The whole thing degenerated into a scramble—Province against Province, locality *versus* locality—until the results are what they are. Strange it may seem, but it is no more strange than true, that every limit and condition of the scheme has been broken and abandoned, and every prophecy concerning its results—so far at any rate as we are yet permitted to see them—has signally and disastrously failed. To a large extent, however, this might have been anticipated and provided for. It needs more than the mere enunciation of any plan, however wise and prudent, to convert New Zealand into a second edition of fruitful and wealthy England. Patient must be the toil, stern the endurance, indomitable the spirit of that colonist or that Colony which aspires to achieve a true success. And New Zealand must not fail to remember that whilst its aims are high and its projects ambitious these very aims and projects will in the nature of things entail corresponding risks and burdens. And with the history of so many partial failures before it the Assembly might have been guarded enough to receive with caution the highly-spiced anticipations of Mr. Vogel. In India the railways have cost fabulous sums of money, and yet amid the teeming population of that vast territory the Government has to spend between two and three millions a-year over the receipts to keep those railways in operation. Canada and Tasmania both furnish useful instances of the necessity for caution not only in the construction of railways but in the indulgence of strong hopes that they will immediately prove payable.

But let us see what foundation there exists for the statement just made, that every limit of the policy of 1870 has been passed, and every condition of it broken.

1st. The maximum amount of money originally to be borrowed during ten years is already in four years vastly exceeded. Instead of £850,000 a-year for four years, or a total of £3,400,000, having been borrowed, we have spent £8,000,000, and authorised the borrowing of four more; and it is evident that still another loan of at least millions will be required before even the present system of railways is completed. The elaborate statement of Mr. Richardson, the Minister of Public Works, read with the various statements of Mr. Vogel, shew the following facts and figures :—In 1870 four millions were authorised for public works and immigration, and one million for defence and other purposes. In 1873 about three millions more were authorised; in all about eight millions. Of this six millions are absolutely spent, and there are liabilities upon the public works alone of £1,973,688 16s. 4d., or in round numbers, two millions. On immigration also there is a heavy liability, but the amount is as yet unknown; but it may safely be put down, however, that the total unascertained liabilities of the Government are considerably more than a quarter-of-a-million more. Thus, then, if accounts were balanced, at the present we have spent 8¼ millions of borrowed money since 1870. Of this, as we have seen, millions are unpaid, and indeed unborrowed. Another vote for 4 millions, which means 3½ millions available for new works, has now been passed. Thus the Government, to pay their railway and other debts, have to get 2¼ millions, and then proceed to borrow 3¾ more to go on with further works already authorized by the Assembly. It must not, however, be forgotten that the borrowing of 6 millions does not mean that we are to get the full amount. If the whole of this vast sum be taken up at 95 per cent., then add 1 per cent, for charges, commissions, &c., and for our 6 millions we actually receive 94 per cent., or £5,640,000; the cost of getting the 6 millions, or rather £5,640,000, being £360,000. From this, taking the present liabilities, millions, and we have the nett sum of £3,390,000. Against this amount, then, let us place the authorised works and undertakings of the Government—

To meet, therefore, an expenditure of £5,230,499 1s. 0d., the Government will have an available sum under the present loans of £3,390,000, or a deficiency of £1,840,499 1s. 0d., or nearly two millions. Two millions and a-half will therefore be required to finish the works now authorised and the necessary small additions and incidentals. The two and a-half millions will be reduced by discounts and charges to at most £2,350,000, little enough to finish when we can see ahead nearly two millions charged against it. In 1870 the total public debt was £7,500,000. Twelve millions have since been authorised, and two and a-half millions more will be required. In two years therefore from this time the Colony will owe—supposing that the efforts to float these loans be successful—twenty-two millions. Instead therefore of borrowing eight and a-half millions in ten years we shall have borrowed fourteen and a-half millions in six years. It will then be found that our public credit has received a serious blow.

2nd. Although Mr. Vogel wisely determined in 1870 not to enter into undue competition with private employers of labour, yet since that time it is a fact patent to all men that the Government has positively ruined the labour market. So vast has been the demand created by the comparatively stupendous Government works that not only have private persons been compelled to draw in their circle of employment, but men have been tempted from their ordinary avocations by the present high prices of human industry. As a rule high wages are one of the indices of material prosperity and progress. Men who can remember the palmy days of California, Victoria, and Gabriel's Gully or the West Coast will tell us that when a man's wages were from 15s to £2 a day

everybody did well. Credit was good. Money flowed like water, and the Bankruptcy Court or the debtors' prison was unknown. The reason was obvious, A man got his pound a day because his labour was worth that at least. His hands could draw it from the earth without thanking anybody, and nobody was the poorer. He was not getting it out of borrowed money, which carried interest and had to be repaid. Labour was not forced up to a fictitious price by undue and powerful competition, but because it was actually worth that in solid gold.

3rd. No land has ever been taken as security for the public works and railways paid for by the General Government, the solemn statement of Mr. Vogel that it should be done notwithstanding. Thus the Government have no security, nor the people who are liable, nor the public creditor, who to some extent at any rate must believe that the public lands are security for the public debt. The breach of this condition is now peculiarly interesting in view of Mr. Vogel's third resolution, and from the fact that Mr. Vogel now says that he will place the whole weight of the borrowed money upon the consolidated revenue.

4th. The promise that the ordinary functions of the Constitutional Government would certainly be continued, and that the Provinces would receive a sure and certain amount from the consolidated revenue, beginning at £2 per head of the population within each Province respectively, and sinking gradually "small by degrees and beautifully fine" to 30s. per head, reads in the light of the present as something like what Artemus Ward would call a "goak." The Provinces have been coolly robbed of their revenue, and then reproached because they don't find the means to support costly establishments and numerous public institutions. It is ridiculous to talk as Mr. Vogel and his followers do of the the "compact of 1856," and to ignore all the solemn engagements of the Government and Assembly, by which a large share of the Customs revenue became Provincial property. If the land funds are Provincial revenue by the "compact," are not a great portion of the Customs so by numerous "compacts?" And yet when in 1871—just a twelvemonth after the Provinces were positively assured of their future means of subsistence—Mr. Vogel said he must strike off their allowance no one thought of any "compact." The sooner the people of New Zealand sweep away all lies, and subterfuges, and tricks, and look their true position manfully in the face, the better. In 1874 the necessities of the position have grown so pressing that any money whatever is given back to the Provinces out of the general revenue with grudging and infinite grumbling.

It may be indeed a matter for congratulation that the question of the further existence of the Provincial system is brought before the public notice. It may be a good thing that the Provinces should be even squeezed out of existence, for most people believe that New Zealand will never have a fair footing on which to fight her battles until she is united. It is the old story of the bundle of sticks. But to do evil that good may come is bad in politics as well as theology. The people of New Zealand will repent for many a long day that they ever permitted their public men to put in practice such a doctrine. This condition of the policy of 1870 is absolutely gone. The Provinces are now denied their right to maintenance from the consolidated revenue. They are told to make bricks not only without straw but without even the clay of which the bricks should be made. They are told to go and find clay for themselves.

5th. The taxation was not to be increased. No man in this country, however, needs now to be told that taxation has been increased. Nor does any man in this country need to be told that if we desire to meet our Colonial engagements taxation must be yet further increased. Said Mr. Vogel in one of the last debates of the session of 1874 :—"The country could afford to be taxed over and over again what it is taxed for the prosecution of public works and the carrying out of the policy we adopted in 1870." These words from such a source are at least ominous, The people may or may not be able to bear more taxation. Already, directly and indirectly, they pay nearly six pounds per head per annum in taxes. While the present high prices of labour continue they may pay this. But we seriously question whether they will pay any more even under present circumstances. It is a dangerous plan to experiment as to the last provocation which a patient people will bear. An engineer may work his boiler up to her greatest strength. If he go beyond that there is a smash, and the coroner and undertaker are called in. Things have now assumed a shape never before anticipated. As seven of the Provinces are pauperised by the acts of the Government they must also if they exist provide for the sinews of war. This can only be done by their taxing the people. Thus the Colony is to be taxed by two powers. And yet we remember the solemn condition on which the policy was built—that "*taxation was not to be increased.*"

From a careful perusal of these statements, which are so plain that "he who runs may read," it will be seen that the Government and the Assembly have departed from every condition by themselves laid down when the country was asked to accept or refuse Mr. Vogel's plan of immigration and public works. Even the wildest dreamer in 1870 would have stood aghast at the perils of our position had these acts been foreseen. Putting aside altogether the merits of the question, it is not too much to say that the scheme was radically unsound or inadequate to the wants of the country in the first instance, or that trickery and deliberate wrongdoing have been exhibited since by the Government.

But turning from the limits and conditions of the scheme let us see how far the anticipations and promises of Mr. Vogel have been accomplished. 1st. The taxation was to be reduced. In 1870-1 the revenue was

£936,188 5s. 10d., levied from 250,000 people. In 1873-4 the revenue was £1,420,000, levied from under 300,000 people. The people therefore paid over one pound per head more to the revenue in 1873-4 than they did in 1870-1. Surely this is no decrease of taxation. On the contrary the Customs duties have been considerably increased. The population in the four years has only increased at the total rate of 20 per cent.; the Customs revenue has grown at the rate of 51.7 per cent. Indeed during the year 1873-4 the people of New Zealand paid nearly four pounds per head Customs duties. This is altogether unparalleled in the history of taxation. According to the census returns of 1874 the total male population of New Zealand was 170,903. Of these it may safely be said that the adults—who may be called the bread-winners or the producing classes—are not more than 80,000. These paid on an average as nearly as possible the sum of £14 on Customs duties only. The total General Government taxation for the same class is nearly £18. So far taxation has actually increased about a pound, or for the producing classes about four pounds per head yearly. This is the more serious, and destined to be of greater moment than at first appears when it is remembered that all taxation comes equally from the people. The labouring man with half-a-dozen children pays more to the revenue than the Cabinet Minister with only two, or the unmarried colonist with property in land and money worth five thousand a-year. There are some things which cannot go on. This is one of them. Taxation must be seriously increased to meet the increasing demands upon the revenue. From whence is it to be drawn? It may be possible, while the Government is supplying an artificial demand for labour, for the working classes to pay even the increased taxes they now endure. When the working man was getting five shillings a day, or thirty shillings a week, he paid about five shillings and sixpence a week taxation. Now on two pounds per week he can well afford to pay another eighteen-pence or two shillings a week. But when wages go back to five shillings per day—which will happen directly the Government money is spent, and perhaps before—and work is slack, will he then be content to pay the extra charge? Even if that be answered in the affirmative will he be able or willing to pay five pounds or ten pounds per year or three shillings a week extra? The cost of a passage to Australia is a mere nothing. Work is there certain and abundant; and if we tax our labouring classes so heavily, the pick and choice, the backbone and sinew of our toilers will be off to Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, and Brisbane. Already they are going. Already have many of the best workmen—miners, artizans, and others—old colonists and new, left the shores of this Colony for Australia. If this be the case when work is abundant, wages unexceptionally high, and taxes as they are, what shall we see when employment is scant, when wages have returned to their former level, and when a needy and imperious Government calls upon the people to pay more into the Colonial Treasury? Where then will the Government obtain the necessary funds? Will the owners of property propose and agree to a property tax? If not, where shall we get the wherewithal to pay our debts? Then the people were told that the public works were to be of such a character that they, together with the sale of lands made valuable by them, and from the increasing revenue of the country, would suffice to pay not only the interest on the loans but also gradually pay off the principal. This is as little likely to be fulfilled as the other prognostications. Up to this time it has utterly failed. So far from the railways paying interest over working expenses it is not likely that they even support themselves. At a guess it may be hazarded that when all the railway lines now authorised are completed that it will cost the country at least £200,000 a-year to keep them in repair and going. As to the improved lands helping to pay the Colonial debt, that Mr. Vogel himself shuts out by his famous Resolution. Perhaps the most promising and likely of all the previous vaticinations was that in which he spoke of the increasing by immigration the population of the country to a very large extent, and thereby decreasing in proportion the burdens of the people. As a matter of common sense and homely logic we may say that 900,000 people would feel but slightly a weight of national debt or aggregate taxation which would press with crushing weight upon a third of that number. And so it was that when Julius Vogel spoke of introducing a large number of immigrants into New Zealand it seemed reasonable that they would be able, nay obliged, to relieve us of some portion of the burdens we were about to take upon ourselves. But what are the results? About a million of money has been spent, and in round numbers forty thousand immigrants have been added to the population, or will have been in a few weeks. There is another half-million now voted which, as preliminary expenses are now paid, may introduce twenty-five thousand or even thirty thousand more. Seventy thousand persons then will have been added to the Colony. Without doubt this represents in a new and flourishing country a large tax-paying power, simply looked at as part of a revenue-producing machine. But this subject, like all others, is manysided. The members of the Assembly seem to have universally on subjects like this taken the premises laid down by Mr Vogel as correct, whereas in fact those premises are far short on the one side of truth or even probability. I say on the one side, because on the other they go far beyond the truth. Invariably Mr Vogel is a long way behind the truth in estimate of cost, liability, and trouble; while on the other hand he goes far beyond the truth in his estimates of production and results. Excepting, indeed, where, as in the estimated Customs revenue in 1872-3, it suits him to disguise the real state of things that he may point in 1873-4 to the enormous surplus as an evidence of the wonderful prosperity of the country, when in fact it is but the evidence of an unscrupulous trick played upon the country by its Premier. Mr Vogel and the House do not seem at all to have

looked upon the immigration and its consequences from any more than the one standpoint. This is their formula. Given a population which pays £5 a head to the revenue, add 70,000 to that population, and you increase the revenue £350,000 per year. This, however, may or may not be true absolutely; or it may or may not be true partially and conditionally. And surely it seems more reasonable to say that its truth will be materially affected by a multitude of conditions and events. The character of the immigrants themselves, their capabilities as workmen, the amount of wealth they possess, the scope of and, for their profitable employment, the permanency or otherwise of the employment itself—more than all, the question of their quick departure or final settlement in the country have to be considered. For what ultimate benefit would the Colony of New Zealand reap from the introduction of 80,000 immigrants if those immigrants, or an equivalent number of her working classes, were to leave this Colony for lands where wages are as high, where work is more constant, and where taxes are far less than here? What then should we possess for the million and a-half of debt expended by us and saddled upon four children? We should see that we had incurred these fearful liabilities in order to provide population, wealth and power, to the other Colonies of Australasia. No real colonist will fail to recognise with pleasure the growth of Australia. As the vast resources of that great group of Colonies become more and more apparent, as the energy and enterprise of Australians vindicate their claim to be called the foremost of the Colonies of Britain, as step by step they go on upon their prosperous course, laying the foundations of a confederation destined in the Eastern hemisphere to rival the colossal proportions of New England in the West, we of New Zealand, bound to them by so many ties, may rejoice. But if we find that by our own bad management and Governmental blunders we are simply spending millions to enrich Victoria and New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia, we shall not be satisfied simply that we are at such a fearful cost aiding them to develop their latent powers and rise to swift greatness. And will any person venture to say how many people will leave New Zealand for Australia within the next five years? No adequate provision is being made for the settlement of immigrants. And when the Government works cease, as cease they must in the course of two or three years, when the reaction sets in—and that reaction will be fairly equal in intensity to the feverish excitement which produces it—when employment has to be sought, and in many cases found with difficulty—when as a consequence wages fall—when taxes increase and the revenues decrease—how many of all classes will, like swallows in the autumn, wing their way to happier and more peaceful climes. But besides these possibilities, the introduction of 70,000 or 80,000 immigrants and the extension of settlement, means an enormous increase in the cost of government. And although we are often met with the argument, Oh! the debt is truly growing, but the population grow and then the debt will be less felt: does it never strike our rulers that as the population grows in number and expands, the wants of the population will grow and expand also? Will no new works be wanted? Railways, roads, harbor works, public works, public buildings, and the thousand other wants of advancing colonization? Will not these take money? The danger is rather that our debt will grow faster than the population. Mr Vogel's Ministry have over and over again said that they intend finally to construct main trunk lines of railway through the two islands. If they do this, by the time those lines are complete the Colony will owe at least £30,000,000 of money. I am not here advocating their construction or deprecating it. I am simply pointing out the fact that there is but little likelihood of the Colonial liabilities being reduced by the increase of population over debt. But it is in the happy general summary of the future results of the policy of 1870 that Julius Vogel is most singularly unfortunate. Mount not again the mystic tripod, O! Premier; utter no more the prophetic words which tell of the future and unknown, lest the people ask, "Art thou indeed filled with a Divine afflatus, O Julius! or art thou for thine own purposes become a charlatan and a sham?" Have the triumphs foretold by Mr Vogel been achieved? Some of the railways have been constructed—some are in progress. Roads have been made in main districts, the electric telegraph has been extended, and in nearly all parts of the Colony the eight millions have produced alterations—mostly beneficial to the welfare of the people and to the value of property. No colonist can wish to deny any of the good effected. Indeed we should be glad that we have something for our money. It has not gone in a bloody and useless war. What we have for it—miserably below its value as it is and will be—will aid in the growth and settlement of New Zealand. We may be thankful so far as we have gone that it is no worse; but when we recall the, glowing language and splendid pictures of the Treasurer in 1870, even the most forgiving will experience a sentiment of indignation. In 1873 our imports were £6,464,387; exports, £5,610,471. True, everything is brisk. Imports and exports are both large, but the imports are enormously over the exports; indeed nearly a million sterling. Every man, woman, and child in New Zealand received in 1873 three pounds' worth of goods from abroad more than he or she sent away in exchange. In 1871 we exported £5,284,084, or within £330,000 of the exports of 1873, but imported only £4,078,192, nearly £2,400,000 less than the amount we imported in 1873. Here is a fearful discrepancy, yet we are told to regard this as an evidence of our prosperity. And it is so well known as scarcely to require to be stated, that we are buying now not only more than we could or did buy four years ago—that we are buying more than any other people in the world—but that we are buying more per head from the outside world than any Colony ever did, excepting Victoria, and perhaps New South Wales during the first few years

after the discovery of gold in Australia. This is easily explained. We are paying for these things with borrowed money. In 1873 we imported £2,386,414 more than in 1871, but we only exported £328,287 more. And it would be interesting to know how much we are actually sending to England and elsewhere of the millions we are adding to our debt, which will be for ever lost, and how much remains in this country as wages, purchase-money, &c., to circulate amongst ourselves, and thus add to the actual floating wealth of New Zealand. Not only are we purchasing foreign goods of enormous value, which, alas! are mainly for eating and drinking, for clothing, pleasure and ornament, but we are largely buying of the very best and most expensive goods. It is thus that our Customs revenue is, incredible as it may seem, very much larger in proportion to our numbers than all the taxation of any other country in the world. Much as we desire to see a continuance of large revenue, and large commerce, we cannot hope that this will continue a single month after the borrowed money is spent. In 1871 our imports from which the Customs revenue is derived were about £15 6s. 0d. per head; in 1873,—thanks, as we have seen, to the wide diffusion of English capital—they were about £21 10s. 0d., or £6 4s. 0d. more. When things revert to their natural condition the Customs will also turn; and our revenue will go down, save the increase made by the *ad valorem* duties, to their former level. When we remember that the total revenue, including Customs for 1871-2, was only £1,031,082 18s. 7d., and see next year the interest on our debt and sinking fund will amount to about that sum, we may be able to see what the promises of the Hon. Julius Vogel are likely to result in. I propose, however, to take a higher standard than the monetary one. In our politics, since the present Ministry have been in power, there has been far too much heard and talked about money. Like Tom Hood's poem of Miss Killmansegg and her golden leg—all our talk, all our legislation, all our hopes, and all our fears have been about gold. Loans, interest, sinking fund, proceeds, discounts, always the same song, "Gold, gold, and nothing but gold." The golden calf has been set up by Mr. Vogel, and the New Zealand people have fallen down and worshipped. We were greedy and grasping before, and the operations of the last four years have by no means improved our character. Political gambling and Ministerial corruption have disgraced the people and the Assembly not only in the estimation of others, but in our own. The Houses of Parliament in this Colony at the present time are a bye-word, a scorn, and a reproach. The true character and position of the House of Representatives was sketched by Mr. Vogel himself. When he was reproached by Mr. Fitzherbert with introducing measures simply to create offices and emoluments by which he might purchase the support of members, the Premier is reported to have said that he had no need to do so; that the votes of the members were notoriously to be had, and indeed offered, at a very low price. This reproach has not, I dare to say, been equalled in any Anglo-Saxon Representative House. It came with peculiar force from one who has maintained himself in power by the means alluded to for years. The tempter reproached the miserable beings who had accepted his bribes and ministered to his ambition and his selfishness. In an assembly of honest men such an assertion would have led to the speaker being forcibly ejected. In an assembly of gentlemen he would have been horsewhipped or sent to Coventry. But in the New Zealand House of Representatives the words were felt to be true, and therefore they passed unchallenged. How galling it must be for those who, themselves above any such inducements, are yet compelled to endure the knowledge that to a great extent such things are true, and to feel themselves utterly powerless to rectify the evils they deplore. At Mr. Vogel's last appearance in New Zealand on the platform at Auckland he added the last finishing touches to the miserable picture of the House of Representatives. He said that after the Resolutions were carried a caucus of the members who had voted for them was held, and they then began to ask "What is the meaning of these Resolutions?" They first vote for them and carry them, and then they retire to ask each other and the Premier "What do they mean?" He then proceeded to say that it was quite allowable for private members to have secret reservations—in fact to say one thing and mean another. And he said that various members decided in relation to the Resolution which fixed the seat of Government at Wellington that they did not want publicly to pledge themselves to that, as it might injure them with their constituents, but they *counselled the voting of a large sum of money for public buildings which would have the same effect and not compromise them openly; and this was accordingly done.* The same corruption permeates society. And there is a rankling spirit of discontent, a smouldering fire of uneasiness and indignation which a single breath might in a day or hour kindle to a flame. Look at the final result of Mr. Vogel's policy as foretold by himself. The Provinces, their prejudices and lines of demarcation destroyed by prosperous inter-communication and increasing wealth, were cheerfully to blend together to form a powerful and united people! Is this accomplished? Why at this very time there is a stronger feeling of antagonism between the Provinces than there ever was. Thanks to Mr. Vogel and his policy, seven of the Provinces are indeed placed side by side. It is however not in prosperity—but destitution. He has made them paupers. He held their trust funds, and he has devoted them to his own purposes. And now when they come to ask for some of their own money he turns upon them as Mr. Bumble turned upon poor Oliver Twist when, with his youthful and hungry stomach all unfilled, that hero approached the awful flunkey and said, "Please, sir, I want some more." And so far from the Provinces becoming extinct through success, Mr. Vogel has promised to strangle them with his own hand, because they are too poor to live and work. There is a feeling—to speak within bounds—at least

dangerous both North and South. Under the pressure of increased taxation, general and provincial, the people of the seven bankrupt Provinces say—Take the land of the Colony for colonial debts and do not tax us any more. The two great and wealthy Provinces of Otago and Canterbury say—"No, our land is sacred. You shall not touch it." Unless report speaks untruly even threats of armed resistance have been made to any such proceeding. And in the North it is no secret that men talk openly of the possibility of that day arriving when in self-defence the people of Auckland and other places similarly situated will forcibly take the Customs of their respective districts for the purposes of government. There may indeed be little likelihood of either of these contingencies occurring, but it is at any rate not pleasant to have the possibility of such things spoken of. So bitter is the feeling becoming that it will need some skill to steer the ship of State safely and in peace through the storms which are besetting her course. The reader will now see that not only has every condition of the policy of 1870 been deliberately broken, but that every promise or anticipation of Mr. Vogel has been completely and miserably unfulfilled. Was ever a failure so complete? We are now in the fifth year of Mr. Vogel's tables as to time. We have actually spent eight millions, and are therefore in the tenth year as to the expenditure of money. Where are the hundreds of thousands of proceeds we were promised, and on the faith of which the country and the House undertook the work. Where are they? And echo answers—"Where! "Taxation has been seriously increased—almost, if not quite, to its extreme limit. The Provinces have been plundered, and now their existence is threatened; and yet amid all this, because there is abundance of public money in certain districts, we are continually called upon to congratulate ourselves upon the "*unexampled prosperity of the Colony.*" The argument raised from the increase to the population by means of the very large Immigration now being carried on, while to some extent sound, will not, it is feared, be sustained to anything like the length anticipated. It is a common thing to hear of our population being doubled, as if that were to be easily performed. Mr. Vogel speaks of millions making New Zealand their home sooner than they otherwise would do, and confidently stated at his last speech in Auckland that New Zealand was fast becoming the chief Colony of the Australasian group, and that there was a reasonable probability in our life time of New Zealand taking that proud position. Such a consummation is devoutly to be wished; but if it depend upon the present carrying out of the Public Works and Immigration, then there is not the remotest chance of its being seen or done. The figures in relation to Immigration are instructive, but somewhat startling. Colonists are fully prepared to hear of the rapid increase of numbers. In every large seaport town vessel after vessel has disgorged her living freight. Regiments of immigrants have marched through our streets. Public buildings have been overcrowded with them. It will therefore be heard with much surprise that in the three years ending the 31st of March, 1874—three years when the Immigration and Public Works were in full operation—New Zealand received from Immigration less permanent additions to her population than during any equal portion of time since 1856, when her people were very few, her towns were hamlets, and colonization in its infancy. Yet such is the fact. Examine the statistical returns for the last twelve years. On the 30th June, 1862, the population of this Colony was 112,416; on the 30th June, 1865, it was 182,113, being a gross increase in the three years of 69,697. Of these 11,445 were the natural growth, births over deaths, and the nett balance, 58,252, the results of immigration. This was increased by permanent immigration at the rate of 19,417½, or nearly twenty thousand a-year! In the six years from 30th June, 1865, to 30th June, 1871, the dullest and least progressive period in the history of the Colony, the additions to our population were 78,517, the numbers being—1865, 182,113; 1871, 260,630. Of these 41,392 were the balance of births over deaths, and 37,125 the fruit of immigration, or 6,187¼ yearly. From the 30th June, 1871, to the 31st March, 1874, three years save three months, during which the public works and immigration were in full swing, the gross increase in numbers was 38,755; from 260,630 on the 30th June, 1871, to 299,385 on the 31st March, 1874. Of these 24,100 were increase of births over death, and the remainder, 14,055, have to be credited to immigration, or 5,312 per year. The most peculiar and ominous fact, however, is this : during this last period we imported 16,000 immigrants from abroad at an enormous cost, and yet there only are found in New Zealand 14,655. Where are the 1,345 or rather where are the 1,345 people we have paid for, and all the voluntary immigrants who have arrived from abroad during the same period? If New Zealand had been reduced to such a position that the only population we could obtain was the surplus of the over-crowded communities of Europe, whose passages were provided for them by us—yet we might expect at any rate to have these in their full number to aid in the opening and settlement of the country and in bearing the taxation consequent partly upon their own journey here. We, however, are it seems doomed to disappointment. The stream has already commenced to flow from New Zealand to Australia. The Australian journals are but speaking in sober earnest when they say that New Zealand is providing for them a cheap immigration. And we shall find to our sorrow that the best of our working classes are going—to whom the new-comers on an average are not to be compared. The same rules which control all other mortal enterprises control immigration. We cannot safely overdo it. The ground in summer may be parched, the rain falls upon it and continues falling; when the earth is saturated the water runs off the surface. So with men. If we bring such a stream of human beings into the Colony as the Colony cannot profitably absorb under conditions as favourable as those offered

by the adjoining Colonies, then the stream will flow away. We cannot compel the people to stop here. If taxation be too heavy, if work be difficult to obtain, and not so well paid as in other lands, or if it be better for the working classes in neighbouring countries than here—then, although we introduced a hundred thousand people a-year, they would with equal speed leave us to enrich and populate at our expense the Colonies around. To an honest mind however there is a still worse feature in the present state of things than the most gloomy picture of our material condition; that is the unbridled profligacy, the shameless corruption of our political life. For New Zealand no doubt there is a brilliant career. The future is golden and radiant with hope. Her vast and almost limitless natural resources, which the wants and the skill of men will develop, her climate, her well-nigh unequalled advantages of situation, convince the mind that a great destiny is allotted to her by the hand of the Creator. But the political corruption and rottenness which has lately grown up under the shadow of these great schemes will do more to retard the progress of this land than twenty Public Works and Immigration schemes will accomplish in the opposite direction.

Chapter VIII.

End of Public Works and Immigration Policy.

Like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-eapp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself—
Yea, all which it inherit shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.—SHAKESPEARE.

IN two more years, at furthest, we shall be at the end of the public works and immigration scheme. We shall then have increased our population to 350,000, and we shall possess a complete telegraph system, about eleven hundred miles of railways, and a tolerable system of roads and public buildings. The public debt will have increased from £7,500,000 to at least £22,000,000, and the yearly payment of interest from £375,000 per annum to £1,110,000, which, with additions of sinking fund and Defence Force expenditure, will reach nearly £1,400,000. Of this the most formidable part is the fact that the country will be drained year by year of over one million of money, sent as interest to foreign creditors, and for which we shall receive no return. Have the legislators of New Zealand thought of the meaning of this? The population of the United Kingdom is over 30,000,000, and the people pay—striking an average for annuities—about £24,000,000 a-year interest on the national debt—that is, sixteen shillings per head. Next year the people of New Zealand will pay nearly three pounds ten shillings per head for the interest on their national debt, or more than four times as much per head. The Italians are a heavily indebted people. So heavy is their debt that it has made Italy bankrupt. But the Italians only pay one pound per head of the population. Franco is in a fearful state of debt, and this year her expenditure is fourteen millions above her revenue. But France does not pay one pound per head interest a-year. England is notorious for its large debt and the fearful incubus of interest. But an average Englishman pays but sixteen shillings interest yearly. The United States are heavily indebted, yet they are only called upon to pay ten shillings a-head in the twelvemonths. But ambitious New Zealand calls upon its people to repay the interest and sinking fund upon twenty millions—an average per head of about £3 10s. 0d., considerably above the aggregate amounts paid by all the nations above put together, and yet they are besides ourselves perhaps the largest interest-paying people in the world. When it is considered that we shall be paying away this vast sum to foreign creditors we shall be able somewhat to understand the overwhelming drain upon the resources of this country. How long could Great Britain, wealthy as she is continue to pay a hundred millions of money yearly to foreign creditors? Even then she would not be paying more than we shall have to pay in proportion to our numbers. The world stood aghast at the enormous demands of Prussia against France. But the French indemnity only reached £5 10s. 0d. per head of the population, and was mostly borrowed by France, and on it she still pays interest; while our interest will reach about £3 10s. 0d., and will have to be paid every year. Of course it is not a parallel case, and our money is not so much as £3 10s. 0d. to a citizen of France; yet it will serve as an index to some extent of the state of things. Our railways and public works will not we may be sure repay the cost of working and repairs, At least ten thousand people will be thrown out of employment by the stoppage of public works, and these ten thousand represent, directly and indirectly, 30,000 more who are dependent upon their labour and its products. Besides this enormous influx upon the labour market there will be a very large decrease in the

demand for labour in other ways. The people will not have so much money to spend, and as a consequence not so many people will find employment either to minister to the necessities or luxuries of their countrymen. Taxation will be increased, and the bone and sinew of the country will be off to Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland. The cost of government will be increased, and although we may reasonably hope that the entire destruction of the Provincial system will prevent this increase from being large, yet we must expect and prepare for an increase in our liabilities in this direction.

Where will the people find employment when the Government work ceases? Beside them the Government are now introducing about 40,000 immigrants. Where are these to get work? What new sources of industry are opened? They will flood the labour market. They will no longer be good customers to the revenue, nor to the merchants nor storekeepers. Every ship which ceases her visits will take something away in the aggregate yield of revenue and business. Will any one venture to say how much the ships which have brought out emigrants and railway plant have helped, to swell the receipts of the Treasurer? For some time those ships have formed a large majority of all our maritime communication with England. They have been good customers in every port. When their visits altogether cease their absence will be materially felt. Then again the Government money has been lavished, especially in Wellington and the South, with prodigal hand. It is not therefore surprising that the revenue increases, and trade is good, although in relation to trade there are ominous murmurs even now. The influx of immigrants has tended also to enliven trade. Each person of the thirty thousand new-comers landed from the ocean voyage has not only been a customer to the butcher, baker, and grocer, but before settling down in a new home his money has gone to benefit all classes of the trading community in a greater degree than if he were and had been a resident in the Colony. But the time will come when large numbers of immigrants will no longer disembark in Auckland, in Wellington, in Christchurch, and Dunedin. Mr. Vogel and his friends, as we have said, are very fond of alluding to the "unexampled prosperity of the Country." Let us examine the statement and the foundations on which it seems to rest, and judge impartially as to its truth or otherwise. The meaning of the word prosperity is success—good fortune, attainment of wishes. Seeing then that the Public Works and Immigration policy of Mr. Vogel is now upon its trial, and its success or failure is yet unascertained—that the end of it is as likely to be a fearful disaster as to be a signal success—it is surely a most inappropriate term to use in relation to the present condition of this Colony. What are the evidences of prosperity appealed to by Mr. Vogel and his colleagues? They point to the increased revenue of the country. But that is accounted for by a disgraceful trick of Mr. Vogel himself, by which the Customs taxation was increased to a very large extent. And in addition to this the temporarily increased commerce of the country, the sudden impetus given to trade, the enormous and unexampled expenditure of Government money, do naturally, and so long as they are continued must of necessity tend to swell the revenue. They also appeal to the high rates of wages and the difficulty of obtaining labour in every district and province. This is still more easily disposed of. The Government has employed nearly one-fifth of the available labour of the Colony. It has entered into such undue competition with private enterprise as to put a stop to nearly all those private undertakings which really advance the wealth and induce the prosperity of a country. For certain things indeed labour must be had, and people therefore employ it; but at the present prices land, coal, iron, clay, and other things go unworked because the rate of wages is too high to work them with profit. We import wheat from South Australia and potatoes from Victoria and Tasmania. Manufactures are almost absolutely untouched. Some indeed that were in a feeble way commencing life have died away. Men find it cheaper to import manufactured articles and pay the heaviest duties in the world than to compete with the Government as employers of labour. The high prices of labour—skilled and unskilled—brought about by the unhealthy fever in the work-market is a complete bar to the creation of new industries or new fields of labour, which might when the public works are over absorb some of the very great labour power which will then be cast adrift. Then we are told of the increase in the value of property. This is explained partly by the present general aspect of things, which always has a large effect upon the value of property. No man long used to Colonial life, even in its ordinary course, would guarantee the value of property for six months together. The fluctuations are sudden and violent. A farm or property worth ten thousand pounds to-day—let a crisis or a panic come—will not be saleable at half the money a month hence. These then are the evidences of the unexampled prosperity of New Zealand. An opponent, however, of the Vogel administration may well answer—these are not evidences of prosperity. They shew indeed that if the Customs taxation be increased the revenue will proportionally grow; that if the Government buy up all the available labour of the country, the day's wages of men will increase; that if the Government expend unbounded sums of money a temporary and fictitious prosperity will spring up during the continuance of such lavish expenditure. But when the Government expenditure shall cease, then will cease also these transient tokens of public wealth and happiness. There are however surer signs than even these of public prosperity. The possession of money is not the sole good. Contentment and quiet in the mind of the people is an almost certain sign of prosperity. A high state of public morality, the existence and the enactment of just, wise, and impartial laws, the pure administration of justice, the advance of science, the spread and expansion of ethical truth, the

sound progress of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture are infallible tokens of the existence of a high state of prosperity. If a people be happy they are prosperous. Which of these signs can be seen in New Zealand?

Chapter IX.

Conclusion.

Trust no future, howe'er pleasant;
Let the dead past bury its dead.
Act, act in the living present,
Heart within, and God o'erhead.
—LONGFELLOW.

THE crisis of our history is reached. It remains to be seen what the result will be.

There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

The Resolutions of last Session have indeed but brought us at once face to face with the problems which must be solved before New Zealand can fairly start from a new departure. To this time the Provincial form of Government has been useful; but the circumstances have vastly changed. The distant portions of the Colony are now more closely connected than London and Edinburgh were fifty years ago. The means of traffic, both for passengers and merchandize, are now numerous and convenient. Twenty years have changed the scattered hamlets of this country into thriving towns. Roads now, like arteries in the human frame, convey the throbbing tide of life to and fro, and carry vigor and sensation to the farthest extremity. And upon the ocean, which sweeps and sways along the vast coast-line of these islands, upon that, the greatest road of all, the highway of nations, there glides for ever, day and night, in storm and calm, by sail and steam, one ceaseless procession of ships—binding, as in an unbroken chain and network of commerce, all New Zealand together in its vast embrace. Electricity takes from Auckland to Invercargill the messages of trade, or the words of affection with the speed of lightning, and as swiftly bears back the answer. The great towns and cities are all now the subjects of Municipal Government. The out-districts, in their turn, are governed by their local bodies. Everywhere the talents of colonists are being called into exercise, and everywhere we behold the evidences of an advancing state of civilization, Nor must we forget that all these things are firmly rooted and growing. No final breaking-up, or indeed long interruption of inter-communication is possible. A telegraph-post may fall, or a wire may break, or, perhaps, the natives may for a little time cause a temporary cessation, but these are only questions of a few days. That which has been done is done for ever. So also in the means of transit. A storm may stop it for a day or two, but when the storm sinks down the traffic, with its white sails and rushing wheels, will reassert its existence and dominion. The necessity for Provincial Governments no longer exists. The Central Government is now by the post, the press, and telegraph close to us. Indeed, to many of the out-lying districts of each Province Wellington is now much more accessible than their own Provincial capital was only a few years since. To these out-lying districts Provincialism was never very agreeable; and to it they are still averse. The Provinces must go. Not because some are poor must they only vanish from the stage; not to suit the pettish ill-temper of a fretful Premier must some of these great territorial divisions and semi-independent powers be swept away; but because the time has come when the conditions of things demand it. The very position of the Provinces is, perhaps, the strongest argument. Some are bankrupt, weak, and dying, while the minority of two are rich, strong, vigorous and self-assertive. What does this shew but that the Colony, for the welfare of all, must strike away these fearful differences, and make all equal in material wealth, at least so far as the taxation of the country and the upholding of Government is concerned. The Legislative powers of the Provinces are now a farce. There was reason in them in past days, when, from isolation, each Province was, as it were, a distinct community; but this is now merely a tradition. We are accustomed in the Colonies to rejoice at the assertion that in these new countries we have no prejudices to overcome; no ancient and hereditary abuses to encounter; no slavery question as they had till recently in the United States; no game laws (?): no Church

tithes; no civil or religious tyranny; no class legislation or difference, as in Great Britain. It really is enough to draw a smile to the features of a stone image, for here, at the very threshold of our national career, we are told of vested interests and peculiar institutions in New Zealand. It does not need four centuries, it does not require half-a-dozen generations of men to make a superstition, or prejudice, or a national wrong. In twenty years the Provincial Governments and the Land Fund have become as hard and fixed in their distinctive features as though the storms and the sunshine of five hundred years had hardened them into hoary age. The existence of Provincial institutions, and the removing the Land Fund from its proper position, that is, as a means of enabling the people to bear the public obligations, may be demonstrated, so far as such questions can be demonstrated, with almost absolute certainty, as evil. The continuance of these conditions may not only be shown to work a cruel injustice upon the vast majority of the people by insidiously overloading them with taxation, while the minority escape, but also be seen to be dangerous to the peace of the country. It may be shown to be a question of very doubtful policy, even to the two Provinces themselves which are to survive the rest. And still there are found men who will maintain them. And these are the men who exclaim most loudly "We are free from the hereditary prejudices of older lands. No abuses sanctioned by the observance of older lands press unevenly upon any portion of our people. Our institutions are elastic, and work solely for the happiness of the people!" The time has indeed come for the death of Provincial Governments. But not for the reasons given by Mr. Vogel. Nor must the change be partial, else we shall run the risk of a still stronger prejudice, and a still grosser tyranny in future. Otago and Canterbury, existing as Provinces, might easily in any grave political exigency gather to their own vote of thirty-three members ten or a dozen others, and thus the rights and liberty of the other colonists be imperilled. Such a state of things could not last. It could not be endured, nor would it. Because I live in Auckland and not in Dunedin or Christchurch am I therefore not to have an equal right to govern myself or the country with a colonist who resides at those more favoured places? Because I am a settler in the North Island and not in the Provinces of Otago or Canterbury am I to pay a heavier taxation than the settler's in those Provinces? I trow not. I did not come to New Zealand to have my rights unfairly abridged, nor to be compelled to endure exceptional and partial taxation. The common burdens of the country I am content to share. The common rights and privileges of the people I claim as mine. And it will become a serious question with the great majority of colonists whether, if the Constitutional means of resistance fail, they will not be called on to use other means or seek in some other land the liberty and equality which here they cannot obtain. Are we to be bound for ever to the chariot wheels of Julius Vogel and his ragged company? Thus then our destiny has brought us face us to face with these two questions. So were the people of England brought face to face with the exercise of arbitrary power by the levying of ship money, and by the opposition to the Reform Bill; the people of America by the levying of taxation which they did not themselves impose. We may smile at such comparisons, but they are strictly true; and, unless the people of the Colony rouse themselves from their disgraceful supineness, and speak and act for themselves, they will find it no laughing matter.

Who would be free themselves must strike the blow!

Let the Constituencies awake. Let them compel their representatives to act aright in this matter. There is much to be done. The legislation of the Colony—so lamentably neglected during the past five years has to be attended to. The really important questions which have been neglected in the present Parliament clamour for settlement. The duration of Parliaments, Colonial Education, Liquor Laws, Alteration of the Franchise, Redistribution of Electorates, Consolidation of Statute Law, Administration of Justice, Native Lands and Goldfields Acts, Bankruptcy, Redistribution of Taxation, Payment of Members—all these have been neglected, but they must be swiftly attended to. We have been regarding nothing but the Public Works and Immigration, and the public and private corruption thereon attendant. But first and foremost stand the two Resolutions, and the principles and changes they contain. As the Alps reared their mighty peaks between Napoleon and the peaceful plains and sunny fields of Italy, so these questions arise between us and the true state and theatre of the prosperity of New Zealand. The avalanche, the ravine, the frozen pass, the slippery glacier were to be braved. The snowy heights had to be trodden, the mountain torrent crossed. And amid the ever-lasting snows would many a gallant soldier leave his bones, before the troops could rest their wearied feet upon the green grass and quiet glades of the Southern Land. So with us. Let us but get past the Alps of difficulty, and all these other questions may be well decided. The people must sift out the best of their present representatives, and sending them with new men to Wellington leave out those who are a disgrace to the constituencies. If this be done the most faint-hearted need have no fear for the future of New Zealand. Our history is in that future. We have no past to look back upon, but we must prove ourselves worthy of the loins from whence we sprung. Our Colonial Debt may be large, and the calls it makes upon our resources may be heavy, but if we have an united people we need not be anxious as to the results. New Zealand is rich and fertile. Property is largely increasing in extent

and value. It may be that the wealthy classes will be called upon to bear a more proportionate share of the burdens of the country than they now do. They must however remember that it is good policy as well as justice to lift from the shoulders of labour those weights which would drive it to distant lands. The educated and intellectual too must be prepared to take their share of public duties. They must not abandon the government of the Country to those who, as in many instances in the present House of Representatives, have entered political life simply to make themselves more valuable as an article of commerce. Nor must they think that the position of the true statesman is to be one of ease and comfort. Ease and comfort belong to those who are prepared to give or rather promise whatever is asked; who are willing to buy off their opponents and reward their friends at the expense of the State; who with smooth tongues deceive and beguile the people, nearly always easily led and deceived. Storms will gather thickly enough upon the path of the real and honest politician in New Zealand. A venal Press will constantly assail him. Disappointed plunderers of the public will oppose him at every step. When he shows the true condition of things in order to prepare to meet the future he will be called a prophet of evil, and accused of attempting needlessly and for his own ends to frighten the people. If he attempt to keep much wealth in the country, and prevent an exodus of its working classes by so altering the taxation of the Colony as to make it press equally upon all, he will be assailed on every hand. When he practises that economy which will be absolutely necessary for the existence of Colonial institutions his conduct will be unfavourably contrasted with the lavish and prodigal expenditure of the Vogel Ministry. When he seeks to support and advance measures simply because they are for the public welfare the screams of the birds of prey who are now accustomed to live upon public plunder will echo throughout New Zealand. Every useless hanger-on, every parasite of a corrupt Government, will become his foe, and unless the people support him he will fail in his endeavour. Who will take the helm when Julius Vogel leaves the ship to the storm? For he will not attempt the reforms here shadowed. Nor would the people be inclined to bear additional burdens laid on them by his hands. They would recall too often the words in which he promised them such wonderful prosperity. It is easy to run a nation, a ship, an army, or a reputation into danger, but to extricate either is often difficult. The men who would aspire to rule New Zealand for the next five years must be prepared for the duties and dangers which lie before them. When the old lines and forms of political life are broken they must prepare new moulds in which simplicity and justice will be combined. They must be prepared to heal the sores already manifest in our social and political systems. They must be ready to encounter the unbridled animosity of disappointed and selfish politicians, and the suspicion and fears of large sections of the people. They must be able to unify and consolidate the distracted portions of New Zealand, and by careful management and wise legislation fulfil, through the blessing and approval of the Great Ruler, some of those promises so freely made by Julius Vogel. They must, with eyes as steady and unswerving as the eagle's, with hands strong and unfaltering, with purposes pure, single, and unselfish, fearless of opposition or censure, and careless of popular praise devote themselves to the service of the people. Then will New Zealand take her true position among the colonies of Australasia, and in days to come will inscribe in golden letters against the names of those who shall thus give themselves to the country :—"In the days of New Zealand's danger there were found these men who did their duty."

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