

The Province of Otago.

I. Early History of the Province.

THE portion of the Middle Island of Now Zealand known as the Province of Otago, was, previous to the arrival of the first immigrants, occupied by a few white men engaged in pastoral or whaling pursuits, and by a small number of Natives. In 1840 a missionary from Sydney was located at Waikouaiti, where a small settlement had been established, and his charge extended south to the Clutha, a few individuals being sparsely settled there. Originated as a special settlement the site was selected in 1844 by Mr. Tuckett, an officer appointed by the New Zealand Company, and he states the grounds for his selection were "excellent quality of land and a good port." The selection was approved by Colonel Wakefield, agent for the Company in August of the same year, after he had personally visited and inspected the place. At a meeting held in Glasgow, 16th May, 1845, the Otago Association was formed to found a special settlement for Scotchmen. Arrangements were made with the N.Z. Company for a block of 400,000 acres of land, and the carrying out of the experiment was entrusted to a committee of laymen belonging to, or sympathizing with, the Free Church of Scotland. The association, as the scheme was named, despatched on the 27th November, 1847, the ships "John Wickliff," from London, and "Philip Laing," from Greenock, with the first immigrants, the "Wickliff" arriving on the 23rd of March, and the "Laing" on the 15th April, 1848. Both vessels made fair passages, Captain Cargill, as agent for the Company and leader of the adventure, arriving in the first vessel, and Dr Burns in the second. Viewed as a monetary experiment, no great venture was gone into by the Association; but, looked at from the position of the first immigrants, a very serious risk was undertaken. Asked to leave their homes for an unknown country, relying altogether on the testimony of men who had obtained their evidence from others, knowing there were no civilized inhabitants to receive them or provision made for their necessities; on the contrary, that they were asked to go to a country of savages, where they would require to plant and grow the food necessary for the subsistence of themselves and families, it needed faith of more than ordinary strength, a courage peculiar and above the common, and a self-reliance rarely met with, to induce prudent, honest, conscientious men—for such only were selected—to hazard such a step, to take such a leap in the dark. At that early period, the navigation of the south portion of the Colony was considered dangerous, as thoroughly reliable charts did not exist, and the coast was known only to the few whalers on the station. The prospects were not very cheering to those harbingers of the present community, and doubtless the hearts of many failed them while sailing up the harbor on seeing on both sides steep hills densely wooded to their summits, without a patch of open land except the barren sands at the Maori settlement. The discomfort of being conveyed in open boats, along with their household effects, from Port Chalmers and landed on the shores of the town of Dunedin, its surface an entanglement of scrub and flax, without a roof to cover or protect them, or a known face to welcome them, and the dread uncertainty as to how or where provisions could be obtained until they could grow their own, the time of their arrival being near the beginning of winter, must all have tended to damp their enthusiasm. Now-a-days, such doubts and discomforts cannot exist. Accurate charts and splendid lighthouses along the coast assure the mariner's confidence; and on arrival at the Heads, a powerful steamer is ready to tow the immigrant ship up the harbor, both sides of which are now, to the hill tops, studded with snug homes and luxuriant clearings. On the ship berthing at Port Chalmers or the Bluff, the train carries the passengers either to Dunedin or Invercargill, both handsome cities, replete with comfort, where anxiously-expectant friends, acquaintances, or employers anxious to employ labor, and to whom the news of the arrival of the ship has been flashed by telegraph, are waiting to receive the strangers either with a hearty friendship's welcome or a profitable business engagement.

The pioneers of the settlement were neither daunted nor discouraged by their difficulties. Bracing themselves to suffer hardships, to endure fatigue, to do their duty, they did it nobly and well, a fact attested by the solid foundation on which the institutions of the Province rest, the character the settlers have gained, and the success which has attended their efforts. The hardships endured are now looked back on with pleasant reflection. Once established on the land, the settlers felt they breathed the air of freedom and independence; they felt also that instead of selfishly attending to their own affairs only, there was a community of interest existing, and willingly each lent a helping hand to the other, so that the common interest might be advanced.

The preliminary labor of clearing the land and building houses—some of them as primitive as unskilled hands could make them—being so far effected, moral and intellectual requirements were at once attended to.

On the first day of September, 1848, the first public building, to be used as a church and a school, was opened, the average attendance of scholars being forty, although on some days it reached seventy. This was under the auspices of the Association, and connected with the Free Church. A few months later, the first newspaper, the *Otago News*, was published, bearing the motto, "There's Pippins and Cheese to Come,"—a prediction not only realised in so far as orchards and dairies are concerned, but also in the fact that if Otago is not like the Land of Promise of old, one of corn, and wine, and oil, it is preeminently one of corn, and wool, and beer, products more suited to the requirements of its climate and inhabitants, equally profitable, and in more general demand. In May, 1849, a public library was opened, and following in close succession, building societies were started, and a Mechanics' Institute, which has now grown into the flourishing and highly-valued Athenæum, with its library, reading, and class rooms.

At the close of the first year of the settlement, the population consisted of—

Notwithstanding the visible signs of material progress, and the means for mental improvement which were provided, elements of discord existed in the young community; and, judging from the newspapers and other documents, the strife was a hard and bitter one, the questions in dispute being: "1. Was the settlement to continue a class one? 2. Were the soil and climate suited for agriculture?" The utter impracticability of the first was shown ere it was fairly put in operation, a few months bringing it to a sudden termination. The *News* took a strong position with reference to the second question, maintaining that Otago was not suited for the growth of cereals—and certainly there was a show of reason for this view, as little was done to test the soil, settlers finding it easier to make a living by stock-raising than by cultivating—and several efforts were made to form a company to import flour. But a decided answer has been given in the affirmative by the fact that to the very places from which it was intended to draw, the supplies of breadstuffs for Otago she now sends out of her abundance. The last ship which sailed to Sydney took a large quantity of flour and oatmeal, the produce and manufacture of the Province.

The Settlement continued slowly but steadily to advance, receiving additions to its population both from the home country and the neighboring colonies. The tardy progress was duo to the limited revenue at command and the neglect to which it was subjected by the Government of the Colony. Instead of receiving a contribution from the coffers of the State to help its infant efforts, the surplus customs revenue, after the salaries of the officials were paid, was quietly sent off to Wellington by H.M.S. "Acheron,"—an act which, when it became known, caused such a strong and decided protest on the part of the residents and the public functionaries that it was shortly returned, not, however, without being shorn of a considerable portion of its amount. Combined effort enabled the settlers to open up the country by roads and tracks, and had it not been for this "self-reliant policy"—the earliest example set to the Colony—little progress would have been made. A writer of the time says, "The impression became prevalent in Australia that Otago will become not only the greatest cattle district of New Zealand, but of the Pacific generally;" and, it may be added, she is rapidly becoming the granary of the Pacific also. Upon the retirement of the New Zealand Company, in 1850, and the granting of a Constitution to the Colony, in 1853, Otago was erected into a Province, and its original boundaries were so extended as to include all the country south of the Waitaki. During this period, little was done by the Government to facilitate settlement. A small amount had been in-judiciously expended, on seeing which a public meeting was called, at which resolutions were passed, urging on the Governor to have expended on roads and bridges certain votes of the Legislative Council and sums misapplied from the local Treasury.

The meeting of the first Provincial Council, on 30th December, 1853, marks the first epoch in the history of Otago. Prior to this date there was no responsibility for the conduct of public affairs. Now there was a responsible body possessing considerable powers, and a largely-extended estate to administer. In his opening address, the Superintendent said, "A return mail from the seat of Government (Auckland) is just in the same category as a return from England, business in the meanwhile being in a state of abeyance and confusion. Meanwhile, it is our duty to do all that we can for the public good." How was this done? Assembled in a small, unpretending wooden building—the old Mechanics' Institute—described at the time as "one of the most elegant buildings in Dunedin, capable of containing from 80 to 100 people," and "an erection the like of which no other settlement in New Zealand could boast," the Council at once commenced business, and proceeded to set their house in order. The monetary condition was "Treasury grant closed, land fund reduced to *nil*, and the Province left with two-thirds of the general revenue (£1,480) to do all for themselves, and as they best can." What they had to do was, provide for expense of government, form roads and build bridges, attract immigration, attend to education, and open up communication with other Provinces and the outer world. To accomplish all these objects with an income of £2,000 a year must have been a pleasing task! Yet a determined start was made, and the Province began, and still continues its onward growth. At a later period it was remarked: "Otago, neglected by the home Government, disapproved of by the Colonial Government (which only acted as a drag on its progress and a drain on its resources, never having expended in it a single farthing of the large Imperial grant, which should have been equally divided over the Colony), moved steadily on." The governing machinery was

at first neither extensive nor expensive: it has now assumed considerable proportions.

The principle of subsidizing local efforts for the construction of roads and bridges was adopted at the first meeting of the Council, and has hitherto been continued with the most beneficial results. There is scarcely a district which is not intersected and opened up by local roads, and the main roads formed and kept up by the Government render it safe and pleasant to travel in all directions. Some of the bridges by which the rivers are spanned combine great strength with elegant design. The only possible means of travelling or bringing goods to market in early days was by bullock sledges, accomplishing from ten to fifteen miles a day: wheeled vehicles could not get along. So Well, however, was the forming of roads pushed on that a stage coach began, in 1858, to run between Dunedin and Tokomairiro, a distance of thirty-six miles; and, in a few years later, the same mode of conveyance was established to all parts of the Province.

Immigration received the immediate and careful consideration of the Council. An Ordinance was passed, appointing agencies in Edinburgh and London, to procure emigrants and arrange for their passages. The Edinburgh agency still exists, and has been the means of sending a large number of the inhabitants to this land. In addition to the permanent agencies, special agents were despatched to Australia and Britain, to put the attractions of the place before parties intending to migrate, and the result was a large influx of suitable and much-needed population. A contract was also entered into with Messrs P. Henderson and Co., of Glasgow, to establish a regular line of ships direct from the Clyde, which resulted in a complete success, and presents a picture of fortunate navigation having few parallels. During the seventeen years this contract has been in operation, about 250 ships have been sent from home, carrying emigrants, and have loaded for home with cargo, every vessel arriving safely at her destination. Of all the passenger fleet trading between Great Britain and Otago since its settlement, only two have not been accounted for.

Intercolonial and Provincial steam navigation soon pressed itself on the attention of the Council, as the produce for export and the requirements for import were becoming extensive; accordingly, a bonus for a steamer was offered, and the "Queen," a locally-owned vessel, which had been plying for a short time, was specially engaged to make the trip monthly between Melbourne and Port Chalmers. Additional steamers were soon obtained, and regular communication established. The produce of wool and grain increased so rapidly that vessels were laid on the berth to load for London direct with wool, and for Melbourne with grain and other products.

The price of money was a serious drawback to the progress of the Province, interest as high as 20 per cent. being required on loans where ample security for the principal was given. Monetary transactions were conducted through the storekeepers—not a very convenient method—until a branch of the Union Bank was opened in 1858. Now there are six different banks, having branches in all the centres of population, and money is so plentiful as to be obtained on good security at six per cent. A new Bank named the Colonial, with a capital of two millions, was recently projected in Dunedin, has been successfully floated, and is now in full business operation.

While carefully advancing in material prosperity, equal attention was paid to education and religious requirements. As the settlers spread themselves over the country, those in charge of ecclesiastical affairs provided additional churches, and brought out ministers to superintend them. The Council was also forward in making provision for the teaching of the young, and the education system of Otago, which has succeeded so well and been so deservedly praised, was initiated in the first session of that body.

The advantage of opening up the southern portion of the Province, in which there were large tracts of splendid land both clear and timbered, was early recognized, and sites for the towns of Campbelltown and Invercargill being fixed, the country was surveyed, and very soon a large number of sections were bought, and settlers located thereon. Complaints were made by the inhabitants that this outlying district was not receiving its due share of attention from the authorities; and a memorial was, in terms of "The New Provinces Act, 1858," presented to the Colonial Government, requesting that the district might be detached from Otago and erected into a new Province. This was granted, and in 1861, the Province of Southland was created, with an area of 4,300,000 acres. Embarrassments, however, so accumulated on the little Province, that in 1870, it was found advisable to re-unite it to Otago, which was done, and it now partakes of the general prosperity.

The discovery of the gold fields in 1861, may be considered the next epoch in this history. Rumours of the existence of gold had before this date been freely circulated; but until the discovery, by Gabriel Read, of the gully which bears his name, no payable workings had been opened up. The extraordinary richness of this gold field, together with the ease with which the gold was obtained, at first hardly obtained belief; but as specimens of the precious metal arrived in town day after day by trustworthy messengers, who were in hot haste to get back again, the fever became general, and every man, tradesman and storekeeper, left his occupation and was "off to the diggings." The report of this really rich gold field soon reached the adjacent Provinces and Colonies, and a great "rush" was the consequence—thousands arriving in a single day. For a time, other occupations were forgotten, but the excitement gradually subsided; the lucky digger having a good many pounds to his credit, and

high prices ruling for every article that could be raised, soon induced many to return to their legitimate industries, and leave the more precarious trade of gold finding to men who followed it as their profession. The discovery of the Tuapeka gold field was followed, in 1862, by the Dunstan, the Lakes, Nokomai, and several others, which have proved to be very valuable, and afford employment to a large number of men. The portion of the Province in which the gold fields are situated had hitherto been an almost unknown country, and to the energy and enterprise of the gold seeker the credit is due of opening it up much sooner than it would otherwise have been. The risk these hardy men undertook deserved reward, as the result of their efforts has been of incalculable advantage to Otago. The quantity of gold exported from the Province up to March 31, 1875, was 3,377,734 oz., and its value, £13,249,460.

A short summary of the social condition of the Province will form an appropriate finish to this chapter. Taking the labour and cost of living questions first, it is found that from the earliest days of the settlement the working men insisted on the eight hours' system, carried their point, and have been able to maintain it up to the present time. When extra hours are worked, extra pay must follow. The table in the appendix will show the comparative rates of pay and prices of provisions.

Dwelling-houses were always scarce and commanded high rents. To overcome this difficulty, and enable every man to become his own landlord, the first building society was started in 1850, and has fulfilled in every respect the expectations of its promoters, and done an immense amount of good. These societies have continued to multiply and increase, and have been of incalculable benefit.

To make life as pleasant as possible in the small community, holidays were kept; clubs to promote horse racing, cricket, and other healthful games were formed; many enjoyable evenings were spent at balls and music parties; and lectures were regularly delivered by the leading men, in addition to the advantages of a Public Library and Mechanics' Institute.

The first newspaper, the "News," terminated its career on the issue of its ninety-first number, at the end of 1850, and immediately thereafter the "Otago Witness" sprung into existence, and has been continued without interruption as a weekly paper. In 1856, the "Colonist" was started, first as a weekly, then tri-weekly, latterly a daily, until its wind up in 1862. Other newspapers of smaller importance made their appearance both in town and country, but the paper which took the lead and made itself known as the leading paper of the Province, and perhaps of the Colony, was the "Daily Times," the first number of which appeared in 1861.

A gaol was one of the institutions the early settlers found provided for them on their arrival, although its utility was very doubtful for a specially-selected community; and in 1850, a Judge of the Supreme Court for Otago was appointed at a salary of £800 a-year. Time seemed to hang heavy on the hands of His Honor Judge Stephen. Charged with an idle man's offence, he assaulted his accuser, for which assault he appeared before a Bench of Justices, and only escaped punishment by the skin of his teeth. His celebrated speech, in defence, is well remembered: "He would not wait for the slow and tardy process of the law," but take it in his own hands. It is a curious fact that the first number of the "New Zealand Gazette," published 14th January, 1858, by Mr. E. W. Stafford, Colonial Secretary, is solely devoted to the announcement of Chief Justice Stephen's death, and the arrangements for his funeral. The "Gazette" is worth re-print here:—

"Colonial Secretary's Office, "Auckland,

January 14th, 1858.

"His Honor Chief Justice Stephen died at Auckland yesterday, at 10 o'clock, a.m.

"The ceremony of the funeral will take place on Friday, the 15th instant, when the presence of public functionaries of the Colonial Government is required, and the attendance of all other persons, who may be desirous of testifying their respect, is requested.

"The funeral will leave the residence of the late Judge, in Albert Street, at 5 o'clock, p.m.

"The public offices will be closed on the day of the funeral."

Almost all the prisoners confined in the gaol up till the period of the gold discovery, were either runaway sailors or persons committed for trivial offences; and the honest old gaoler had the duties of a father to perform, rather than those of an officer of justice. Even since the golden era, crimes of great enormity have been extremely few, considering the promiscuous character of the new arrivals. No doubt daring offences were perpetrated, but the number was comparatively small. The natural features of the country did undoubtedly contribute to this result, as the possibility of concealment or escape was a slender one; but the principal preventive of crime was the thoroughly efficient police force which was organised immediately on the gold fields being declared. This force has elicited the highest praise from the Supreme Court Judges, as well as from the neighboring Provinces; and, it is gratifying to add that it still continues to merit the same character for steadiness, carefulness, discipline, and moderation.

II. General Description of the Province.

Otago is in length about 160 miles, and in breadth 195 miles, and is estimated to contain 15,500,000 acres. It may be said to possess every description of scenery, both along the coast line and in the interior, the features being eminently of a Scottish type, whilst the names given to places have strongly stamped this character.

"Mountains, with inaccessible, rugged, snow-capped peaks, rising almost perpendicular from their base, affording neither food nor footing for any animal; hills, either clothed with verdure to their rounded summits, on which flocks and herds are leisurely pasturing, or rising in graceful cones, densely wooded with valuable timber; vales, stretching far as the eye can reach, clad with corn or luxuriant herbage, dotted with homesteads, evincing on every side comfort and content; lone glens, closely shut in, where true solitude can be enjoyed undisturbed—or the busy city or town, where all the luxuries and comforts of life are exhibited, and in which squalor and poverty are rarely met; rivers rolling rapidly, or gently gliding to their ocean home; bums and streams murmuring and gurgling in their course to the river; cascades and cataracts, capable of being converted to useful service, or too mighty to be brought into subjection; lakes, of great extent and fantastic shape, or lochs, quietly reposing on the plains; old ocean himself laving the shores on three of its coasts, here impetuously beating against its sterile cliffs or rolling in breakers far up the sandy beach, or there creeping inland, forming noble harbors or secure havens, where the mariner can safely anchor; islands, from solitary rocks to important settlements, numerous along the coast; its western side savagely grand, while its eastern is tame to a degree."

Along the eastern and southern coast line, the principal harbor is Otago, which is a long arm of the sea, into which vessels of very heavy draught can enter with safety. Steam tugs; are always at command should the wind prove adverse. The channel to Port Chalmers is somewhat winding, but, reaching the port, a large fleet can lie at the piers, or anchor in the different bays, in smooth water and under shelter of the land. Bluff Harbor, the first port of arrival and last of departure for the Suez mail steamers, is a safe one for vessels of any tonnage. The other harbours are chiefly used for coasting vessels. The West Coast is a succession of sounds or inlets, some of them of immense size, with great depth of water, easily taken, and quite landlocked; but as this portion of the province has yet to be settled, a more detailed account need not be given.

All the principal rivers discharge on the east and south coasts, several of them being navigable for many miles, by coasting steamers and vessels. Their lengths, compared with the size of the Province, together with the volume of water they discharge, are hardly credible. The principal one is the Clutha, estimated at 220 miles in length, having its source north of the Wanaka Lake, at a height of 264ft. above the sea level, and calculated by the late Mr. Balfour, marine engineer, to discharge 1,690,000 cubic feet of water per minute. The quantity of water is greater and its temperature lower during summer than winter, this being caused by the melting of the snows on the western ranges of mountains. Several tributaries flow into the Clutha, the most notable being the Pomahaka, Manuherikia, Cardrona, and Kawarau, the latter draining Lake Wakatipu. The Taieri River flows through the plain of the same name, and is a sluggish stream for a large portion of its course. It is reckoned as 150 miles long, although the distance from its source to its mouth, as the crow flies, is not above 45 miles. The Mataura is 120 miles in length, the Oreti 130, and the Waiiau and Mararoa, by which Lakes Manipori, Te Anau, and Mavora are drained, about 140 miles. The Waitaki, flowing eastward 130 miles, and the Awarua flowing westward, form the northern boundary of the Province.

Lakes are numerous, and some of them of large extent: in the north, the Wanaka, covering 75 square miles, and the Hawea, 48; in the south-east, the Waiholo and Waipori, 5½; the Tuakitoto and Kaitangata, 3½; in the interior: the Wakatipu, 112; and the Manipori, 36; and in the west: Te Anau, 132; and M'Kerrow or Kapapo, 10 square miles.

Mountain ranges traverse the Province from north to south generally; the backbone lying near the west coast, thus accounting for the easterly flow of the rivers. The principal peaks in different directions are Mount Aspiring, 9,049; Earnslaw, 9,200; Ben Nevis, 7,650; Titaroa, 5,643; Hamilton, 4,674; Maungatua, 2,280ft. in height. The snow line is 8,000ft; but all the mountains attaining that height are on the west side.

Although the forests handy to market or a shipping port, have to a large extent been thinned out, there are still immense tracts which have not been touched for want of access; but now that roads and railways are bringing them within reach, a supply of timber for railway, building, and other purposes, sufficient to meet the demand for many years to come, can readily be obtained. Longwood and Waiiau forests alone contain upwards of 1,000 square miles, and almost the entire western sea-board is a dense bush of most valuable timber.

The area of land fitted for agricultural pursuits is computed at 9,000,000 acres, and is distributed in every direction. From the northern boundary (the Waitaki River), south to Dunedin, a distance of about 80 miles, and from the coast inland, an average breadth of 40 miles, the land consists of extensive plains and downs, with here and there a few hill ranges, some of the peaks of which rise to 4,000ft.; but generally the spurs and ridges

are well rounded and of easy slope. Further in the interior are the Upper Taieri, thirty miles long by fifteen broad; Upper Waitaki, twenty by fifteen; Upper Clutha, forty by ten; Manuherika, forty by eight; Ida, thirty by six—all magnificent plains, besides other valleys of smaller extent, but of great fertility. South from Dunedin to the Clutha River, and thence to the Mataura, after crossing Saddle Hill, which is cultivated to its summit, the long reach of the Taieri, Tokomairiro, Clutha, and Mataura plains extend for about 120 miles, with a breadth varying from ten to forty miles, the hills on either side, not of great height, noted for their long rounded or fiat-topped spurs and rich sloping gullies. From the Mataura south to the ocean and west to the Waiau River, a breadth of sixty miles, and of similar length, the country is almost a dead level, occasionally interrupted by hills of moderate elevation. The interior, in which the gold fields are principally situate, is much more mountainous and broken, but possesses fine straths and glens, admirably adapted for the labours of the husbandman.

The peculiarly healthy character of the climate is attested by the fact of so many strong, active children seen in all directions, their stout limbs and ruddy countenances being a subject of general remark by strangers visiting the Province.

Originally, the Province was divided into two counties of almost equal area, the 169th degree of east longitude being the boundary: they were named Bruce and Wallace respectively. It is now parcelled out for different purposes, either political, social, or industrial. The political divisions are, first, for the election of Representatives in the General Assembly, or Colonial Parliament, numbering eighteen, and returning nineteen members. The next is for the election of members of the Provincial Council, numbering thirty-four districts, with forty-six members. The social divisions are the educational districts (elsewhere alluded to) Town Council, and Road Board districts, of which there are forty-six. The powers of the road trustees are similar to those of Town Councils. These Boards have effected a great amount of good in their respective districts, and are considered one of the best institutions of Otago. The industrial districts are, first, agricultural, known as hundreds, numbering thirty-six, and containing in the aggregate over 2,000,000 acres. Keeping pace with the demand for land for settlement, new hundreds are proclaimed, and these are taken from the second industrial division, namely, pastoral land or runs. The occupier of land on lease for grazing purposes must fall back before the settler, who has the prior and superior claim, and which cannot be overlooked. Gold digging is the next, but not the least important industrial division to be noticed. There are now ten gold fields, embracing an area of 10,000 square miles, not by any means all taken up for digging pursuits, but over which the gold-seeker is at liberty to prospect, and to "spot" any claim he may fancy a payable one. Within the gold fields, what is termed agricultural leases can be obtained; which means that a picce of land known not to be auriferous can be selected, fenced, improved, and settled on, at a yearly rent of 2s. 6d. an acre, and at the end of the third year it can be purchased at 20s. an acre.

The Towns of the Province next claim notice. There are about seventy recorded on the map, and of these over forty contain a number of inhabitants. Sixteen of them have become of so much importance as to possess a Mayor and Council for the management of their affairs, and eleven of these incorporated towns can boast of having newspapers published in them. The sites for all the towns have been selected in localities where special industries were likely to be established, or at points of the main roads considered suitable. A short description will be given of the principal ones.

Dunedin, being the largest and most important city, not only in the Province, but in the Colony, first demands attention. It stretches along the head of the bay, and has a north-east aspect. A large number of the dwelling-houses are built on the hills embraced within the boundaries, and the fine foliage trees with which they are in general surrounded, give a highly picturesque appearance to the scene. Decidedly, the best view is obtained in approaching by water. As the prospect is opened up, a pleasing impression is made on the visitor; and, on nearing the jetty, the numerous chimney stalks; and the sound of many hammers, give the idea of busy industry. The entrance by rail from Port Chalmers is certainly faulty, as the train passes amongst a lot of "shanties" anything but attractive. These are, however, rapidly being cleared away, and the sludge-holes filled up. The southern railway has not the same objection. The fine stretch of the harbor is first opened up, then passing through the clean, compact suburb of Kensington, the South Recreation Ground (where cricket matches and other healthful games are carried on), is skirted, and the train at once enters the busy line of the south end iron and wood factories, wool and grain stores, wholesale warehouses, and shipping jetties. Roads from all parts of the Province converge on Dunedin as the capital: the main north road by the North-east Valley; the main south road by Caver-sham; the roads to the interior by Stuart-street, Maclaggan-street, Pine Hill; and to Otago Heads by the Peninsula. By all these routes very fine views of different parts of the city are obtained. The area is 865 acres. There are ninety streets, each 66ft. wide, the greater number being metalled, having curbed and asphalted pavements, and well lighted with gas. The length of Princes-street and George-street, the one being a continuation of the other, is two and a-half miles, or, if the extension of the city through the suburbs of Kensington, Forbury, and St. Kilda is included, there is a straight line of street four miles in length, and almost level. The longest from east to west is High-street, about one mile. In the centre of the city is the Octagon, and

around the landward sides a belt of 560 acres is set apart for the recreation of the inhabitants. The banking establishments and retail houses are mostly in Princes-street and at the south end of George-street. Some of the shops would do credit to Princes-street, Edinburgh, after which city Dunedin and its streets are named. Drapers, grocers, confectioners, bakers, ironmongers, jewellers, cabinet-makers display the newest patterns and most elegant designs, the best description and variety of articles of daily consumption, the most complete furnishings and attractive ornaments that can be obtained anywhere, either at a very little advance, or, for the necessaries of life, at lower prices than they can be obtained in Britain. The wholesale houses are mostly situated in some of the quieter streets, but are gradually being attracted closer to the terminus of the railway. The timber and ironworks are distributed to the north and south of the Octagon. A considerable proportion of the industries of the Province have their principal seat in Dunedin. The public buildings are handsome and numerous: amongst others may be mentioned the University, High School, Custom House, Post Office and Provincial Government Buildings, Hospital, Lunatic Asylum, Benevolent Asylum, Masonic Hall, Caledonian Grand Stand, churches, particularly the First Church, (pronounced the finest ecclesiastical edifice south of the equator); the banks, warehouses, and free and bonded stores; and, as private buildings, the residences of the principal citizens. A large addition is being made to the number of such buildings, and, as the material used in building is stone, brick, or concrete (wooden structures being now discarded), they are of a substantial character. The places of resort for information, recreation, or amusement, are the Athenaeum (with its reading-room and extensive library), the Museum, Botanical Gardens and Acclimatization Grounds, the Princess and Queen's theatres, music and concert halls, recreation grounds north and south, racecourse, and public baths. The Corporation affairs are managed by a Mayor, and Councillors, whose attention is chiefly occupied at present in promoting measures for the sanitary improvement of the city, and in arranging for a Town Hall, with offices attached, intended to be the finest structure in the city, and to cost £30,000. The police arrangements are part of the system in force throughout the Province, being under the charge of the Provincial Government, by whom the expenses are defrayed. By private companies a good supply of excellent water and gas was laid through all the streets and into most of the houses. Recently the Water Works have been purchased by the Corporation, and are shortly to be considerably extended, and terms are proposed for the purchase of the Gas Works, or the erection of new ones. A Harbor Board for the Port of Otago has recently been formed, and is now actively engaged in extending the piers, reclaiming land for warehouse and traffic purposes, and dredging the channel so as to permit the larger coasting steamers to come up to Dunedin. It is proposed to carry out the work of dredging so as to permit the largest vessel that can enter the harbor to come up to town to load and discharge. Wet docks, comprising about thirty acres, are also to be undertaken forthwith. In addition to the present steam dredges at work, a contract has been entered into with a Dunedin firm to build a powerful new dredge to lift 500 tons per hour, working to a depth of 30 feet, and raising the stuff to a height of 25 feet. The contract price is £20,000. The Board has been endowed with valuable lands, which will soon realize a handsome revenue, and thus make dock and other charges as light as possible on the shipping. Two morning papers and one evening paper are published daily, besides five weekly and seven monthly periodicals. The Chamber of Commerce, Association of Underwriters, Law Society, and others of a similar description, are important institutions. Dunedin has been distinguished by the name of "Modern Athens;" Dunedin, with its salubrious climate, its attractive scenery, its elegant buildings, its enterprising citizens, its noble institutions, and its comprehensive provision for a liberal and classical education, bids fair to claim the title of the "Athens of the South." The population at the census, February 1871, was 14,857; at the census, 1st March, 1874, the number was over 18,500, showing an increase of about 3,700 in the three years. If the suburbs are included, the number will amount to 26,000.

Port Chalmers is the principal seaport town of the Province. It is built, on a peninsula jutting into the harbor, half-way between the Heads and Dunedin, and at it a great proportion of the commerce is conducted. It claims to be the oldest town in the settlement. At the railway pier and in the stream, there are always large vessels loading for or discharging from different parts of the world. The large addition which is being made to the pier will give increased facilities for trade; and the patent slip, floating dock, and stone graving dock (the only one in the Colony—measuring 328ft. long by 50ft. wide, having 22ft. of water on the sill), make it an attraction for ships requiring cleaning and repairs. The time ball by which chronometers are adjusted drops daily at noon, and is erected, along with the signal station, on the hill on the west side of the town. The building of wooden vessels, together with ships' smithwork, are the staple industries of the town; and the vicinity is famous for a hard bluestone, much used for house building. A start has also been made in sawing a flag-stone, suitable for footpaths and courtyards. Fish curing is carried on here more extensively than in any other part of the Province. There are several substantially-built churches, a grammar-school, banks, stores, and hotels. Gas has already been introduced, and the Town Council are arranging for a water supply. The population, including sailors on board the shipping, in March, 1874, was 2,887.

Oamaru, in the extreme north, is decidedly the maritime town of Otago. It is situated on a terrace overlooking the Southern Ocean. The vast expanse of water, and the healthy and refreshing atmosphere, render

the locality an invigorating one. The bay or roadstead offers inducements for sea bathing which will not be overlooked, and in a short time bathing machines, with all their appliances, will be profitably engaged here. It is the shipping port of the largest pastoral and agricultural, and perhaps mineral, districts in the Province. The quantity of wool, wheat, oats, barley, and grass seed produced in the district around is very great; and the quality may be judged, when it is stated that Hour with the Oamaru brand commands the highest price in the market. The building stone is unrivalled, and can be got in any quantity. Limestone, cement, pipeclay, and coal exist in abundance; and the substantial breakwater which is being rapidly built will greatly facilitate shipment, and offer shelter in any weather to coasting vessels. In building the breakwater, concrete blocks, weighing over thirty tons, are used: these are made on the shore, lifted, carried, and placed in position by a steam crane made in Dunedin, only two or three men being required in the operation. The town has an imposing appearance from the sea. The streets are wide and regular; and several fine buildings, substantially constructed and profusely ornamented with stone from the vicinity, confirm the impression when one has landed. As regards population, it is the second town of the Province, the number in 1874 being 2,829.

Palmerston is situated at the junction of the Dunstan road with the main road, and is rapidly rising into importance. Hampden, Moeraki, and Waikouaiti are coastal towns, with fine country around them.

Southward from Dunedin, the first important town is Milton, near which the junction of the road and railway to the Tuapeka gold fields is made. Being in the centre of one of the oldest settled agricultural districts, and having energetic and persevering residents, it has become the most flourishing inland agricultural town in the Province. Agricultural implements, coach building, lime burning, pottery works, brick and tile making, are the main industries. The Milton potteries deserve more than a passing notice, not only from their having been the first started in the Province, and carried on with great spirit, but also from the superior character and fineness of the different wares produced. Glazed tiles are principally made in Milton; and the Corporation have effected great improvements in forming the streets and attending to sanitary matters. Population, 1,161.

Balclutha is a stirring township on the banks of the Clutha River, and is making strong efforts to overtake some of its older rivals. Population, 430. There is a very fine bridge, of wood, across the Clutha River at this point.

Invercargill is the principal town of the late Province of Southland, and is well placed near the head of the New River estuary. Some of the main streets are two chains in width, and all of them are laid off at right angles. Considerable advance is being made in the material and architecture of the buildings, and the merchants are possessed of great ability and penetration. The first railway in Otago was constructed to connect this town with its shipping port at Bluff Harbor, a length of twenty miles. The line was constructed under the Southland Provincial Government. A continuation of the railway for an additional twenty miles connects it with Winton, a splendid district of country, and branch lines are being pushed forward in other directions. Large quantities of wool and grain are produced, and are shipped direct from the Bluff to London and Melbourne. The extensive forests around the town give an immense trade in shipping timber to less favored localities. Nearly twelve million feet are sawn annually. Another feature of the trade is the export of preserved meats from the works at Woodlands. Two newspapers are published in the town. In 1871, the population was 1,952; in 1874, 2,484—increase, 532.

Riverton is a beautifully-situated town at the mouth of Jacob's River. In addition to the local trade and the export of grain, seal fishing occupies a considerable deal of attention, and the opening up of the Orepuki gold fields, and the immense timber forests adjacent, will give the town a considerable impetus.

The towns in the interior of the Province are, for the most part, in the centre of mining districts. Lawrence, on the Tuapeka gold field, was the first created. It is the seat of a considerable amount of industry, and its residents are alive to every opportunity of promoting its prosperity. In the Tuapeka district, the gold mining is principally confined to what is called alluvial workings. Immense sums have been expended by the miners in bringing in water from distant streams, some of the races being twenty to forty miles in length, winding round hill sides (which are often tunnelled), or carried across gullies by fluming or pipes. By means of the water, the face of the working is washed down, and all the soil carried away, leaving the stones behind, which must be removed, and the gold, which, being the heaviest metal, and in very small particles, is gathered with the refuse dirt at the bottom, and carefully separated by a process of washing. An idea of the quantity of water needed may be formed when it is stated that the height of the face to be washed down at the celebrated Blue Spur is 110ft. by a width of 600 yards. To assist the work of the water, shafts are driven into the face, chambers formed, and large quantities of powder used for a single explosion, bringing down many thousand yards of stuff, which is all washed away. Many men are employed in mining here, whose supplies and material are furnished by the merchants of Lawrence. The town is well built, and, like all the Government towns, regularly laid off, no street being less than a chain wide. There are a grammar school, several churches, banks, Athenaeum, mills, breweries, hotels, and every other requisite.

Proceeding further into the interior from Lawrence, up the valley of the Clutha to the Dunstan district, the

next towns of importance are Roxburgh, at Teviot; Alexandra, at the junction of the Manuherikia River, a distance of sixty-eight miles; Clyde, on the banks of the Clutha, seven miles further on; and Cromwell, at the junction of the Kawarau, thirteen miles further. At the latter town, the Clutha is spanned by a suspension bridge, 350ft. long, 15ft. wide, and capable of sustaining a heavy traffic. The mining in these districts is of different descriptions. When the great river is low, its banks are stripped and the material carried to a higher level, where it is subsequently washed, the refuse carried back into the river, and then lost to sight. Often the workmen unfortunately find that, without any warning, a month's hard work is in an hour or two lost, without the possibility of saving, by a sudden rise of the river sweeping all their stuff away. Another mode of gold finding is dredging the bottom of the river by machinery, bringing the precious metal along with the silt to the surface, where it is saved. A novel dredging machine has lately been built for this purpose, being a strong cigar-shaped tube, of iron, with an opening in the floor, in which four or six men can be placed. It is to be sunk to the bottom, and the inmates will collect the stuff and work at it in their prison-house, air being forced down to them from above to enable them to exist. Quartz mining is still another method. In this case, the gold exists in the solid rock, which has to be blasted, sent to the surface, and there crushed to powder by powerful stamping machines driven by steam or water power. The veins of quartz run into the mountain side or dip downwards: in either instance, hundreds of feet have often to be gone over in what is called "bringing the stone to grass,"—that is, to daylight. All these workings require skill and carefulness in carrying them on. Although the digger at times makes lucky finds, it is no more than he deserves for the energy and industry he has to exercise.

Proceeding onwards from Cromwell, and crossing the streams Roaring Meg and Gentle Annie, Arrowtown is reached after twenty-six miles, and Queenstown after forty. The latter is prettily situated on the shore of Lake Wakatipu. As in all the other towns, the residents here are doing their utmost to make their town attractive, each one trying to excel. The great distance from the early agricultural producing districts making carriage very expensive, caused the settlers here to try what they could do in raising grain. When gold miners first went into the Lake district, it was alleged that not even a potatoe could be grown there; but, in fact, the district not only now produces much fine wheat, so that a very large flour mill is kept continually employed, but various fruits are cultivated, and they ripen earlier and better than in districts around Dunedin.

The other gold fields towns, Hamilton and Naseby, are on the road from Dunstan to Palmerston. Each is a municipality, and vies with its neighbour in progress, both relying on Gold for their prosperity.

III. Land, Climate, Products.

Otago is estimated to contain over 9,000,000 acres of land fit for agricultural purposes, and in addition, about 1,500,000 acres under forest, which, when cleared, will, to a large extent, be of especial value. The general character of the soil is of a fair average, while in several districts—north, middle, and south—it is very rich, strong, and deep, tempting the farmer to grow a succession of wheat crops without alternating, or supplying the waste by manuring. This practice is not now followed to such an extent as formerly. There is, of course, a large amount of steep and broken country, but the great improvements that are being made in agricultural implements render the tillage of such land comparatively easy. Land which a few years ago was considered unfit to work, or unprofitable if wrought, is now readily taken up and proved to be light to plough, and to yield a good return.

Loams, clays, gravel, and peat, all resting on favorable subsoils, are similarly diversified as in Britain, but their virgin character and the influence of the temperature render them much superior in productiveness and less costly to work. Extensive plains, downs, straths, glens, and gently-sloping hill-sides, none of them requiring much outlay for drainage, and all of splendid soil, fitted to produce any crops suited for a temperate climate, are spread over the province, and only await the energy of the husbandman, to whom they will yield a generous return.

The best proof of the fertility of the soil is afforded by practical tests. The produce, as ascertained by careful returns, for crop 1872—73, from the 3,705 holdings or farms in the Province, gives as the average yield per acre—Wheat, 29½; oats, 30½; barley, 27 bushels; potatoes, 5 1/6 tons.

For Crop 1874—75, the return is as follows:—

Land.

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|----------|------------|--------------|--------|------------------|
| No. of Holdings. | Acres broken up not under crop. | In Wheat. | In Oats. | In Barley. | In Potatoes. | Acres. | Bushels |
| 3,809 | 42,985 | 28,115 | 980,128 | 80,787 | 3018148 | 5,054 | 168,436 |
| 3,341 | 18,419 | Average per acre, | 34 ¾ | 37¼ | 33 1/3 | 5½ | Average 1873-74. |
| | | | 29 ¾ | 33¼ | 29 ¾ | 4 2/3 | |

Showing a large increase in the returns of all crops.

Authoritative returns for other crops are not obtainable, but are known to be equally satisfactory.

The regulations under which public, or, as they are called, "waste" lands are sold are various. The original and still the leading method is the hundred system—which means a large piece of agricultural country selected within natural and easily-defined boundaries, and surveyed into sections of from 50 up to 200 acres. On the survey being completed, the land is declared open for application on a day fixed by advertisement, and at the uniform price of £1 an acre. In making the application, a deposit of 10 per cent., or 2s: an acre is paid; and if one applicant only puts in a claim for any number of sections, he is forth-with declared the purchaser, pays the balance of purchase money within ten days, and gets a certificate of purchase, on which the Crown Grant is issued. If more than one person applies for the same land on the same day, the sections so applied for are advertised for sale by auction, and the highest bidder becomes the purchaser. Only those who purchase land within a hundred have the privilege of running stock on the unsold portions; and a license to depasture is issued according to a fixed scale, the cost being yearly 3s. 6d. a head for great cattle, and 7d. a head for sheep. This assessment, after paying cost of collection, is applied to form and make roads within the hundred. The holder of land has the privilege of free grazing for a certain number of stock. After the expiry of seven years from the date of the proclamation of the hundred, any land remaining within it unsold may be put up to auction at 10s. an acre, and knocked down to the best bidder. There are no conditions attached to this system of sale, either as to the extent of land one man can purchase, or as to residence or cultivation.

Another method of selling Crown lands, and one highly favorable to a man of small means who wishes to settle on and work the ground, is the deferred payment system. Blocks of land, not exceeding 5,000 acres in one block, or more than 30,000 acres in any one year, are selected, surveyed, and declared open for application. A lease or license to occupy not more than 200 acres, at a yearly rent of 2s. 6d. an acre, payable half-yearly in advance, is issued, and the holder of the lease is bound not to sub-let during its currency. He must within three years enclose the land with a substantial fence, and cultivate one-tenth part of it. Half the cost of fencing can be recovered from the adjoining occupier. On payment of the tenth year's rent, the land becomes the freehold property of the occupier. This mode of selling on deferred payment is taken much advantage of, and will tend speedily to settle the country with a large population. No sooner is a block of land declared open for application than the land offices are rushed with applicants greatly exceeding the number of sections, and the decision is made by ballot.

An additional mode is, free grants to immigrants, whereby every man paying his own passage to New Zealand is entitled to £20 worth of land for himself, and, if he has a family, to a like portion, for each adult member. Those who may be counted members of the family, and for whom the full amount of land can be claimed, are wife, child, grandchild, nephew, or neice, over fourteen years of age, and if under fourteen years, land to the value of £10 can be claimed.

The prevailing system of land sales as described, regulates the area of land in the market at one time for sale. Sometimes the demand is great, and sections are eagerly and rapidly bought up, thus causing for a short period a scarcity; but the delay is not such as to cause much inconvenience. Several new hundreds are about to be proclaimed, and so soon as the classification of the land in the Southland district is completed, which will be very soon, a large extent of first-class agricultural country will be open for sale. The blocks set aside on the deferred payment principle comprise land of very superior quality, and it is expected that the area and number of such blocks will be greatly increased.

Immigrants claiming under the free grant system have the whole unsold country open to them for selection: and when it is stated that country as good for settlement as any already taken up can be obtained, the inducement is very great, especially when it is considered that the facilities which the improved means of transit afford, give a value to the land which it did not formerly possess.

For pastoral purposes, very little new country is available; the expectation is, however, that when the leases at present held of very large runs expire, those runs will be subdivided, so that a greater number can engage in this pursuit, and make the Province show a larger return than it has yet done from this source. By the outlay of a little capital and labor, the carrying capacity for stock may be increased tenfold.

The original design of the settlement was to provide freeholds for all who were ready and willing to occupy and cultivate them. To a very large extent this plan has been carried out; still, it was impossible entirely to prevent speculation by those colonially called "Land Jobbers." Whether the land is in the hands of the Crown or of private parties, no legislation can prevent this trade. But holders of large estates, when they find a good opportunity, throw their properties into the market for sale, and if the prices offered show a good profit, a bargain is generally struck. To perpetuate the old system of large landed proprietors is impossible here; family or hereditary inducements do not exist. There are no laws of entail, primogeniture, or hypothec, to compel the land to stick to certain favored individuals, or to clog our progress, and the desire is to make land as easy transferable as any other property. The habits and customs of the people are against an aristocracy, and the extent of land for sale or lease by the Crown militates against its creation. Undoubtedly, there are a few large

holders of ground in freehold, and many anxious to acquire broad acres, not for *bona fide* settlement, but as speculation. But the administration of the Land Act in its spirit and intent, as it is now being administered, tends to put a stop to any wholesale alienation. The runholders or squatters, as they are called, under the influence of the high prices which have been ruling for wool and stock for the past few years, are very desirous of buying up the country which they hold, and several of them at the present time are trying hard to prevent the sale of their sheep country for agricultural settlement by calling in the aid of the Supreme Court, a course of conduct strongly deprecated, and which it is hoped will be unsuccessful. Several large properties, divided by their owners into farms from 200 to 300 acres, are at present in the market for sale. One of these specially deserves notice, viz., 8,000 acres in the Winton district. Higher class land could not be obtained anywhere. For strength, depth, and richness, it cannot be surpassed. The Carse of Gowrie, the Lothians, or the finest agricultural districts of England or Ireland do not excel it, and the climatic influences are as favorable as in the South of England. An inducement is held out to buyers by spreading the purchase money over three years, at a reasonable rate of interest. Good practical farmers in Britain, &c., who even now, with the high prices ruling for grain, are struggling hard to make both ends meet, would, on such soil, with such advantages and so little cost for manures, soon become independent. In fact, the whole cost of purchase will not amount to much more than one or two years' rent at home.

The holders of small freehold properties, say from 100 to 300 acres, are not, except in a few cases, disposed to let their farms. Fanning is, and has been for some time, a profitable occupation—good prices and a ready market; and this accounts, to some extent, for the small number of farms in the market to let. Occasionally such instances occur; these, however, must be held as the exception rather than the rule; and when they do occur, the amount of yearly rent demanded per acre is equal to the price at which the land was originally bought. It is a question for the new arrival to consider, whether he would not do better to secure a freehold at the upset price, although he would be longer in bringing produce to the market, than to pay a large rent for land in a condition ready to produce or already producing. In the first case, he has rougher work to undertake and more hardships to endure; but he has the satisfaction of being his own "laird," and of having no rent to pay. He has fresh, unused soil on which to commence work, and can arrange his farm and steading to his own mind. The objection that the locality in which he can select land is at a greater distance from the market, is overcome by the fact that the railways now being constructed will make land situated at one hundred miles distance more convenient of access than it was at ten miles distance a few years ago, and the cost of carriage will also be less.

Besides the occasional "small farm to let," it is proposed by one or two companies—holders of large tracts of country which have been fenced, ploughed, and cropped, or laid clown in grass—to cut them into ordinarily-sized farms, and to offer them on reasonable terms to approved tenants. To a considerable extent this will provide a supply to meet the demand which may arise. The rent for agricultural land runs from 10s. to £3 an acre; in the neighbourhood of town as much as £10 an acre is obtained, but this is for market-gardening purposes.

The climate may well be called a healthful and bracing one—neither subject to extreme heat nor intense cold. That it is a changeable one there can be no doubt, as oftentimes during the course of a single day alterations of a trying nature take place, rendering it not an attractive country for delicate lungs. Over the whole area, it may be called equable, little variation being observed either in the thermometer or rainfall. Some allowance must, of course, be made for the higher districts. The temperature, in the shade, averages from 72deg. as the highest, to 33deg as the lowest. Along the coast line hard frosts rarely occur, giving little opportunity to the skater or curler. The lovers of the latter have established a club in Dunedin, formed a pond, and anticipate some day or other to have a roaring game. Up-country, opportunities for skating are more frequently obtained. The prevailing winds are south-west and north-east, and from both of these airts it does sometimes blow. Fitful gusts are also common. The wettest months in the year are July and August; during the other months a fair outpouring takes place, pretty well distributed, so that no severe parching occurs. The rainfall during the year is about thirty-two inches, and it has been remarked that the largest portion falls between sunset and sunrise. Earthquakes have occasionally been felt, but so slight as not to cause any apprehension of danger.

As possessed by the original inhabitants, this country was singularly destitute of food-producing vegetable or animal. The condition of the early Aborigines may be imagined when it is stated that they occupied a pathless, wild, broken country, having a genial climate and a generous soil, but they cultivated neither grain, root crops, or fruit, their only vegetable diet being fern roots and berries; they had no animal of any sort, save perhaps a rat, to slaughter for food or clothing; few birds of any size, except the moa, kiwi, weka, and kakapo; the sea the only source from whence nourishment could be obtained: it is hardly to be wondered if necessity made them anthropophagous in their habits. The advent of Captain Cook, with his pigs and seeds, and the whalers and squatters with other animals, must have been indeed a blessing.

The Moa was a bird of immense size, as will be seen from the drawing, but it is now totally extinct. The

bones have been found in all directions, from the shores of Dunedin harbor to the fastnesses of the interior. Its flesh was reported by a Government interpreter to have been seen by him at Molyneux harbor in 1823, and that he had seen the feathers of the bird decorating the hair of the chiefs.

The vegetable products which are native to the Province, and are of any commercial value, are timber, flax, and esparto grass. Many of the trees produce most valuable timber, which is used in house and ship building, cabinet, wagon, and coach making, and various other purposes, where strength, endurance, polish, and ease in working are required. The timbers most in demand are totara, black and white pine (*Podocarpus totara*, *ferruginea* and *dacrydioides*), red pine (*Dacridium cupressinum*), goi (*Sophora, tetraptera*), bokaka (*Eleocarpus dentatus*), birch of the settlers (*Fagus*), rata, or ironwood (*Metrosideros lucida*), and a number of others. The foliage of the native forests contributes immensely to the beauty of the landscape. The leaves are of every variety of form and in every tint of color, beautifully interspersed, and both trees and shrubs being almost all evergreen in their habit, add a freshness and warmth of appearance at all times attractive and pleasing. Flowering shrubs or plants are not numerous, but the few that do exist are really beautiful. Particularly noticeable are the rata, with its rich scarlet trusses, the hohere or ribbon-wood in its full bloom of single white delicate flowers, the convolvulus, climbing to the tops of the tallest trees, coyly enhancing its loneliness amongst the graceful drapery of the rimu or the toé toé (*Arundo conspicuo*), waving its tall graceful feathery plumes high above the less pretentious grasses of the meads.

The *Phormium Tenax* (native flax) is a most valuable plant, growing abundantly, and easy of cultivation. The strength of its fibre is very great, having a beautiful, soft, silky appearance, and which could be made up into any description of fabric. A more lengthened experience with, and more careful manipulation of this plant in the earlier stages of handling will yet prove it to be a source of great revenue, and make it one of the staple interests of the Province. The more careful experiments that are now being made as to its culture and preparation in older countries, where labor is much cheaper and more plentiful, will soon bring out its merits.

The esparto grows plentiful in the Mataura district, and its value in the manufacture of paper has already been tested.

Having cursorily described the country when it was in the sole possession of its dusky inhabitants, as well as the products which it yielded them, and from which description it would appear to have been almost exempted from the operation of the *fiat* that went forth along with the inmates of the old Ark—"all flesh, of fowl and of cattle, and of every creeping thing, to breed in the earth"—for even creeping things hardly existed; a rapid glance at the improvements which have been effected by its present possessors will come in suitably. From being a trackless wild, it is now being subdued by the arts and industries of civilization. As an essential and primary step, roads have been made and metalled, and the rivers spanned by substantial bridges over the length and breadth of the Province. Railways are rapidly being constructed, and in a year or two will bring the extremes into rapid and easy communication; steamers are plying along the coast, on the rivers, to the neighboring Provinces, Colonies, and even to Britain and America; sites for towns and villages have been spotted in all directions, and are being built on and occupied by a rapidly increasing population; agricultural districts are vying with each other in their efforts to break up the virgin soils and till them so as to produce abundance for man and beast; and works of reclamation and improvement, both material and sanitary, are constantly to be met with.

In addition to the cereals formerly alluded to, every other leguminous herbage, forage, and root plant suitable for the climate has been introduced and successfully cultivated, producing splendid crops. All ex-tropical fruits are in abundance—apples, peal's, plums, grapes, peaches, apricots, filberts, chestnuts, walnuts, together with small fruit of every variety. Artificial grasses are superseding the natural pastures, and the whole appearance of the country is being changed.

Forest trees are receiving a considerable share of attention, and the strangers will soon supplant the natives, which are slow of growth and shy of treatment. Hitherto, the blue gum of Tasmania (*Eucalyptus globosa*) has been most largely planted, and right worthy is it of a foremost position: a free-grower, extraordinarily rapid, to an immense size, quite at home in any soil or exposure, handsome in shape and of beautiful foliage, valuable as timber, and suited for a great variety of uses, and having the further recommendation of possessing highly-prized medicinal properties both in its bark and leaf, and acting as an air-purifying and health dispensing plant, it is well worthy of extensive cultivation, and will quickly and amply repay the expense and labor of the planter. Other members of the *Eucalyptus* family, together with several species of acacias or wattles, have been successfully introduced, and are deserving of cultivation for their valuable properties, especially their bark. Although popularly known as pines, none of the native trees are cone-bearers, and do not strictly belong to that order. True pines have, however, been introduced, and take kindly with the soil and climate. The larch spruces and fire of Norway, Austria, Scotland, Canada, and California, together with cedars, cupressus, auracarias, and other less hardy but highly ornamental, thrive wonderfully, while the hard woods are represented equally plentifully by oaks, elms, ash, planes, beech, and others of a similar value. Arrangements are being made by

private parties to form plantations, and State forests are provided for by Act of Parliament. Loudon says: "Trees are not only in appearance the most striking and grand objects of the vegetable creation, but in reality they contribute most to human comfort and improvement; without them, there could be neither the houses and furniture of civilized life, nor the machines of commerce and refinement. Man may live and be clothed in a savage, and even in a pastoral state, by herbaceous productions alone, but he cannot advance further; he cannot till the ground or build houses or ships, he cannot become an agriculturist or a merchant without the use of trees." Recognising its vast importance, the noble science of forestry is to be encouraged by free grants of suitable land, and other inducements besides, being promoted on a large scale as a national undertaking.

Looking for a little at the animals which have been introduced and with which the Province is stocked, sheep rank first in importance. A comparative table of their number, increase, and value of wool, will be found in the Appendix. In no branch of industry has the effort to excel been shown to greater advantage than the flock owners. At large expenditure of money:—which has been handsomely repaid—they have introduced from all the famed quarter's of the world, the breed of sheep most approved for heaviest fleeces of long-stapled silky wool. Lincoln, Leicester, Merino, Romney Marsh, Cheviot, Southdown, Cotswold, and other noted districts, have all been laid under contribution to bring this enterprise into fame and make it profitable; in both respects the results have been highly satisfactory. In the importation of cattle, an equally honorable exhibition has been displayed. At great cost, prize animals of Short-horn, Ayrshire and other valuable breeds have been brought into the country, so that at every farm-house and station whole "mobs" may be seen—beasts of which any man might be proud. In horses, Otago far surpasses any other part of the Colony. Finer animals can no where be met with. Stud sires and dams have been brought from Britain, Victoria, and Tasmania, and their progeny would be a credit to any country. Whilst the Clydesdale is the favorite with the agriculturists and teamsters, other sorts have not been neglected, so that thoroughbreds, roadsters, and hacks, are well up to the mark. The current prices of stock will be found elsewhere.

Domestic animals having been fairly established, the love of sport has induced the introduction of those of a wild nature. Rabbits have become as great a nuisance as rats. Hares are located in a few districts, and will ere long be common enough. Deer may be seen in a few localities, and are steadily increasing, so that "stalking" may be a sport not far removed as regards time. Licences are now issued to shoot cock pheasants, and coveys of partridges and other game are frequently to be seen. Trout fishing may be enjoyed in a large number of streams, where in former times, no other fish than eels had possession. Large sums have been expended in efforts to introduce salmon, but up to this time, from various causes, success has not attended them. Other experiments are again to be made: it is to be hoped with more favorable results. The coaststeem with a large variety of fish of first-rate quality; the herring and salmon are wanted to complete the collection.

IV. Industries and Resources

The fish, great and small, which abound in the ocean around the coasts of the Province have hitherto contributed very slightly to its prosperity in comparison with what they might have done. Strangers have been profitably pursuing, in these waters, the trade of whaling, and thus carrying away the profits which should have accrued to Otago. To organize and fit out a thoroughly efficient fleet of whalers would cost a comparatively small sum, as vessels and crews are at command. The suitability of the port for this trade has from the first been recognized, and in former times was made good use of; but now, when the facilities it offers have been greatly increased, the trade has dwindled down to catching a few whales at the mouths of the harbors by means of whaleboats. It is proved that the whales have become much more numerous of late; and if regulations were enacted and enforced against the indiscriminate slaughter to which they were subjected during past years, they might yet become as plentiful as formerly.

Since the foregoing was written, advantage has been taken of the subsidy offered by the Provincial Government, two whaling ships having been equipped and despatched on this venture, and there is every prospect that success will attend their efforts.

Sealing, also, as a kindred occupation, merits notice. A few boats are at present engaged in this trade, chiefly hailing from the Southern ports; but it is capable of considerable extension, the oil and skins yielding a good profit, and finding a ready market.

Curing small fish might be made a sure source of wealth to a large number of fishermen. Fish are very abundant, and although somewhat different to those which frequent the British and Newfoundland banks, are, when properly cured, of first-rate quality, and there is a market for any quantity in adjacent countries. The method of curing adopted in Newfoundland might be suitable for some of the kinds of fish, the cost of salt being thus saved.

It is a question whether salt could not be produced here by evaporation at a cost less than that of the imported article.

Leaving the waters and turning to the land, the industries which present themselves to the enterprising colonist are numerous.

Glass-works for window-glass, bottles, and crystal are urgently required, and the requisite materials for the manufacture of all descriptions are plentiful and at hand. The Dunedin bottlers alone would require for their present trade from 300 to 400 dozen bottles per day; and with the prospect of a trade embracing other Colonies, India, and China, which is sure to be opened up, this quantity would be enormously increased.

Superior clay for pottery, delfware, and fire-bricks, has been discovered in several localities, and at the present time a company is being formed to establish this trade at Green Island in connection with the collieries.

In addition to the branches carried on at the foundries, the casting of holloware and fire-grates would be a profitable investment. Doubts are entertained as to whether the iron-sand with which the Province abounds can profitably be turned to account because of the great heat necessary for its smelting, but if the timber which is at present allowed to waste in the forests when not deemed suitable for saw mill purposes, is adapted for conversion into charcoal, then the difficulty will be solved, and sand that now lies valueless could be made of immense value by the introduction of a few charcoal burners. From the character of several of the native timbers, it is believed that as large a proportion and as high a quality of charcoal could be obtained as from the oak itself.

Roofing slate and flags for paving are imported to a large extent. In several districts stone adapted for these purposes can be procured, and these articles will, on the extension of the railways become items of considerable production.

True granite of different colors abounds on the West Coast, and the ease with which it can be procured and shipped indicates that that portion of the Province will become famous for its quarries.

The natural products of the soil, and what it can be made to produce, open abundant prospects of labor to the skilful and industrious.

The large consumption of paper of all sorts which is daily going on, attracts attention to its manufacture as an industry not yet in operation; and the bonus offered by the Government, and the facts that various tree fibres, as well as a grass similar to Esparto, are in abundance, both well adapted for the finer description of paper, and that the refuse from the flax-mills, which is valuable for the coarser sorts, can be had in plenty and at a cheap rate, point to this trade as one that must shortly be established. Preliminary steps have been taken to commence it.

Sugar-making from beet-root has long been pointed to as one specially suited for Otago. The clayey loams of the plains are eminently fitted for producing the root of the quality and size which experience has proved yields most saccharine matter, and the climate is equally favorable for maturing. Beet sufficient to carry on a large export trade, as well as supply the Colonial demand, could easily be raised, and would prove a source of great profit to the agriculturist.

Another enterprise in which the Province must embark is the growth of flax and hemp. Every element of success exists, and there is only wanted skilful adaptation of labour to bring about a profitable result. It will not do for the farmers to confine their attention to the production of the ordinary grain crops alone, as these change so much in value. The growth of hemp and flax commends itself for immediate adoption. The fibre which each produces is in constant demand both for home and foreign trade, and the prices usually ruling are highly remunerative. Besides the fibre, the seed of the lint yields a high price, and if not exported as seed, it can be pressed so as to produce oil, much used by painters, and the residue sent Home as cake for cattle feeding.

Strong efforts are being made to start a wool-pack and bagging manufactory, to bring the native flax into repute. If, in addition thereto, inducements were offered for the culture of hemp and lint to be manufactured into fabrics, from coarse cordage and sailcloth to hand and table linen, a source of great wealth and industry would be opened up, for which the Province can supply every requisite except the labor, which might be introduced from the north of Ireland, where the flax industries are the staple of the country, and the east of Scotland, where flax and hemp goods are principally manufactured.

Growing rape for oil and feeding cake could also be gone into by the farmer with confidence.

Clover seed is another product well worth attention. White clover particularly grows so luxuriantly and spontaneously as to be almost accounted a weed. Ripening early, and with the simple machinery needed for saving and cleaning, a large quantity of seed could annually be produced for export.

Hops grow very freely and produce an abundant crop, whilst the steadily-increasing demand and the prices ruling are great inducements to holders of land in favorable localities to grow shelter to protect the vine from the gusts of wind which prevail during summer. It will take some years to grow a supply sufficient for the provincial trade: meanwhile, the introduction of a few hands acquainted with the growing, handling, and drying of this valuable plant would be advisable.

Chicory is another agricultural product which is largely imported, when it might be successfully cultivated.

Dairy farming is another branch of industry needing development. Cheese factories, with good

management, would produce a first-class reliable article, not only for the limited local consumption, but for other markets.

The manufacturing interests of Otago are varied, extensive, and extending. As the cultivation of the soil was the first pursuit in which man was engaged, the preparation of its products for his support claims first notice.

There are at full work at the present time nearly thirty grain-mills, driven either by water or steam power, some of them able to produce fifteen tons of fine flour daily. For a considerable portion of the year, several of these mills are at work on the double-shift system, so that the quantity of flour sent to market is large. That the machinery employed is on the most approved principle, and that the management is in practical hands, is certain from the fact that the provincial manufactured article has completely shut the market against foreign competition, and has, in addition, been largely and profitably exported to supply the wants of neighboring Provinces and Colonies. Several of the mills have also appliances and machinery for oatmeal and pot and pearl barley, all of which are produced largely.

Biscuit-makers have established for themselves wide-spread reputation, so that both hand and steam power are in constant work to meet the demand which the quality of the article has created.

To provide the farmer with manure, and thus enable him to produce the largest quantity of grain, and of the best description, several bone mills are in constant work, producing hundreds of tons annually.

But manuring the land with the most approved stimulants will not produce any description of crop to the fullest extent without proper attention is paid to drainage. To meet this necessity, pipe and tile manufactories have been established both in towns and country districts; and this working of the clay is not confined to the ordinary requirements of the farm for drainage, but extends to brickmaking, which has assumed large proportions, requiring the services of a great number of hands in different capacities. Salt-glazed pipes, for railway and sewage purposes, have also their producers; whilst flower-pots, vases, and other useful and ornamental articles, are produced in endless variety, and Potteries have been started at Milton and Invercargill.

The brewing of the Province is in high repute, and although at present of large dimensions, is not sufficient for the home trade and exportation. Dunedin is the principal centre of this business, seven extensive establishments being in full work, and an additional one in course of erection. The estimate of the aggregate production is over 2,000 hogsheads per month.

Distilling has also an extensive representation, as in the one distillery existing, over 6,000 gallons of proof spirits are produced each month, in addition to a large quantity of malt supplied to brewers.

Coming now to man's second department of labor, viz., the pastoral, the shearing of the sheep having been performed—for which the shearer is this year paid 20s. a hundred head, with rations—scouring the wool and other processes employ a considerable amount of labor. Choice wool being selected, it passes into the newest industry of the Province—its manufacture into cloth and other material. This industry will rank amongst the foremost in importance. It is true, an attempt was made in early days by a worthy weaver from Paisley to produce webs by the hand loom, but that slow process not meeting with success, the Mosgiel Woollen Factory may fairly claim to be first in the field. This establishment occupies a fine healthy site on the Taieri Plain, and around it the cosy cottages of the workers, with their tidy garden plots, are situated. Every appliance which modern invention has produced, to enable the factory to bring to market the best of its kind in every department, is at command; and, as a result, its tweeds, blankets, stockings, and worsteds, have been pronounced so excellent as to require a large addition to the buildings and machinery, to permit of the orders on hand from the Colonies, India, and Great Britain to be executed. The factory is now in the hands of a registered company, and with the extension of the trade an additional supply of skilled labor will be required. A second factory of a similar kind has also been started in the Kaikorai Valley.

The material, being finished at the mills, is brought into town where several factories keep a large number employed in making it up into wearing apparel and other goods, as many as 400 to 500 hands being recently wanted by one factory alone.

Hat and cap manufacturing has two firms in the city giving it their sole attention, and producing every style, color, or shape which the most fastidious could desire, and at prices which defy importation.

Leaving the wool, and coming to the skin and hide branch, several extensive tanneries are in full and constant work, employing a considerable amount of labor. From the steam mill grinding the bark, through all the different processes necessary to produce leather of every description, the best methods of operation have been adopted, the wants of the local trade supplied, and a large quantity exported.

Men and boys are wanted to enable the different branches of the boot factories to keep pace with the requirements of this rapidly-progressing indispensable trade. There is no use in sending away the leather to be made into boots and shoes, and in that shape sent back again, when boots and shoes can be made as well in the Province. The importance of this industry may be judged from the fact that one firm turns out over 120 pairs a day, and only wants labor to increase this number.

To save any waste of the raw material at the tannery, the manufacture of glue has been established, competent judges pronouncing in its favor, and the manifests of homeward-bound ships showing it as a part of their cargoes.

Having disposed of the wool, skins, hides, and bones of the animals, the utilizing of the carcase forms an important question. It would require at least one hundred times the present population to consume the surplus stock in the Province. It must be either thrown away or turned to profitable use. The latter course has been adopted, and several meat preserving establishments have been started to prepare the beef and mutton to help to feed the under-fed population of the old country. Tallow is also an important item, in both of these branches. Slaughtermen, butchers, tinsmiths, coopers, carpenters, and other trades are largely employed.

Nor should the first-rate quality of the soap and candles made be overlooked. Soap making is a staple manufacture, several works being in active operation in preparing this indispensable article of domestic comfort.

Material for agricultural and pastoral manufactures having been introduced by the settlers, what has been done in regard to native products? Besides preparing the native flax for export to a considerable extent, a very large amount has been manufactured into rope, ranging from 6in. in diameter downwards. From some cause, the flax trade has not been flourishing lately still there is no need to despond. Probably in a few years the native fibre will be exported in a manufactured state, not in flax, and tow, as at present.

The timber trade in its different branches of manufacture is one of the greatest in the Province. Saw-mills exist, containing circular-saws from the largest size to medium, cross-cut with radial bench; all the saws sharpened by patent machine; planing, tongueing, grooving, moulding, tenoning, morticing, shaping, boring, and turning machines, producing flooring, skirting, moulding, architraves, buckets, tubs, broom-handles, and every article necessary for house building and furnishing, can be readily obtained. An idea may be formed of the extent of the trade when it is stated that one house, during the past twelve months, sold glazed windows of a money value of £4,600; and panel doors, £5,150.

From the largest and heaviest stage-coach or wagon to the handsome chariot, light buggy, express, or common cart, the coach-builders of Dunedin are prepared to execute any orders entrusted to them.

Furniture and cabinet makers are also developing their trades to an extent that surprises everyone. Some of the largest and most commodious warehouses in the city are connected with this trade.

Workers in all sorts of metals are busy plying their trade from day to day. Taking the iron department as first in importance, some firms give their attention principally to rivetting, and from their shops the incessant clatter of the hammer indicates great activity. Iron vessels, boilers, vats, tubes, girders, and works of a similar character, in course of construction, indicate the prosperity of the establishments.

Equal in importance with the previous branch are the machine shops, where will be constantly found in course of construction land, marine, and hydraulic engines; quartz crushing, flax dressing, and lithograph printing machines; wool, tin, and calendering presses; plate and tin rollers; and preparations are being made to build locomotives. To show what this trade can do, a crane to lift 40 tons weight has been satisfactorily made in Dunedin.

Other houses make standards for wire fencing, castings of various designs and patterns, galvanized piping, spouting, ridging, and a specially patented iron fluming.

Tin, copper, brass, lead, and zinc manufactories give employment to a great number, especially to the boys of the community; and the ease and exactness with which every item can be wrought, twisted, moulded, cast, or hammered, either by machine or hand, has made these trades special features of industry.

The limits of this sketch prevent particular notice being given to every trade, so that what is to follow must be condensed.

Mills for grinding coffee, spices, rice, and such like commodities, are in steady operation, and a large portion of these necessary articles of consumption in the Colony are ground and prepared in. Dunedin.

Several factories to supply liqueurs, aerated waters, &c., also afford employment; and at the Vienna Exhibition, a certificate of merit was awarded to an exhibitor from Otago. Wines made, from the different fruits grown, are daily gaining favor, and the latest enterprise in this direction is cider, equal to that of Devonshire.

Monumental and ornamental work in stone is a prominent trade, and one house makes varnish and polish to meet any demand. Paper bags, ink, and blacking have their producers.

The Peninsula can boast of a cheese factory on the American principle, which has been in operation for some time, and is annually improving the quality and increasing the quantity of its products.

Cod-liver oil cannot be overlooked as an industrial pursuit. The Port Chalmers made oil, from its purity, clearness, and other qualities, has drawn forth the approbation of the medical faculty, and the producer is fully occupied in supplying the orders that are sent to him from other places.

The building of wooden vessels must not be omitted. Although the trade is not in a very lively condition, yet it gives signs of improvement. A more grave fault would be the omission of agricultural implement works,

in which Otago excels. There is now no necessity to import horse gear, hay rakes, harrows, hoes, yokes, cultivators, grubbers, subsoil, single, double, or treble furrow ploughs, reaping, mowing, or threshing machines, or any other farm requisite, as these are all made in Otago, with the particular recommendation that they are made by men who know the country, and the kind of implement required. Cart, coach, and saddle harness, in all the different styles of manufacture, can be obtained from Dunedin and up-country makers.

There is a large demand for all kinds of labor; of course, in some trades much greater than others. For instance, the supply of female domestics for town and country is quite inadequate to the demand. Farm servants and laborers are also in great demand in all the agricultural districts. Good wages, carefulness, and cheap land, soon enable the farm servant to start farming on his own account. For railway construction, saw-mill purposes, road making, and generally for unskilled labor, the demand is large, and many useful works are at a standstill for want of men suited for such work. Brickmakers and layers, masons, carpenters, turners, blacksmiths, engineers, boiler-makers, wheelwrights, printers, workers in brass, copper, and lead, could, to a considerable number, find employment, the demand for labor not being confined to one locality, but extending over the whole Province.

In addition to the animal and vegetable products already described, Otago is rich in mineral resources. Gold has as yet produced the largest amount of wealth. It is found in almost every district of the Province, from Marewhenua to Orepuki, and from Awarua to Wakawa, either alluvially or in quartz, giving good ground for the remark "that it would pay to wash all its soil and crush its rocks." The great value and extent of the gold fields can hardly be estimated. At the present time their development depends in a great measure on individual enterprise, so that very large workings are not yet in operation, but awaiting the investment of capital, in combination with labor to open them up. The occupation of gold digging is an exciting one, causing many of its discomforts to be overlooked. Mining is a less precarious trade in Otago than in most other places; still it is not the occupation best suited for new arrivals or the generality of immigrants.

Coal comes next in order of value. From the earliest days of the settlement, coal seams have been more or less worked. The distribution of this great source of wealth is very general, and it is in beds of great breadth and thickness. Brown coal, or lignite, is at present most in demand, being more largely distributed and near the centre of consumption. The coals of Kaitangata and Shag Point are of superior quality, and as better means of conveyance are opened up, and the price consequently reduced, their merits will be more fully recognized. Bituminous shale has been discovered in different places, and inquiries are being made as to its value and extent.

Oamaru stone ranks as of first importance. Easily obtained and plentiful, workable with a carpenter's chisel and saw, capable of being cut and carved to any design, of a light, cheerful color, and becoming harder the longer it is exposed to the atmosphere, it will soon make the district from which it is obtained a scene of constant and increasing labor. Its value and superior quality have already been recognized in the Colony of Victoria, and one of the best public buildings in Melbourne is now being erected of it. In Oamaru and Dunedin, it is in very general use. Stone of a similar character, and considered to be in point of durability, superior, is found in different parts of the Province. In the Oamaru district, also, the material from which Portland cement is made has been discovered, and promises good results.

Lime is abundant, and kilns are at constant work on the Peninsula, and at Waiholia and Kouroo.

Ironstone of a very superior quality has recently been discovered in the district of Riverton on the south-west, and at Catlin's Cove on the south-east, from which great results are expected to be obtained.

Antimony is already an article of export, and is steadily increasing in supply. Specimens of copper ore, plumbago, and cinnabar have been obtained on the Carrick Ranges, Dunstan district, analysis of which shows them to be valuable. Different descriptions of useful clay are also abundant, and will amply repay the labor of practical hands.

The Rock which confers the native name on the Middle Island "Pounamu" green-stone, or jade, and from which the battle axes, as well as ornaments of the Moaries were made, and which is still in much repute for pendants, is found chiefly in the sounds on the West Coast.

Should Otago present no other inducement, her mineral resources alone would be a great attraction; but when combined with her other advantages, no country can offer greater promise of prosperity to the industrious, steady emigrant.

Licenses are granted by the Government for cutting timber either by pit-saws or saw-mills, certain areas being prescribed and conditions attached. The southern railways afford great facilities, for bringing the sawn timber to a shipping port; and on the West Coast the numerous sounds or harbors, all having good access and shelter, as well as bold water along their coasts, enable vessels to make fast to the cliff on which the trees are growing, and to load with great ease. For driving power on the low-lying forests, steam engines are most in use, as they can be bought and worked at a cheap rate. For hill forests, water power is abundant, so that, as regards quality of timber, supply, facilities for sawing, and convenience for shipping, every inducement is held out for

extended enterprise; and the great and increasing demand, together with the prices, render success certain to those embarking in the trade.

V. Institutions

The ecclesiastical claim first notice.

From the number of sects which exist, it will be seen that the greatest toleration prevails. According to the last census (and from this source all the figures in this chapter are derived) there are about one hundred different forms of belief professed in the Province. Strictly speaking, no one of these bodies has State aid or endowment; for although the Presbyterians have land reserves which yield a considerable revenue, these reserves were not made by the Government, but were a distinctive feature of the Otago Scheme, when a class settlement was intended. The reserves are vested in trustees, and the rents are spent in building churches and manses, on scholarships, and in payment of the salary of £600 a-year to the Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University. None of the money goes for ministers' stipends.

The Presbyterian Church, being the first planted in the Province, has the largest number of adherents, ministers, and churches. It is not connected with any particular branch of the same persuasion in Britain, but is composed of members from the United Presbyterian, Free, Established, and other Kirks in Scotland, as well as English and Irish Presbyterians. Its work is carried on through a Synod, consisting of four Presbyteries, containing thirty-nine full charges and fifty-five stations. In all the charges and in thirty-seven of the stations, service is held every Sunday, and in the remaining eighteen once a fortnight. Additional ministers are constantly arriving. The means of support is a sustentation fund, to which each of the congregations contributes, and which yields an average of £200 a-year to each minister, which is in general supplemented by the congregation. Each minister has also a manse, and in country districts, a glebe, attached. The total sum collected by this body for last year was £14,560. The number of adherents is 32,189.

Episcopalians rank next in point of numbers, being set down as 16,809. About four years ago, the Province was erected into a diocese, and ecclesiastical affairs are administered by a Bishop, with at present one Archdeacon and fifteen other clergy licensed to charges. These, together with lay representatives chosen by the several parishes and parochial districts, form the Synod of the diocese. All the fully-constituted parishes have parsonage houses, and the clergy in the country districts have under their care such subordinate places as may be reached from their respective centres. There are also fourteen lay readers in places which cannot as yet receive the regular ministrations of a clergyman. Candidates for preparation for holy orders are now received, and in certain cases students in theology are permitted to present themselves for examination by the Principal of the College, without residence.

In regard to numbers, Roman Catholics take the third place, shewing a total of 7,405. This church is presided over by a Bishop, with ten clergymen, having twenty-one churches and chapels, in which the usual forms of worship are regularly and strictly attended to. There are also eight schools, and one convent, in which religious education is given.

The adherents of the Wesleyan Methodists are 3,075; Baptists, 1,303; Congregational Independents, 1,051; Lutherans, 484. Each of these bodies has handsome and substantial buildings, in which service is regularly held. The majority of them have Sunday Schools, Bible Classes, and Young Men's Christian Association attached to them, the whole of which are carried on with great earnestness and zeal.

The number of Hebrews in the Province is 293. They have a Synagogue in Dunedin. The other sects are numerically small.

The settlers of Otago have from the outset manifested great interest in the advancement of education. The following is a classification of the national institutions which are maintained wholly or in part from the Provincial revenue or from public endowments:—1. District Common Schools in almost every locality where twenty educable children or upwards can be collected together. 2. District Grammar Schools in the chief centres of population. 3. A Boys' and a Girls' High School in Dunedin. 4. A University in Dunedin. 5. A School of Art in Dunedin. 6. Athenæums, Mechanics' Institute, and public libraries in nearly all the villages, towns and inhabited rural districts. To these may be added, 7. An Industrial School, near Dunedin, for the maintenance and training of boys and girls whose parents are criminal or dissolute. 8. A School in connection with the Otago Benevolent Institution, for the board and education of orphans and other destitute children. 9. Two Free Day Schools in Dunedin, for neglected poor children.

With the exception of the University, the whole of these institutions are to a greater or less extent under the control of the Otago Education Board, which is composed of His Honor the Superintendent, the Members of the Provincial Executive, and the Speaker of the Provincial Council. The following is a summary of the duties committed to the Board by the Education Ordinance:—To exercise a general superintendence over all the public schools; to define the limits of the educational districts; to promote the establishment of schools

wherever needed; to direct the expenditure and due application of all moneys appropriated by the Provincial Council for the purposes of education; to manage the education reserves; to fix the qualifications of teachers; and, through its inspectors, to inquire into and report, from time to time, upon the state of education and the condition of the several schools within the Province. The composition of the Board was in former years the subject of much consideration and discussion, and it was at length constituted, as at present, on the principle, that as the expenditure on education is mainly defrayed from the Provincial revenue, it is indispensable that so large an amount of public money should be placed at the disposal only of a Board whose members are directly and entirely responsible to the Provincial Council.

Subject to the general supervision of the Education Board, the schools are placed under the immediate control of School Committees, elected annually by the owners and occupiers of land and householders in the respective educational districts. Each Committee must consist of not less than five nor more than nine members, a majority of whom must be parents of families.

There are four classes of district Schools—Grammar Schools, Main Schools, Side Schools, and Temporarily-subsidized Schools. The Grammar Schools, of which there are already five, are situated in the chief centres of population. As a rule, the Grammar School comprises three different departments—an infant and needlework department, under a matron and assistants; an intermediate school, under the second master and assistants; and an upper school, under the headmaster, who, in addition to exercising a general control over the whole establishment, is charged with the duty of giving instruction in the higher branches of education to the more advanced pupils. The Main Schools are established in the more populous districts, where, as a rule, an average attendance of upwards of forty pupils can be secured. When the attendance is sufficiently numerous in any Main School, a schoolmistress, or a teacher of sewing, and one or more pupil-teachers, are employed in addition to the head master. The Side Schools and the Temporarily-subsidized Schools are for the most part placed in more recently-settled localities, where the children are young and few in number. The qualifications of the masters of the Grammar and Main Schools are fixed very high, and they may be described as corresponding to the qualifications usually required of Scottish burgh and parish schoolmasters respectively. No election by a School Committee is valid until the teacher elected has produced a certificate of qualification from Her Majesty's Committee of Privy Council on Education, a recognized Education Board in any British Colony, or the Board's Inspector of Schools, and such other evidence of fitness and good character as may be required by the Board. No one can attain the full position of a Grammar or Main School teacher who cannot furnish satisfactory evidence of good character, respectable scholarship, and experience and success in school teaching. Many of the present teachers have attended Government training schools in Britain or in the Colonies, and a number of them have been students of a University. A less stringent rule is followed with regard to the admission of side and temporarily-subsidized School teachers, when trained or experienced masters cannot be obtained. Good character, youth, and a fair amount of scholarship, together with the probability of proving an efficient instructor of youth, are in such a case sufficient to secure a temporary appointment on trial. It is in the power of any person so appointed to obtain a full certificate of competency, after satisfactorily undergoing probation for a sufficient period. Many of the Side School teachers, however, possess superior qualifications, and only hold their present appointments in the hope of securing higher positions as they fall vacant.

With a view to avoid the inconvenience which might ensue if a teacher's engagement could not be determined by the School Committee, "without fixing upon him the stigma of crime or moral delinquency," it has been provided that all engagements under the Education Ordinance shall be deemed yearly engagements, which may be determined, after the expiry of the first year, by three months' notice on either side; but, as a means of protection from improper and undue local influences, no School Committee has power to determine a teacher's engagement without the sanction of the Board previously obtained. A competent, prudent, and faithful teacher's tenure of office may, therefore, be regarded as quite fixed and secure.

The Board, out of funds voted by the Provincial Council, pays salaries at the following rates: To head masters of Grammar Schools, £200; Main School teachers, £100; Side School teachers and school-mistresses, £75; Temporarily-subsidized School teachers, £60; sewing, teacher's, £25; and these salaries are augmented by the School Committee from the school fees, subscriptions, or other moneys raised locally. The Board also erects the school-houses and the teachers' residences, and supplies maps and other school appliances. It pays two-thirds of the cost of keeping the school-buildings in repair, the whole of the salaries of pupil-teachers, and the school fees of orphan and destitute children. The remainder of the expenses are defrayed from the school fees or moneys raised locally. The school fees generally may be regarded as moderate, when the rates of wages and other remuneration are taken into account. It was attempted, from 1862 to 1864, to provide for a large proportion of the school expenditure by means of local rates on houses and lands; but owing, mainly it is believed, to the great difficulty experienced in equitably and economically assessing property in so young a Colony, the rates were abolished in 1864, by almost general consent.

In the course of the last fifteen years, numerous portions of land of various areas have been set apart as an

educational endowment. The annual proceeds of this endowment are as yet comparatively small; but in course of time these reserves will produce a revenue which will go far to maintain the public schools of Otago without aid from the ordinary annual revenue of the Province or Colony. These ordinary educational reserves are, in addition to the magnificent reserve of 200,000 acres granted by the Crown, for the endowment of the University of Otago.

The Synod of Otago has the control of a valuable educational endowment, and it has resolved to endow chairs in the University of Otago as the educational fund at its disposal may from time to time permit. Already the Synod has endowed a Professorship of Moral and Mental Philosophy in the University to the extent of £600 per annum.

A High School for Boys has been maintained in Dunedin since 1863. This institution was established with a view to impart instruction in "all the branches of a liberal education—the French and other modern languages, the Latin and Greek classics, mathematics, and such other branches of science as the advancement of the Colony and the increase of the population may from time to time require." The school fees are £8 per annum.

A Girl's High School was established in Dunedin four years ago, and it has been numerously attended. The ordinary course of instruction in this school embraces a thorough English education, namely, reading, grammar, composition, elocution, history, natural science, geography, writing, arithmetic, class-singing, drawing, French, and industrial work. Music (piano), singing (private lessons), gymnastics, dancing, German, and other branches, are taught by visiting teachers as extra subjects. The school fee for the ordinary course is £8 per annum for the junior, and £10 for the senior classes. There is a boarding establishment in connection with each of the High Schools for the accommodation of pupils from a distance.

The University in Dunedin may fitly be said to form the cope-stone of the public educational system of Otago. A very handsome, commodious, and centrally-situated stone building, which is reported to have cost over £30,000, has been set apart as a University. As already mentioned, 200,000 acres of land have been granted as an endowment for this institution. The present rental of this valuable estate is considerable, but it may be regarded as trifling in comparison with what may be reasonably expected when the existing leases fall in. The following chairs have already been instituted and filled by distinguished graduates of British Universities, viz.:—Classics (including Latin, Greek, and the English language and literature), mathematics and natural philosophy, chemistry (theoretical and practical), and mental and moral philosophy. A fifth chair (anatomy and physiology) has been recently resolved upon, and steps have been taken to secure the services of a competent professor from the home country. Arrangements have also been made for the delivery of lectures on law, mineralogy, and other subjects during the university session. The average attendance of students during the three sessions already past has been about eighty.

A valuable and carefully-selected library for the University is in course of formation. It is intended that this library shall also to a large extent serve the purposes of a free public library. A suite of rooms in the University building is occupied as a Provincial Museum, under the curatorship of Captain Hutton, who is already widely known as an able and enthusiastic naturalist. The contents of the Museum are, even now, comparatively numerous and valuable, and a separate and suitable building is now in course of erection.

A School of Art has been maintained in Dunedin for the last five years, under a very skilful and enthusiastic master, who, in addition to teaching the classes in the institution, gives regular instruction to nearly 1,500 of the elder pupils of the public schools in the city and suburbs. The school was attended in 1874 by twenty-seven teachers and pupil-teachers, by forty-six ladies at the afternoon class, and by 105 artisans and youths in the evenings. Instruction is given in freehand drawing; outline from copies and from the round; shading and painting from copies and from the round; painting from nature, in water-colors and oil; drawing and painting the human figure; designing, practical geometry, perspective, mechanical and architectural drawing, &c. The drawings and paintings already executed by a number of the students in the several classes evince great talent and industry. The drawing-master reports that the good conduct and diligence of the students while in school are "beyond all praise." The school is already in possession of an extensive and valuable collection of casts, models, copies, &c., and additions are made to it from time to time. The School of Art is at present accommodated in the University building, but it will be transferred shortly to a suite of lofty, well-lighted, and commodious rooms, provided expressly for the purpose, on the upper floor of the new Normal Institution.

Athenæums, Mechanics' Institutes, and public libraries, to the number of about eighty, are in successful operation throughout the Province. These institutions are very liberally aided by the Provincial Government, both as regards the erection of buildings and the procuring of books. "In nearly every town of the Province there is now a reading-room in connection with the public circulating library. They are supplied, in greater or less abundance, with newspapers and the standard English periodicals, and are daily resorted to by the members. Some of them are open during the entire day and evening, some only in the evening." it is stated in the Education Report for 1872, upon good authority, "that the public library books were not only to be seen in the more comfortable and accessible dwellings in the settled districts, but that it was no uncommon thing to find

recently-published English books of a high class, bearing the Board's stamp upon them, in the shepherd's solitary abode among the hills, and in the digger's hut in gullies accessible only by mountain bridle tracks."

"I went round the town (Lawrence), and visited the Athenæum, or reading-room. In all these towns there are libraries, and the books are strongly bound and well thumbed. Carlyle, Macaulay, and Dickens are certainly better known to small communities in New Zealand than they are to similar congregations of men and women at home. The schools, hospitals, reading-rooms, and University were all there, and all in useful operation; so that life in the Province (of Otago) may be said to be a happy life, and one in which men and women may and do have food to eat and clothes to wear, books to read, and education to enable them to read the books."—Anthony Trollope's *Australia and New Zealand. Vol. II., pp. 336 and 347. London edition.*

"The progress achieved in all the other elements of material prosperity is equally remarkable; while the Provincial Council has made noble provision for primary, secondary, and industrial schools; for hospitals and benevolent asylums, for athenæums and schools of art, and for the new University, which is to be opened at Dunedin next year."—From a despatch respecting Otago, by Governor Sir George Bowen, in 1871; quoted by Trollope, who follows up the extract by the statement, "I found this to be all true."

The Dunedin Athenæum and Mechanics' Institute possesses a handsome and commodious building, a valuable library, and a very large roll of members. The Otago Institute for the promotion of Art, Science, Literature and Philosophy has been established for about five years, and has a large number of members, and a library of books relating principally to natural history and science.

There is now in course of erection, in a central situation, at a cost of about £9,000, a building to serve the purposes of a Training College for teachers, combined with a Practising School. There are ten large class-rooms, besides other conveniences, and it is expected that fully 600 children will be educated in the Practising School. As already stated, the upper floor of the building contains a suite of rooms for the accommodation of the Otago School of Art. This building is now approaching completion.

The public schools and other educational institutions of Otago are wholly unsectarian. It is provided by the Education Ordinance that in every public school "the holy Scriptures shall be read daily;" that "such reading shall be either at the opening or close of the school, as may be fixed by the teacher;" and that "no child whose parent or guardian shall object, shall be bound to attend at such times." The teachers under the Board have been enjoined to avoid the use of reading books or text books, and the employment in the course of ordinary school instruction of any words or expressions calculated to give just ground of offence to the members of any religious denomination. The Board has also enjoined that "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is destructive of any particular denomination or sect shall be taught during the school hours in any school connected with the Board." The public schools are consequently attended by the children of parents belonging to all denominations and sects.

In Dunedin and a few of the larger towns, schools have been established in connection with the Roman Catholic Church. In addition to a numerous-attended Roman Catholic elementary school, there is in Dunedin a day and boarding school for the higher education of girls, under the charge of an accomplished lady superioress and other highly-qualified teachers. The first day school in the Province in connection with the Episcopal Church was opened in Dunedin upwards of a year ago. There are no week-day schools maintained in connection with any other religious body, but almost every congregation of the different denominations has a Sunday-school or schools.

In Dunedin and some of the more populous localities there are also private elementary and upper schools, conducted with more or less success, and attended in the aggregate by a considerable number of pupils.

There is now a comparatively large number of Provincial and other exhibitions to the Grammar Schools, the Boys' and Girls' High Schools, and the University. These exhibitions are of the annual value of about £30, each with free education at the High or Grammar Schools, and are open for competition to pupils of the public schools, and other youth of the Province, of both sexes.

The total number of pupils who attended the Public Elementary and Grammar Schools of Otago in the course of the year 1874, was 13,681. The number of schools was 157, in which 266 teachers of all kinds were employed. The number of scholars in these schools learning the higher rules of arithmetic during 1874 was 2,010; algebra or geometry, 311; English grammar, 5,388; geography, 7,262; British history, 2,711; Latin, 338; Greek, 10; French, 242; drawing or mapping, 3,295; book-keeping, 280; singing from notes, 7,322; sewing (girls), 3,025. The attendance at the Boys' High School reached 137 during the same year, and 155 were enrolled as pupils of the Girls' High School. The number of students who attended the University in 1872 was 70.

The following is a summary of the expenditure on public school education for the year 1874:—

This is at the rate of upwards of 8s. per head of the gross population of the Province, and is exclusive of the money expended for education at the private and the denominational schools.

The amount voted by the Provincial Council at its last session was £25,000 for the erection and

enlargement of school buildings during the year 1875—76. The sum voted for the current expenses of the schools during the same period was £32,173. This is inclusive of the reserve rents.

The newspaper must be recognised as a most important educational power. The following is a summary of the newspapers at present published in the Province;—Two morning and one evening daily, one tri-weekly, three bi-weekly, thirteen weekly, and six monthly newspapers or periodicals. They are for the most part conducted with ability and spirit, and are well supported by the public.

There can be no doubt that the numerous and excellent educational facilities now existing and in contemplation, together with the great salubrity and the bracing and invigorating qualities of the climate of New Zealand, affecting most beneficially, as they cannot fail to do, the mental vigor of both teachers and scholars, will render possible to the youth of Otago a degree of intellectual strength and development scarcely attainable, and certainly not to be surpassed, by the youth of any of the other colonies of Britain.

In Dunedin, a substantially-built, commodious, and well-ventilated central hospital is maintained at the sole cost of the Government, to which patients are admitted free, and have immediate attention from the resident surgeon and stated visits from the Provincial surgeon. The cost of this hospital for the last year was £4,946. In addition to the inmates in this and all the other hospitals, out-door patients have advice given and medicine dispensed free of cost. If patients are able and willing to pay, they are charged reasonable rates. The reason why the Dunedin hospital is supported solely at public cost is that patients whose diseases are chronic or of long standing are removed from the other hospitals into it. At Invercargill, Oamaru, Lawrence Queenstown, Dunstan, Switzer's and Naseby, hospitals are also established, supported by public contributions and grants in aid to an equal amount from the Government.

A Benevolent Institution, under the management of a committee of citizens, has been established at Caversham. It is a fine brick and stone building, and is intended for young children who may be orphans or deserted, and for infirm persons. The Government contributed largely to the cost of the building, and subsidize subscriptions and collections at the same rate as for hospitals. The amount contributed by the people last year for this patriotic institution was £5,955, and the Government gave an equal sum.

The Lunatic Asylum for the Province has been erected adjacent to Dunedin, and is sustained at an annual cost of about £4,500. Inmates possessed of means, or having friends willing to contribute, can be lodged in separate apartments from the main building. Everything which experience has shown to be for the benefit of this unfortunate class has been provided: gardens, bowling greens, cricket, concerts and balls, together with whatever may conduce to relieve this saddest of misfortunes, is carefully and regularly supplied.

An Industrial and Reformatory School has also been established, to which the Magistrates have power to commit neglected and criminal children for a given number of years, to whom trades or occupations are taught. The children are brought up in the religion of their parents, so far as that can be ascertained, and to their welfare, after being discharged, attention is paid. The cost of maintenance for the past year was £1,439. Parents are compelled, when able or found, to pay for the maintenance of their children at this school. The practical result of the institution is that crime is nipped in the bud, the police having instructions to bring all neglected children before the Magistrates.

Invercargill has also had a Ragged School in operation for some years, which is subsidized by the Government at the same rate as hospitals.

Within the last few months, a Female Refuge or Home has been set on foot in Dunedin, the management of which is confided to a committee of philanthropic ladies, and to which the public revenue has contributed £350.

During the past year, the Provincial Government has also paid for the service of chaplains for the various institutions in town, £300; to medical officer for vaccination, £130; for relief to destitute persons, £121; and for burying the indigent, £129: showing a total amount contributed from public funds and private charities for the year ended 30th June, 1874, of £26,000.

Institutions of a more private and less pretentious character, but at the same time not less valuable or worthy of notice, are numerous. Friendly Societies, instituted to help members in time of need, are plentiful, largely supported, and in a flourishing condition. The great majority of the inhabitants of every class belong to either Oddfellows, Forester's, Masonic, Templar, or Temperance Lodges, and receive the advantages, if they so choose, accruing from those useful and well-managed bodies. The Caledonian Society also comes under the same class, spending a good portion of its funds in relieving cases of distress, inciting to emulation, and providing evening Masses for the benefit of apprentices and lads engaged during the day and anxious to improve their education. The latest bodies of the kind that have been started are called "County Associations," in which settlers who come from the two most northerly counties in Scotland, Caithness and Sutherland, have taken the initiative. These associations have as their leading features, assisting poorer county-folks to come to this land of promise, and giving them assistance and advice upon arrival. Though last mentioned, the Fire Brigade is of high importance, the members generously, without compensation, denying themselves many comforts and undertaking dangerous risks, in the beneficent work of saving life and property at fires.

As previously noticed, building societies form a leading feature in the history of the Province, commencing with the first year of its existence, and progressing until now, when the number amounts to sixteen, all in active prosperity. Some of them are conducted on the terminable principle, others on the permanent, and some of them combine both. The entrance fee varies from 1s. per share to 2s. 6d., and the shares range from £10 to £100 each, the fortnightly or monthly subscription varying according to the value of the share. The prosperity and importance of these societies may be judged from the facts that dividends or bonuses equal to eight per cent. per annum have been declared, and that the amount of business transacted ranges from £5,000 per annum to £30,000. To working men, these societies have proved of immense advantage, enabling them to secure a freehold or erect a building on easy terms; and a fact highly favorable in their history is that hitherto all of them have been conducted soundly and satisfactorily—there have been no failures and no swindling. The number of the operative class who possess freeholds and free houses would not have been so great had such societies not existed, and it is gratifying to find that the interest taken in such institutions by the upper and wealthier classes is extending. A meeting was recently held in Dunedin to form an association for the purpose of purchasing land and building self-contained cottages, of stone or brick, and each having four or five rooms, and selling them to the occupiers on the deferred-payment principle, so that the rent paid weekly will go towards purchasing the freehold. In addition to high wages and cheap provisions, the prospect of thus obtaining a freehold home of his own is offered to the provident tradesman and his frugal wife, which it will be their own fault if they do not speedily realize.

Agricultural Societies and Farmers' Clubs are numerous in the Province, holding their annual exhibition of grain, roots, and seeds, and stimulating to excellence by handsome prizes. Ploughing matches are also common under the auspices of the Societies, from fifteen to twenty being held each year, the ploughmen striving as zealously as they were wont to do at home. From the fact that some of the "crack" ploughmen of the old country are now located here, it may be inferred the work turned out is first-class.

Pastoral Associations also exist in the districts most devoted to stock raising and wool producing, and have been of exceeding value in improving both the animals and the fleece by importation of stock, and the introduction of artificial grasses and other feed.

Horticultural Shows take place in the different centres of population two or three times each year, in which flowers of the choicest description, vegetables of prime quality, and fruits, both in shape, taste, and flavor approaching perfection, are regularly exhibited. Some years ago, a Canary and Poultry Show was organized, and, as it grows in years, appears to increase in favor with the fanciers of the feathered tribes.

Yachting and Boating Clubs, too, have their enthusiastic supporters, and regattas and matches take place in the bays of Dunedin and Port Chalmers several times a year. Under the patronage of the Caledonian and Friendly Societies, fetes are held, at which the various athletic games are competed for with great ability, and witnessed by large assemblages—five to six thousand spectators on some occasions.

In addition to the Banking Company before referred to as having been projected in Dunedin, two Insurance Companies have also been instituted, each having a subscribed capital of one million sterling. Both the National and Standard Companies have their head offices in Dunedin, with agencies all over New Zealand, the Australian Colonies, and in London. Both Institutions undertake fire and marine risks, and although as yet but a short time in existence, do a large amount of business, safe in its character and steadily extending.

VII. Advantages

The demand for dwelling-houses in the towns and country districts exceeds the supply, consequently rents are high—this being one of the few disadvantages immigrants have to contend with in the Province. In Dunedin, a small cottage of only two apartments cannot be had under 7s. a week, and four-roomed houses rate from 12s. to 14s. a week, and it is difficult to find any even at these rents. Although buildings are being put up as fast as men can be obtained to erect them, the supply does not overtake the demand. To country towns and districts the same remarks apply as to scarcity, but the rents are somewhat lower.

What the working classes are doing, and what new arrivals will find to be to their advantage to attend to as soon as possible is to secure each a section on which to build houses of their own. According to the locality, the prices of sections vary. In Government townships the upset price is from £3 per quarter acre; in private townships it is much higher. In the suburbs of Dunedin, prices range from £50 a quarter acre, and the terms of payment are one-third cash, and the balance spread over two or three years, at eight per cent, interest. The building societies, and in some cases the sellers of the land, are willing to advance money to enable the purchaser to buy the material necessary to build the house, charging reasonable interest, and taking payment by instalments.

The cost of a cottage of four rooms, with provision for extension at a future time, may be fairly set down at about £150, including everything.

Taking a moderate example: Suppose a laborer to earn, with broken time, £2 a week—equal to £104 a year. His family, averaging five members, can live very well on 3s. a day, making per week £1 1s.; firewood and clothing, 5s.; rent or interest, &c., 8s.: total per week, £1 14s.—leaving 6s. a week, or say £15 a year, to the good. In thirteen years the whole cost of his property would be cleared off. This case does not take into account the reduction of interest as the debt is being paid off, nor any earnings the younger members of the family may make. These are a set-off against school fees and any family additions or other contingencies. There are few steady laborers but can earn more than the above estimate, and live at considerably less expense, while mechanics and skilled workers will double the amount.

It is to most people a severe trial to sever the link that binds them to home. To leave the land of their birth, the land of their sires, with all its associations and relationships, and try their chance in a foreign land, especially if that land be an unknown one and inhabited by a strange race, requires a daring and determined spirit. The attractions which Otago presents to the intending emigrant remove, to a large extent, these formidable objections. The appearance of the country, its climate, its people, and its institutions, will make the immigrant feel at once at home. It offers to the workman tenfold better chances of bettering his condition than the overcrowded countries of Europe afford. It will be his own fault if he does not succeed and prosper. He is surrounded with all the advantages and with none of the disadvantages to which he has been accustomed. He has a large variety of occupations from which to select, as men do not stick very strictly to their own trades; he has a fine healthy bracing climate in which to work; if his occupation be out-door, the number of the days in the year on which he can work is more than in Britain; his hours of labor are shorter, being eight, and if he work overtime it is at increased wages; his daily pay is at least one-half more than at home, whilst the price of provisions is considerably cheaper, clothing almost as cheap, and far less fuel for firing is required. He can in a short time, by the exercise of ordinary economy, save as much as will enable him to buy a section of land and build a house of his own, with a garden attached, in which he can employ himself in his leisure hours. Ample provision is made for the education of his children, so that, if so inclined, he can enter them at the infant school and carry them through a college or university training. Let his religious belief be what it may, he has liberty to follow it, and in most cases he will find professors of the same faith with whom he can associate. Libraries and reading rooms are numerous, and can be joined at a cheap rate. He has abundant means of recreation and amusement to which he can resort. Savings banks, and building and friendly societies, in which he can place his savings, are on a sure footing and in a prosperous condition, and the credit of the Colony is the security for his life assurance. He has as orderly and law-obeying a community as anywhere exists from which to choose his circle of friends. There is scarcely a town or parish in Scotland, England, or Ireland from which an immigrant can arrive without finding an old acquaintance or friend to bid a hearty welcome, and perhaps renew former intimacy—old settlers who came from the same "county" are forming associations to facilitate this object. Good metalled roads open up the country in all directions, and for ten shillings he will get a seat in a four-horse coach to carry him a fifty-mile journey and back again; and in a year or two railways will convey him to the extreme ends, north or south, and for a considerable distance into the interior of the Province. If he is a farmer, there is abundance of first-class land from which to make his selection, and he can choose the conditions on which to pay for it. Every implement he may require can be obtained cheaply, of the newest pattern, of the best workmanship, and on the shortest notice. For drainage and artificial manures he will be at little cost. The weather for seed time and harvest is highly favorable, and a ready and profitable market awaits his crops, for which he is paid at once in cash. He has no obnoxious game, hypothec or entail laws to hinder his prosperity, and the foot of the tax-gatherer rarely treads his threshold. There is neither a school, a poor, or a police rate, a property, or income tax.

In providing an outfit, emigrants should not encumber themselves with a large stock of clothing or furniture. They will find, on arrival, that everything required can be procured at very little more money than at home, and dress can be adapted to the fashions of the place. All that is necessary is simply enough to keep them comfortable during the voyage. A few pounds in cash in the pocket will be of more advantage than large boxes filled with bed and body clothes: the expense of storing or moving about from place to place is serious. They should bring any surplus money by bank-draft or post-office order, and not in gold or notes, as these may be lost, whilst the money order is safe. On arrival, if they have friends who expect them, no time should be lost in joining them, as staying about the town is very unprofitable. The immigration agent will furnish, on this as well as other subjects, every information as to the cheapest and best route to be taken. Coaches and steamers start daily for all parts of the Province, and fares are very reasonable. If the immigrant is looking out for work, he should not be too particular in accepting an offer, although it is not just what he wants: far better to set to work at once than to idle about and get a doubtful name; nor should he be exorbitant in demanding extreme wages, for, however good a tradesman he may be, a man with colonial experience is more valued and sought for than a "new chum," though a short time will put the "new chum" on his level. Different trades or branches of trade are not yet nicely or narrowly defined in the Province, so that a gardener is generally expected to be able and

willing to groom a horse and drive him; young men and lads for country work will be required to milk cows, as that part of dairy husbandry is usually performed by males; and artisans at times may find it to their advantage to be able to handle a pick and shovel, perhaps on a new gold field, or to work on the harvest field behind the reaper or mower, when the precious fruits of the earth are in danger of being lost from want of labor to gather and garner them. In a new country, a man should not only be ready to turn his hand to anything, but also to keep his eyes on everything going on around him. He does not know what may be his position in a few years, or what great improvements on old notions his observations may enable him to effect.

Immigrants should land with a firm determination to prosper; and by steady perseverance, sobriety, and strict attention to a few simple points, success is certain.

They should carefully avoid taking up too soon with easily-formed associates: although such might turn out, in the long run, good friends, there is the danger of their being the reverse. Avoid frequenting hotels as far as possible: in themselves they are necessary institutions, but they are not intended for working men, especially strangers, whose own homes are in the neighborhood of their work. Avoid getting into debt for domestic articles. Buy provisions, clothing, fuel and furniture for cash. This can easily be done by arranging for wages being paid weekly or fortnightly, and if the amount is not sufficient to obtain some small article considered necessary, better wait a week than have it on credit. Shake off the bad, ruinous habits of pass-books, so common at home, and in a new country strike out a good and prosperous course. By so doing, better goods will be obtained at cheaper rates, their custom will be sought after by the best shopkeepers, and easy minds will be the result. "Out of debt, out of danger." Exceptions to this rule are—obtaining land on deferred payments, and borrowing money from building societies to erect a dwelling-house. In these cases, the debtor is to a certain extent his own creditor, and participates in the profits which he assists to make. Practice a rigid economy for a year or two. Frugality of habits, and denial of some of those luxuries and pleasures which older settlers indulge in, will be of great advantage. Take great care to save the first hundred sovereigns. It is far more difficult to save the first than the second or any subsequent hundred, as the profits of the first go a long way to make its successors.

By attention to this advice, and with the ordinary prudence and common sense for which Britons are celebrated, the immigrants will bless the day they landed in Otago and made it their home.

The simple statement that the Provincial Government has expended, almost every year since its establishment, an increasing amount on public works, would of itself indicate the foresight shown in the past, and be a guarantee for the future. Possessing, from its own resources, a large revenue without any taxation, and having a resolute, enterprising community, the public works of the Province must be carried on with increasing alacrity. The lament is, "the laborers are so few, while the works are so many." For the current year, about £290,000 have been appropriated for expenditure on forming and maintaining roads, bridges, railways, and tramways, carrying on harbor works, such as breakwaters, jetties, dredging and reclaiming, and erecting buildings for public purposes. Nor is the outlay of public money for similar purposes at all likely to be lessened, as every mile of railway constructed, road made, bridge built, or jetty erected, either opens up new country, gives greater inducement for settlement, or removes difficulties and expense in the transport of produce; and, as a consequence, will require the progressive movement to be carried on for many years, until every part of the Province is easily and rapidly accessible. At present, great activity is shown: no less than eight different lines of rail leading from seaports to agricultural and other districts are under construction.

CURRENT PRICES AND RATES OF WAGES.—Wheat, per bushel of 60lb., 4s. 9d. to 5s.; flour, per ton of 2,000lb., £11 to £13; oats, per bushel of 40lb., 2s. 6d. to 4s.; oatmeal, per cwt., 15s. to 18s.; barley, per bushel of 50lb., 4s. 3d. to 4s. 9d.; malt, per bushel, 8s. to 9s. 6d.; rye-grass seed, per bushel of 20lb., 3s. 2d. to 6s.; rye-grass hay, per ton, £5; oaten chaff, per ton, £4 to £6; oaten hay, per ton, £3 10s. to £5; potatoes, per ton, £3 10s. to £4; turnips, etc., per ton, 25s. to 30s.; native flax, per ton, £14 to £18; rapeseed, 22s. per cwt. Wool, from 9½d. to 2s. 2d.; hides, 4s. to 20s. each; skins, 7d. to 5s. 9d. each; beef, 20s. to 25s. per 100lb.; mutton, 1d. to 2½d. per lb.; veal, 5d. to 7d. per lb. Leather, 1d. to 4d. per lb.; bone dust, £6 to £7 10s. per ton; boots, 6s. per pair, upwards; flax rope, £40 to £44; preserved meats, 2½d. to 6½d. per lb.; soap, per cwt., 18s. to 32s.; clothing, from 25s. per suit upwards; hats and caps, from 1s. to 21s.; ploughs, single, double, and treble mounted, from £10 to £25; drays, single and double horse, £21 to £25; wagons, six to eight horse, £60 to £75; spring carts and buggies, £18 to £50; reaping machines, £30 upward; chaff-cutters, £10 upward; saddlery, riding, from £6; harness, carriers', £10 upward; bricks, per 1,000, £2 15s. to £3; tiles, per 1,000, 20s. to 40s.; ale, per hhd., £4 to £7; porter, per hhd., £5 10s. to £6; whisky, per gallon, in bond, 8s. to 9s.; geneva, in bond, 6s. to 8s. 6d.; aerated waters, per dozen, 2s. to 3s.; compounds, per dozen, 8s. to 140s. Coal, at pit mouth, 8s. to 11s. per ton; gold, £3 to £3 15s. per oz.; lime, at kiln, 2s. per bushel.

Bakers, per day, 10s. to 11s.; blacksmiths, per day, 11s. to 14s.; boiler-makers and riveters, 10s. to 12s.; bricklayers, per day, 12s. to 15s.; brassfounders, per day, 10s. to 12s.; carpenters and joiners, per day, 12s. to 15s.; coach-builders and painters, per day, 12s. to 15s.; coopers, per day, 9s. to 10s.; dairymaids, per annum,

£40 to £50, and found; domestic servants, per annum, £30 to £40 and found; engineers and drivers, per day, 12s. to 15s.; farm servants, per annum, £52 to £55, and found; gardeners, per day, 10s; laborers, per day, 8s. to 10s; masons, per day, 12s. to 14s.; mechanics, per day, 12s. to 14s.; painters and paperhangers, per day, 11s. to 12s.; ploughmen, per annum, £55 to £60, and found; plumbers, per day, 11s. to 13s.; plasterers, per day, 11s. to 15s.; saddlers and harness-makers, per day, 10s. to 12s.; shepherds, per annum, £55 to £60, and found; quarry men, per day, 11s. to 13s.; tanners and curriers, per day, 11s. to 15s.; upholsterers and cabinet-makers, per day 12s. to 14s.; tailors, per day, 8s. to 10s.; watchmakers, per day, 12s.; wheel and cartwrights, per day, 10s. to 12s.

VIII. Prospects

THAT a great and glorious future is the destiny of Otago is neither a haphazard speculation nor a baseless vision, but a well-considered opinion, warranted by and founded on the following considerations.

The physical features of the country eminently fit it for, and point to, this result. Its geographical position gives it mighty advantages for holding direct and rapid communication with almost all the countries of the Old and New World. Its conformation immensely enhances the value of its position. The extensive seaboard, and the numerous safe and capacious harbours on all its coasts confer advantages unsurpassed for successfully prosecuting maritime pursuits. Its interior structure presents few formidable obstacles for easy and speedy access to its seaports. Its climate is genial, healthful, and bracing—developing to a higher degree the vigor of the Saxon race—its soil, generous, grateful, pliable—its water supply abundant, well spread, and pure—its products are varied, plentiful, and of the sorts best suited for the necessities of its own and the inhabitants of less favoured countries—its minerals inexhaustible, embracing those most demanded by the requirements of business and the comforts of life—its botany, geology, world of wonders, will give scope for the thought of the scholar, the philosopher, and the scientist, awakening and evoking new ideas, new perceptions of the infinite—its scenery quiet and peaceful, or grand and sublime, kindle the fire of the poet and inspire the enthusiasm of the artist—its population, a fusion of the races most celebrated for honour, courage, activity, shrewdness, and endurance, is ready and willing to turn to best account the resources of the country, to read those lessons which the records of the past unfold, elevate by those flights of imagination which poesy can most effectively command, and refine and purify by the silent irresistible influence of appeals from the canvas.

The trades or occupations pursued are diverse, lucrative, muscular, and ennobling. Its merchants establishing a reputation for probity and honesty, are linking commercial connections with the foremost countries of the globe—its manufactures and industries are rapidly increasing and extending—its farmers are earnestly striving to multiply their products in number and amount—its tradesmen and artisans are zealously prosecuting their different callings—its miners are fearlessly piercing the bowels of the earth regardless of impediment—its ships and sailors are trafficking in every port—and its fishers are assiduously devoted to their hazardous employment, laying the seas under contributions.

The principles on which the commonwealth is built are liberal, developing, and safe, and its institutions have been laid on a foundation of sound wisdom and discretion. For the culture and training of its youth, schools, colleges, universities, libraries, museums, games, and industries have been provided, fostered, and encouraged, so that ere long it will provide its own staff of lay and clerical teachers, doctors, professors, artisans, and mechanics. Its judicial bench is carefully protected and furnished with judges noted for their uprightness, dignity, and independence—its professions are represented by men acute and painstaking—its statute book possesses no oppressive, partial, or class privilege enactments—its legislature can boast of many men devoted to and earnest for their country's welfare, gracing the council chamber by their oratory, and urging rapidly to the front by judicious, far-seeing, and practical statesmanship—its policy is fast peopling its lands, and affording facilities for travelling and transport—its debt, which its landed estate will pay ten times over, has been to a large extent recuperatively invested, adding to its wealth and influence, and will by judicious management lighten rather than increase taxation. It has neither army, navy, or defensive works to provide and maintain. Its native population, small in numbers, is being turned to practical account, and all its inhabitants are engaged in works contributing to its prosperity.

Reared on the experience of other lands, its institutions are for the man of low as well as of high degree. Freed from the trammels of hereditary sentiment and looked at from a clear standpoint, invidious distinctions, the errors and blunders under which older countries have been and are labouring are greatly avoided and those principles only which have been proved true and suitable are adopted. Convinced that to restrain from and repress vice is a wiser course than to detect and punish crime after it is committed, its neglected or erring youth are provided for and trained to honest industry, so that criminals will be found to be to a large extent imported, and when calamity or misfortune produce actual or impending poverty or indigence, spontaneous generous sympathy and assistance comes to its aid.

Its power, range, and adaptability to produce is unexcelled. Its products are indispensable to human existence. It is a land of wool and grain—able to produce immensely more than it can consume. The former of these staples is coming into greater demand; improved machinery and larger experience are bringing to market greater varieties and better designs in woollen fabrics which are rapidly superseding cotton goods. For a far greater number of days in the year than in Britain the growth of its pastures continues, rendering the raising of crops for winter feed for sheep and cattle comparatively trifling, thus setting free a higher per centage of acres to produce for human requirements, and the returns of the yields show very high averages of first class quality.

Its conditions for labour are liberal to a degree. The son of toil feels more of the dignity and less of the servility of labour than at home. Wages are on a high scale, and the hours for work are limited to eight—for females restricted by statute. The prospects of greatly bettering his condition are visible and fairly within his reach. The privileges he possesses are appreciated; he feels elated by them. Every position is open to him, as well as every franchise, and having none to make him afraid he can attain any dignity in the State. Greater liberty, equality, and fraternity are in practice than in old lands, and he feels a realization of the glorious sentiment of the immortal bard—

"That man to man the world o'er

Shall brothers be for a' that."

Its capacities to produce and maintain are only being developed. Although its area is limited, its capability is vast. Lands now reckoned valueless, because others are more convenient, will yet prove treasures, and where one blade of grass is seen growing or one sheep grazing, three or four will appear. For minerals, its earth has only been as yet tapped, and consequently their value has not been fairly estimated. With all its combined attractions and advantages Otago is designed and fitted to be the home of a large and contented population. It has room enough to contain millions of inhabitants, and its fertility and industries can supply sufficient and to spare for their comfortable maintenance.

It has difficulties to surmount and dangers to avoid. What though it has boisterous weather and dangerous reefs along the coast? These will make its mariners more vigilant and careful. Although it has rugged mountains to pierce or climb, shifting and subtle streams and rivers to span, the greater the courage and energy required the greater the triumph. Although rulers may try to be lavish in public expenditure, they are face to face with their constituents; and the people, educated to politics, know their rights and privileges, and with a voice loud as the trump of fame can call them to account. Although seasons of dull trade and depression will come round, they but teach lessons of frugality and providence not easily forgotten by intelligent people. The lap of luxury is not where the greatest nations are reared. Adversity and hardship make the man of sterner stuff. The demands of remunerative labour, and the precocity of its climate tempt its youth at too early an age to leave the seminary for the workshop, but this temporary disadvantage will be checked by judicious legislation.

New Zealand, although divided into a number of Provinces, is a united Colony. Its constitution was framed with singular fitness for its speedy and successful establishment, and the authors are deserving of the highest consideration. The Provincial form of Government was not intended to be permanent. It had certain functions to perform, and these being accomplished, it would cease to exist. This idea has been specially kept in view by the Government of Otago. Gradually, and as the fitting time arrives, it is denuding itself of its powers. To encourage local administration is its aim, and the fact of towns being proclaimed through its length and breadth, with municipal authorities and privileges, managing their own affairs; road districts formed with representatives elected by the ratepayers, entrusted with the formation of local roads, and endowed with liberal subsidies; harbor boards to take charge of the improvements and management of the ports; river trusts and conservators for different purposes created; the management of education invested in Committees elected by the householders; and so soon as the population of sufficient areas feel disposed to form Counties or Shires, the law has already been passed providing for their erection, defining their special duties, and setting aside a specific proportion of the land revenue for their disposal. Each and all of these institutions, as they come into existence diminish the power and duties of the Provincial Legislature, and on the county system coming into operation, the remaining authority of the Provincial will be absorbed by the General Legislature. Otago occupies the foremost position amongst the Provinces, and the course it has pursued is the one indicated by the Constitution. To a greater or lesser extent, it has been adopted by the others. Hitherto this description has been pertinent to Otago, the remarks following apply to the Colony.

On these and other considerations the conclusion is come to that before the twentieth century dawns on the world the word Colony will have become honourably obsolete, and the nobler, because independent, name assumed—Nation of New Zealand—the chain not roughly severed, but gracefully unlinked—the tie not rudely wrenched, but gently loosed—and Britannia's youngest Colony will have attained its full age, and with the approving smile and hearty benisons of the Old, Young Britain will be reckoned among the nations. A nation born in a day! Within the space of a man's life, the spectacle will be exhibited of a large territory of wild magnificent country producing neither vegetable nor animal fitted for the support of civilized man; neither road

nor track by which communication could be had between settled communities; with brave and war-loving cannibals its sole occupants; that country raised to the position of being well-stocked with, and prolific in, the production of every animal and plant needed for human use; opened up by roads, railways, and steamers, and telegraph, so that the cities, towns, villages, and industries thickly spread over its whole length and breadth are easily and momentarily accessible; its limited populace actively, but not oppressively, engaged in their daily labors, inviting then overwrought fellow-countrymen to join them in their vastly bettered circumstances, there being room enough and to spare for millions more. Possessing, and in prospect of the early possession of larger landed estates in both Islands—for the bulk of the Native land in the North Island, or its control, must pass into the hands of the Government—with the economically constructed and worked railway and telegraph system in their hands, yielding a splendid revenue; having no call for the creation of a standing army, the construction of a navy, or the erection of defensive works; a policy of non-intervention reciprocity, liberality, and equality being the basis of dealing with other countries—her rulers may, by a judicious dealing with the waste lands and other resources, realize an income sufficient for nearly all requirements, and taxation, direct or indirect, be thereby reduced to the minimum—probably a few light customs duties on articles of luxury or indulgence. It is admitted that the tendency of central legislation and administration has hitherto been the reverse of this course. In earlier years the great drain on the funds of the Colony was the wretched Native war, brought on for sinister purposes by leading men in the North, prosecuted with gross mismanagement, and at grievous expense, and ended with miserable results; and in addition to the war was the creation of offices held as sinecures, and afterwards rewarded with pensions. It is well known the Colonial Government has been recklessly extravagant, usurping functions to which it had no claim, appointing needless officials, and unscrupulously mispending the revenue of the country. In 1857, a leading Canterbury statesman wrote thus:—"In 1853, the General Government was to be maintained with one-third of the general, and none of the land, revenue, two-thirds of the general, and the whole of the land revenue to be the revenue of the Provinces; in 1854, the provincial revenue was reduced to one-half of the general revenue; in 1856, the provincial share was again reduced to three-eighths of the gross revenue, and a debt of £66,000 was fixed on the land revenue. The half-million loan was thus distributed—£200,000 to be fixed on the land revenue of the Middle Island, £180,000 on the North, and the remainder, £120,000, on general revenue. The passing of the Estimates is a disgraceful scramble for money by the delegates from different communities, not the discriminate judgment of Senators upon the several exigencies of the public service of a common country. I am satisfied that the House of Representatives is a body not fit to be entrusted with the expenditure of the public revenue. I have arrived at the conclusion that the remedy for these evils is a return to the constitution of 1856 in the financial system of the country. I mean that there shall be no general revenue, and no general chest whatever, but that the separate Provinces shall keep each its own revenue separately." Rather strong language to use by an ex-minister of the Crown, but similar opinions have been frequently reiterated by many eminent members within the walls of the House itself.

Recently matters have somewhat changed. The old party leaders, with their principles, if they are worth the name, are rapidly disappearing. With the increase of population, a larger number of able minds are devoting their attention to political matters. Greater freedom of thought is being exercised. Men have been, and are, exercising themselves with the question—Why should we submit to heavy taxation for the purpose of maintaining a puppet show at the centre of Government? The Public Works and Immigration Scheme of 1870, with some subsequent measures of a kindred character, indicate a change of action to that which formerly obtained. Money has been liberally borrowed, but for the sound and safe purposes of peopling the country with suitable inhabitants, facilitating the means of communication, and inciting to greater industrial enterprise. The question naturally arises, and may fairly be discussed—Has the money so borrowed been so judiciously and satisfactorily expended as it would have been had its disbursement been made more under Provincial control? Much has been said on both sides. A reliable opinion can hardly yet be formed.

The idea of the ultimate—and, in some instances, early—independence of the Colonies of Britain is not a new one, nor is it stamped by any mean authority. Many years ago—years before New Zealand was begun to be colonized—in a discussion in the House of Peers on the State of Canada, Lord Brougham said:—"In 1838, it was considered that some means should be devised, not for forcibly separating the Colonies from the Mother Country, but for considering the question of an amicable, friendly, and voluntary separation. If a Conference were held, and it were found that there was, on the part of the Colonies, a horror of separation, such a Conference, like many others, would have no result, and the tie between the two countries would not only have continued undissolved, but perhaps strengthened, by such a proceeding. There were high authorities on this subject, such as Lord Melbourne, and the late Lords Ashburton and St. Vincent. For himself, he thought the best thing that could happen to the Colonies would be what he might call the euthanasia of colonial life, and that with perfect amity and good will between both parties, the relations of free, friendly, and independent States, should succeed to the colonial connection that now existed between this country and her dependencies." The Bill under discussion when these advanced views were uttered was simply an enabling measure, under

which the Legislature of Canada might constitute the Upper House in any way they thought proper. And has not the tendency of all the action of the Imperial Government towards this Colony been towards the encouragement of this idea of independence? The Constitution Act passed by the Home Parliament for New Zealand, while laying down general principles, dealt largely in details; that Act has, both in detail and in principle, been altered and modified to a large extent by our local Legislature, without any reference being made to, or authority granted by, the enacting Parliament. Even the important question of altering the Constitution of the Upper Chamber, from being a nominee to be an elective body, could be settled by the Colonial Parliament without reference to London provided always the consent of the people was first obtained. Again, the Colonial office, as if wishing to try the first experiment on this plucky Colony of ours, withdrew the Imperial troops from our midst, even when our internal affairs were much-disturbed, and great fears entertained by many of the outlying settlers, in districts where the Natives were numerous, that their lives and properties were in utmost peril. The experiment was a bold one, but it has turned out thoroughly successful. It is found that, without leaning and depending on outside support but trusting; to our own firmness and courage, supported by a different policy towards the Natives than that which prevailed formerly, an almost bloodless victory has been achieved, the aboriginal inhabitants are being gradually, but surely, won to our cause, education and industries propagated largely amongst the different tribes, and order and harmony widely prevail. The few British and other war vessels that visit our coasts are welcomed more as friendly visitors, and as excitements for the period, than as defenders of our coasts or our commerce; and the same, glorious principle of self-reliance which carried us so triumphantly through, our internecine struggle will also be sufficiently prudent, attractive, and commanding in its character to maintain our independence amongst the kingdoms of the world.

As to the form of Government which may be adopted, that will of course be left to the population themselves to determine without any Home or outside intervention. Be it Monarchical or Republican, it will be modified considerably from the great models which Europe and America present to our view. Judging from the progress of opinion in other arenas, the great efforts being made to throw off trammels on thought and action which have been respected in bygone times, the thorough breaking down of old-time sentiment regarding feudalism, together with the communism of feeling which exists amongst the Colonial brotherhood, the probability—nay, the almost certainty—is that New Zealand will add another to the world's Republics.

IX. Changes

SINCE the preceding remarks were written, the Parliament of the Colony has, by a large majority, passed a Bill for the abolition of the several Provinces. As this measure, if it become law, will exercise a great influence on the future, a short statement of the relative position of parties may not be without interest, and is necessary, to understand properly the position of matters.

By the Act passed by the Imperial Government in 1852, granting a representative Constitution to the Colony of New Zealand, two forms of Government were provided. The first to be called into existence was the Provincial, thereafter the General. For the purposes of the first, the Colony was parcelled off into six divisions, and the Provinces of Auckland, New Plymouth, and Wellington, in the North; Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago, in the South Island, were established. Each of these Provinces was to possess an elected Superintendent and Council, have distinct powers of legislation, and a special revenue. After the Provincial form was brought into operation, the General was to be called into existence, to consist of the Governor, a nominated Legislative Council, and an elected House of Representatives, having their distinctive functions well defined. The idea of the Provincial was to carry out the original plan of peopling the Islands by settlements in different localities, localizing expenditure, and enacting laws suited to the special requirements of the districts. That of the General, whilst equally suitable, was more ostentatious, embodied the principles of the home constitution, had much more extended power, and withal a more centralizing tendency. To the former, the body of the common people was most attached; to the latter, those who fancied they were born to rule devoted themselves. From the earliest a contest was imminent, and soon commenced—the bone of contention, being of course, money. The Provincialist party desired their own revenues spent amongst themselves, in works of public utility; the Centralists to collect all into one common purse—create a show of authority with a make-believe mightiness. Gradually the greater power grasped and absorbed the functions and privileges of the lesser. First, the revenues were appropriated, and then the legislative sphere was speedily narrowed. The existence of the Provinces was a peculiar eyesore to a few of the higher sort of people, and their destruction was resolutely determined on. This mode of Government was too popular to be open for direct attack, so more wily measures must be adopted. Member of a Provincial Council always was a high distinction, open to settlers in any position who could afford a little time and money, and aspired to the honor. Representative in the Assembly was a taller office; the aspirant required the command of more money, more time, and perhaps more ability. To bring the Provinces speedily to destruction, the Assembly, in 1858, passed the New Provinces Act, which, being ratified by the

Imperial Parliament, new Provinces were accordingly declared—not for new territory, but breaking up the original six, for real or supposed grievances. The plan was a deep laid and insidious one, and, to a large extent, it has gained its object. In this wise it was wrought. Wellington was, in 1858, dismembered of Hawke's Bay, the lands of which were speedily bought up by its promoters, and it became a comfortable location for a number of runholders. In 1859, Nelson, known as the Sleepy Hollow, was cut in two, and the new province was named Marlborough. Neither of them has followed the example of the great commanders after whom they were named, but have been content to lie down under their burdens. Otago, in 1861 was shorn of the Murihiku district, and the new Province, much to the chagrin of its denizens, was named Southland. After nine years of precarious existence, the new Province returned to the embrace of its parent. Canterbury was, in 1868, stripped of its west coast, which received the title of County of Westland. Prosperity did not attend it, so, in 1873, it was raised to the dignity of a Province, with no better result. The six original provinces were thus increased to nine.

Although a little out of place, it may be here stated that the name New Plymouth was by an Act in 1859, changed to Taranaki, by which name that Province is now known. Considered the garden of New Zealand, so far as climate and soil are concerned, it has not been able to raise sufficient for its subsistence. Relying on the value of its iron sand for a name and existence, its hopes have been completely destroyed by the announcement of the Premier that the sand is only fit for making asphalt for footpaths. This fair Province is now to be made the penal settlement of the Colony. The convicts are to be employed in the construction of a breakwater and harbor works, which will, in after days, be pointed to as a stupendous folly on the part of the present Government, their services not being required.

The promoter of the New Provinces Act did not claim the paternity of the Abolition Bill, although he was credited with it. Himself, however, the Superintendents and members of all the new and unprosperous Provinces, strongly supported it in the House and so it was carried. If the Abolition Bill becomes law, the Hon Mr. Stafford has attained the acme of his wishes; the Provincial form of Government is destroyed; the election of representatives goes with it, and agents and executive officers appointed by the Governor will exist in their stead; the management of our landed estate is taken away; revenues collected from all sources, and in all districts, will go to one centre, and be there spent; for redress of any grievances the people will require to go from home; and to carry out any works of special or local benefit, they will not only have to tax themselves, but also require to go to a jealous neighbour to ask permission to have these works carried out. In proposing such a radical change in the Constitution as the Abolition Bill contemplates, it would naturally be considered that its promoter? would be men distinguished for eminent and important services in the past. A view of the position of each of the three great estates of the realm will be interesting.

Normandy, Governor, stands chief of the three. His Excellency, prior to the assembling of Parliament, had, for the period of six months, occupied his high position. A perfect stranger in the country, with no brilliant spots in his previous career, and having made once a formal visit to the principal Provinces, he considered himself justified in assenting to a measure which was opposed in the House by nearly all the members acknowledged to be statesmen—one of them a former Governor, and the man by whom principally the Constitution was framed. Although the country was in a flourishing condition, and the people quite contented With the condition of things, in no wise clamorous for a change, but the reverse—instead of, as he would have been justified in doing, reserving the Bill for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure thereon, he at once gave effect to the measure by attaching his signature, whilst strangely enough the doubtful character of the scheme is borne testimony to by itself, as it is not to come into force until the "day next after the last day of the first session of next Parliament."

By the Legislative Council, or Upper House, the proposal was received with great joy, inasmuch as it would destroy a popular form of Government. This branch of the Legislature is selected from a peculiar section of the community—men noted for their ability in acquiring large landed estates, and devoted to the glorious cause of multiplying sheep and cattle,—the squatocracy, who have a single eye to their own interests, and do not believe in anything so strongly as large runs and small population. As a rule, the members of this chamber can only look on their fellows in the lower chamber with a powerful eyeglass, as they are too small to be seen by naked vision. One of the honorable members certainly opposed the measure, but he is notorious, not for the exceeding greatness of his flocks and herds, but only for his espousal of the popular cause, and for devoting himself to the interests of the people. Nevertheless, a good old soldier, a thorough politician, as well as a good old man, is Sir John L. C. Richardson.

The absence of the Premier from the Colony on the arrival of the new Governor necessitated a reconstruction of the Cabinet, it being necessary that the oaths of office should be taken by him. The Ministry was thus constituted during the recess, and had not the opportunity of receiving the confidence of Parliament. The members were, however, not much changed, only one new one being introduced to fill the position of Minister of Justice. Not holding a seat in the House, it was first proposed to elevate this gentleman by nominating him to join the Peers; but a little talk occurring, a quiet country constituency was induced to elect

him as its representative, and he was introduced as member, and Minister duly constituted. None of the other members had ever done anything to make them favorably known to fame, save the absent one and the Native Minister. The latter has managed to control the Maories, and bring them into subjection by mysterious measures, into which Parliament itself dare not pry, the expense being no object. The absent one alone having a political reputation worth caring for, kept out of the way, as he certainly would not stain his consistency by apostatising from the Honorable Julius Vogel, apostle of Provincialism, to Sir Julius Vogel, advocate for Centralism. The country generally pronounced him to be the one member, and alone, in the Cabinet possessed of anything approaching to legislative or administrative ability, and in both capacities he was acknowledged to excel.

The House of Representatives was not considered to be of a higher standard than the average of its predecessors. Indeed the leading newspapers, especially in Otago, mentioned members by name representing that Province as totally unfit and unworthy to hold a seat in the House. In addition to this, the Parliament itself was in an expiring state, being in its last session; and common prudence should have dictated to the members that, before making such a radical change in the Constitution, the constituencies should have been consulted, not only on the change, but also as to what was to be substituted. And not only should prudential considerations have dictated this course, but the leading mind in the Cabinet, Sir Julius Vogel, in the previous session, on introducing a motion having the object of abolishing the Provinces in the North Island only, cautiously observed:—"Although I believe throughout both the North and the Middle Island the opinion of the people of the Colony would ratify such action, yet there would be a feeling throughout the country, on the part even of those who approve of such legislation, that it would be dangerous to indulge in large legislation of this kind in a hurried manner, and without giving due notice of it. Even those who approve of it might justly say that they could not welcome any surprise of the kind. They might feel a sense of insecurity if such large questions were introduced and legislated upon during the sitting of Parliament, without due notice being given to the people of the Colony, so that they might express their opinions, by petition or otherwise, upon the matter. It is quite possible, therefore, that men who approve of the measure might most regret its being carried into effect hurriedly, because it might lead to a precedent of surprise which might be almost considered something of the nature of a *coup d'etat*." So spake that astute statesman, Sir Julius, and knowing the thorough consistency of his political life and action, no one would for a moment suppose that, had he been in his place, he would have supported the passing of the Abolition Bill. It would have been well for some of the lesser lights in the Cabinet, and in the House, had they followed his advice. What the people thought of the precipitate action of the majority will be related shortly.

Having seen, then, the long experience of the Governor, the high legislative ability and character of the majority of the members, and the extent of the duration of the Parliament by which this Bill was past, it will follow that the minority who opposed the measure should be described. The opposition was resolute and determined. Point after point was disputed with a courage and a skill of which the cause was well worthy. The number of the Opposition was small, but almost every one was a host in himself—men in whom the large majority of the electors of the Colony had implicit confidence,—tried men who had been found worthy, in whose hands the honor and prosperity of the country were safe. The leader of the Opposition, Sir George Grey, was not only formerly Governor of this Colony, but was so distinguished for his ability in that capacity as to be transferred to the then more important Colony of the Cape, when its affairs were in a disastrous state, and needed one of Her Majesty's ablest representatives to arrange them. Sir George was the Governor by whose advice, and under whom, representative government was conferred on New Zealand. He was in fact the framer of the Constitution. In his place in the House, as member for Auckland City, and also Superintendent of that Province, he fought valiantly for the constitution. Associated with him were Mr. Fitzherbert, Superintendent of Wellington; Mr. Rolleston, Superintendent of Canterbury; and Mr. Macandrew, Superintendent of Otago. These four men were the highest representative men in the Assembly, speaking not only for their individual constituencies, but also for their Provinces, the four most important in the Colony; and had it not been for the salamander action of the General Government, in depriving the former two of all their available revenue, and asking them to make bricks without clay, each would have been swimmingly prosperous. The Superintendents of the smaller provinces were in the majority, in hope of gaining something by the change. In the ranks of the minority, other names will be found who have done the State some service in former days, and whose names will, along with their more prominent coadjutors, command the esteem and gratitude of their countrymen for the noble defence they made of the principle that a free and educated people should have not only the right to be consulted in deciding the form of Government under which they are to live, but also that it is the imperative duty of their representatives to submit for their decision, through a general election, whether a change is to be made or not. And more especially was this the case in this instance, when it was proposed to destroy the branch of the Government which had by judicious care and administration been chiefly instrumental in forwarding the national prosperity, and without stating what was to be set up in its place. Far more anxious and thorough

observation and experience is needed to frame and suit a form of Government for a country and people than our senators seem to have imagined; and for their ruthless haste in undoing what wiser men than themselves had carefully constructed, the constituencies whom they so misrepresented have sent them to seek a place of repentance, and some of them have sought it bitterly, and with tears. The names of the Otago members who opposed the carrying of the measure were—J. B. Bradshaw, Wakaia; J. C. Brown, Tuapeka; J. Macandrew, Port Chalmers; J. W. Thompson, Clutha; D. Reid, Taieri; R. Stout, Caversham; W. A. Murray, Brace. The Bill was carried by a majority of 19, or, with the Speaker, 20 votes.

As it is with Otago principally this history has to do, it will be well now to see, as formerly stated, what the people here thought on the matter.

No sooner was the result of the division known in Dunedin than steps were taken to mark the approval of the conduct of the minority in so resolutely opposing this uncalled-for, unjustifiable invasion of the people's rights. How to do it was the question. After due consideration, it was resolved to invite the more prominent members of the Opposition to accompany His Honor the Superintendent and his Otago supporters to Dunedin, and there receive with him the ovation that was to be accorded him. The invitation was accepted by the Superintendents of Auckland, Wellington, and Canterbury, along with Messrs. Bunny (from Wellington) and Sheehan (from Auckland). Arriving at Port Chalmers on the 27th October, 1875, they were cordially welcomed. On the special train which conveyed them to Dunedin coming into the Station, the crowd awaiting their coming vociferously cheered them, and in triumphal procession escorted the carriages that conveyed the honored guests to the Club, where they were to reside. A heartier or more decided expression of approval of the honest, fearless, straightforward conduct of public men could not be given. Nor did it stop with the reception. A public banquet was accorded, and the largest floor space in the city, Messrs. Sargood, Son, and Ewen's new warehouse, was handsomely placed at the service of the Committee, and in it, on the evening of the same day, the greatest crowd that ever sat at a complimentary feast in the City of Dunedin, or other City in the Colony, felt honored by having the able defenders of their rights in their midst, and listening to the words of sound political wisdom which fell from their lips. The result of this demonstration, and others which followed, will be afterwards noticed particularly. At present, it may be remarked that the supporters of the Abolition policy predicted a great failure for the whole affair. Finding their prediction likely to be false, another course was pursued, and that was to reduce the banquet from being a public recognition of the political action of His Honor and friends to a mere friendly welcome and congratulation on having fought so pluckily. But the promoters and the supporter's were not to be so easily caught, and with unmistakable language they announced that the banquet had not only a political signification, but was for political purposes, and for these alone. The thoroughly complete success of the whole arrangements sank like gall and wormwood into the heart of the Government party, and, with maddened rage, they unscrupulously risked every statement to try to counteract the effect. It was, however, but a vain effort. The Province had pronounced its verdict, notwithstanding the protestations of the Dunedin and local journals, and with calm, dispassionate purpose the electorates proceeded to give effect thereto.

After the dissolution of Parliament, writs were issued for the election of new representatives, and either by chance, or by one of those special providences that shape the ends of mankind, the first election fell to the lot of the City of Dunedin. Hitherto, Dunedin had been represented by two members, but on account of its increased size and importance, the Assembly awarded it and Waitaki each an additional member; so that, on this occasion, three instead of two members were to be elected. The Hon. Mr. Reynolds had represented the City in several Parliaments, was popular among the electors, always a strong Provincialist, and relied on as such, but during the Assembly, having occupied a place in the Cabinet, he so far forgot himself as to give his support to the Abolition Bill. After a protracted delay he came to Dunedin, and met his constituents, his colleague, Mr. Wales, being with him on the platform. His plausible address would not take, and Mr. Wales would not be listened to. The latter gentleman took the not over gentle hint, and did not offer himself as a sacrifice. The nomination day came round, six candidates were proposed, and the poll resulted in the three on the Provincial ticket being returned by an overwhelming majority. Waitaki followed suit, rejecting the old member, and returning two Provincialists. Invercargill, Roslyn, Matura, Riverton, Wallace, Lakes, and Mount Ida, all put aside their old members, and returned new men. Of the twelve members from Otago who supported the Abolition Bill, only one has been elected as representative for his former constituency, and two for other districts; of the seven who voted against the third reading, only one has lost his seat. It is a noteworthy fact that the old members were very vehement in supporting the Bill, declaring that their constituents were strongly in its favor;—the result has shown how far they were mistaken. Loudly and emphatically has Otago thus protested against the tyrannical conduct of the majority in the House, and against the grievous wrong which has been done by passing the measure. The course that ought to have been followed was to drop the Bill on its second reading, and appeal to the country for its decision.

X. Effects

HAVING seen the nature of the changes proposed, it will be in place now to look at the effects likely to follow.

On the Colony, as a whole, the effect will be injurious. As already so clearly pointed out in the speech of the Premier, quoted in the previous chapter, the suddenness of the change will produce a sense of insecurity in the stability of our institutions. If changes can be made so suddenly, and without notice, there is no limit to their extent, or assurance as to their frequency. In the financial aspect, it will tell most. It betrays mistrust in the Government as to the soundness of its position—that there is something rotten in the State; and rottenness there is, but it exists in the Central Government, not in the Provincial. The Financial Statement of the Treasurer indicated this fact. Some of the Provinces are poor, but they do not try to conceal their impecuniosity; the cause of it is well known—the General Government deprived them of all their revenues, and then told them to carry on their works. The secret for the change is that the Government of the Colony want money to maintain their extravagance, and they must have it by some means or other. Already they have taxed every article of import possible, and to the utmost bearable limit; they have borrowed all the money they can venture with safety to ask; and now they wish to appropriate the land revenue of the Province—not to turn it to profitable account, but to squander it in the keeping up of an enormous civil service. If they succeed in this, the next will soon follow—to collect all auctioneers' and publicans' licenses, all taxes on dogs, horses, and vehicles, and make them Colonial revenue, under and by Acts of the General Assembly. The money lender takes notes of such sudden alterations, and draws his own conclusions.

The change, if effected, will not be permanent or final. No one will for a moment suppose that the eminent men who, in the foreground, denounce the alteration, backed as they are by the largest and most influential constituencies and provinces which contribute by far the most to the general revenue, and where the greatest amount of intelligence naturally exists, will rest quiet and contented under a form of Government forced on them by the numerical superiority of the representatives of the smaller provinces and outlying districts, when they are fully convinced that it will be prejudicial to the best interests of those whom they represent. Such a supposition would reflect dishonor on the leaders of the popular party. If overpowered in the Assembly, they will not tamely, and with broken spirit, submit to the change, they will not willingly yield up the valued privileges of which they are the custodians, and on their refusal, they will have the undoubted support of almost the entire populace.

The prospect of the change has revived the cry for separation. The Premier was, in former times, a fierce denouncer of Centralism and its extravagance; was a warm advocate, first for the separation of the two Islands, then for one Province in each Island, afterwards to abolish the North Island Provinces, and now, to abolish the Provinces altogether, and support the Centralism which he formerly condemned. Truly, if he can be trusted who circulates so remarkably within a few years, men professing less ability, but possessing more stability, may, when they see their common country in great danger, adopt measures which their best judgments tell them, though not desirable, are imperatively demanded. If this rude and uncalled-for interference with existing lawful rights is carried out—and the power of the Assembly to do so without the consent of the Imperial Government is by some questioned—then it is not difficult to foretell that the dismemberment of the Colony is sure to be the sequence. In addition to insular separation, the shout has already been heard, "Let Auckland and Otago bear their own burdens, and have the management of their own affairs." Such a result will be detrimental to our prosperity, and hinder the glorious prospects of the future.

Another effect will be that those Provinces which have been making the greatest strides in prosperity and advancement will be checked, and brought to a stand-still in their career. Otago will be by far the greatest sufferer, and Dunedin will suffer more than any other part of Otago. Having had greater obstacles to overcome, greater opposition and indifference from the General Government than any of the other Provinces, it has, by dint of dogged perseverance and plodding industry on the part of its settlers, steady enterprise, and careful calculation on the part of its merchants, prudent forethought and proper administration on the part of its Government, combined with the great impulse of the gold discovery, forged rapidly ahead, till now it stands far before any of the rest, both as regards population, revenue, commerce, productions, industries, and institutions, so that by the entire removal of its own affairs from its own territory to a distant and jealous centre, there will be a re-action on its prosperity to a greater extent than on any other of the Provinces.

The General Government have executed no public works in Otago out of revenue, excepting the erection of a few buildings and the line of telegraph. This latter was, however, originated by the Provincial, extended to outlying districts, and purchased by the General Government, when it was found expedient to have the whole system under one control. Any works which have been commenced or executed have been done out of loan, and the experience of these is not such as to commend them in preference to Provincially executed works. Take

for instance the operations under the Immigration and Public Works Act of 1870. Immigration had, prior to that date, been exclusively conducted both as regards numbers and class by the Province. Since that date the Colonial Government assumed control, and if the experience of the settlers and the records of the Police Courts tell reliable tales, the character and suitableness of the immigration have fallen very far short of the standard it had obtained under the local management. The Province has been able to absorb all the labour introduced when it was at all suitable, but a large number of people have been brought who would not have passed muster by the Provincial Agents. Take again railway construction from both points of view. At the outset the Colonial Government made a boast that it would build the railways cheaper, quicker and more substantial than the Province could do. The result has not testified to the truth of the assertion. The first estimated cost of the lines has been greatly exceeded, the time occupied in their construction has been most tediously protracted, and the cost which will be entailed for maintenance will be a serious charge on their returns. If the Provincial Government had been in possession of the funds, the lines would have been as cheaply and more substantially constructed, and a much greater length of mileage would have been open for traffic than has yet been accomplished. The result of the management of the lines now opened is a strong proof in favour of this conclusion. In the Province of Auckland, the lines are under General Government management, they are not paying, and elicit loud expressions of discontent from the public. In Otago they are managed by the Provincial authorities, are paying well, and almost every one is satisfied. Another strong proof of the unfitness of the General Government to carry out efficiently public services will be found in the mail arrangements. Otago as a Province, before the General Government moved in the matter, established a steam Mail service between Victoria and New Zealand, which is carried on still, and is wrought with so much punctuality and despatch as to command by far the greatest amount of support from the people. The Colonial Government some years after Otago had started the venture, entered into arrangements for inter-provincial and colonial services, which proved miserable bungles and soon collapsed. Afterwards it attempted a Panama route, terminating in bankruptcy. The San Francisco service is on its second or third trial and again is giving signs of decay, and the very management of the mails along the New Zealand coast shows such a want of capacity as would damn the effort if made on the part of any private firm. The reason is obvious to any calm observer, and it is this—that instead of making the mail service subservient to and dependent on the mercantile and travelling community, the attempt is to make the public dependent on the service and to direct trade and commerce to a centre of its own choosing. Other instances might be adduced to prove the inability of the Central Government to efficiently and economically carry on public practical business, but these will suffice to affirm the statement.

In every department of the public service in Otago under control of the Central Government—Customs, Postal, Telegraph, Registration, &c., a far larger amount of revenue is yielded than is required for management, the whole of that surplus is taken away from the Province and spent some where else, so that the Province is not only self-supporting, but is the largest contributor to the support of these Institutions in other Provinces and of the General Government itself. The whole history of the dealings of the General Government with Otago has been one of spoliation and deception—Obtaining its revenues under false promises. Two notable instances may be given. Under one pretence or another the Customs Revenue was gradually abstracted until 1870, when even the proportion of three-eighths was taken away, and a greatly reduced payment in the shape of a capitation allowance was substituted. Under the Immigration and Public Works Acts the surplus revenue in each Province, from its own railways, was guaranteed to that Province. Otago railways show a large surplus, and now, forsooth, that honest Government tells the people of the Province we intend to take your railway profits from you and with these profits pay the loss on the Wellington, Nelson, Marlborough and other lines.

Again, when the Abolition Act was passed, the solemn assurance was given that the compact of 1856, by which the lands of the South Island were assured for the uses of that island, would be fixed securely by statute; it now appears that the exigencies of the public service, which means the extravagance, wastefulness, and incapacity of the Central Government, has squandered all its income, unprofitably invested a large amount of its loans, has been reckless in its enterprises, and now the patrimony of the Middle Island, which it has carefully and judiciously utilised, is to be taken away to support the cumbrous administration at Wellington.

The future will tell whether the people of Otago will quietly submit to such arbitrary interference with their property and rights.

1845.

The Otago Settlement was resolved on at a meeting held in the City Hall, Glasgow, on the 16th May, 1845, and the following were appointed the Association for promoting the [unclear: Settlement]:

- The Right Hon. William Johnston, of Kirkhill, Lord Provost of Edinburgh
- The Right Hon. Fox Maule, M.P.
- Sir John C. Fairlie, Bart., of Fairlie.

- Sir James Forrest, Bart., of Comiston
- Sir William C. Seton, Bart., of Pit-in edden
- Andrew Aldcorn, Esq., M.D. Oban
- Thomas Anderson, Esq., Hamilton
- John Bain, Esq., of Morrision
- John Blackie, senr., Esq., Glasgow
- John Blackie, junr., Esq., Glasgow
- George Blair, Esq., Greenock
- Robert Blair, Esq., Edinburgh
- William Brown, Esq., Glasgow
- William Brown, Esq., Maybole
- Allan Buchanan, Esq., Glasgow
- William Buchanan, Esq., Glasgow
- Archibald Burns, Esq., Perth
- David Campbell, Esq., Mount Hamilton, Ayrshire
- William Campbell, Esq., of Tillechewan
- Robert Car gill, Esq., Edinburgh
- Thomas Constable, Esq., Edinburgh
- George Cousin, Esq., Edinburgh
- William Cowan, Esq., Edinburgh
- David Craigie, Esq., Perth
- James Crawford, Esq., Sheriff of Perthshire
- William H. Crawford, Esq., of Crawfordland.
- Henry Dunlop, Esq., of Craigton
- R. H. Gunning, Esq., Edinburgh
- James Hamilton, Esq., of Ninewar
- James M. Hogg, Esq., of Newliston
- Neil Jamieson, Esq., Provost of Rothesay
- John Ker, Esq., Greenock
- James B. M'Combie, Esq., of Gillybrands
- William Macfie, Esq., of Langhouse
- James M'II wraith, Esq., of Auchenflower
- Archibald M'Indoe, Esq., Rothesay
- Charles M'Kinlay, Esq., Rothesay
- Patrick B. Mure Macredie, Esq., of Perceton
- Alexander E. Monteith, Esq., Sheriff of Fife
- Dugald Munn, Esq., Rothesay
- Andrew Munro, Esq., Greenock
- Robert Peter, Esq., Aberfeldy
- Alexander Rankin, Esq., Glasgow
- Hugh Redpath, Esq., Edinburgh
- Adam Holland, Esq., of Gask
- Alexander Ross, Esq., Edinburgh
- Robert Roxburgh, Esq., Greenock
- Charles Scott, Esq., of Hawkhill
- George Smyttan, Esq., M.D. Edinburgh
- George Taylor, Esq., Ayr
- George M'Micken Torrence, Esq., of Threave
- William Whitehead, Esq., Edinburgh
- James Wyld, Esq., of Gilston.

LONDON COMMITTEE:

- James Anderson, Esq.
- William Brownly, Esq.
- A. Gibson Carmichael, Esq.
- William Chalmers, Esq., M.D.
- William Cook, Esq.

- Charles Cowan, Esq., M.P.
- William Hamilton, Esq.
- Lewis M'Kay, Esq.
- James Marshall, Esq.
- David Napier, Esq.
- James Nisbet, Esq.
- James R. Robertson, Esq.
- A. P. Stewart, Esq., M.D.
- James Watson, Esq.
- James Macandrew, Esq.

Secretary to the Association: John M'Glashan, Esq.

Honorary Secretary to the London Committee: James Watson, Esq., 21 Berners-st.

Chief Office of the Association: 27, South Hanover-st., Edinburgh.

1847.

November 22.—General power of Attorney issued by the New Zealand Company to William Cargill, Esq., empowering him to act on behalf of the Company in the settlement of Otago.

November 27.—Ship "John Wickliff" sailed from London for Otago, with Captain Cargill and 90 emigrants. Ship "Philip Laing" sailed from Greenock for Otago, with Rev. Mr. Burns and 236 emigrants.

1848.

March 23.—Ship "John Wickliff" arrived from London with first settlers: 116 days."

April 15.—Ship "Philip Laing" arrived from Greenock with first settlers: 139 days.

July 8.—Ship "Victory" arrived from London.

September 1.—Church and Schoolhouse erected and opened.

September 21.—Ship "Blundell" arrived from London.

December 12.—Ship "Bernicia" arrived from London.

December 13.—First number of *Otago News* published. Dunedin cricketers issued challenge to the Wellington Cricket Club to meet half-way, and have a trial of skill. Prices of provisions: Beef, fresh, 7d. to 7½d. per lb.; 4lb. loaf, 10d.; butter, 1s. 8d. to 2s. per lb.; flour, per 100lb., 16s. to 23s.; mutton, 7d. to 7½d. per lb.; potatoes, per ton, £4 to £5 10s.; sugar, 4d. to 6d. per lb. Wages, per day: Mechanics, 5s. to 7s.; laborers, 3s. to 4s. Name of Settlement declared fixed as Otago, not Otakau.

December 27.—Bench of Justices advertised thanks to special constables for turning out on Christmas day on occasion of threatened riot by sailors of a foreign vessel.

December 31.—Revenue for period, £909 10s. 7d.; expenditure £659 4s. 9d.

1849.

January 8.—Ship "Ajax" arrived from London. Settlement contains two hotels, a church and school, wharf, Oddfellows' Society, and Cricket Club.

January 24.—Reply received from William Fox, Esq., General Agent of New Zealand Company, refusing to grant the petition of workmen and laborers of Otago to limit the time of work to eight hours, and to raise wages above 3s. a day: reason—their brethren in Wellington wrought longer hours, and received only 2s. 6d.

January 29.—First annual dinner of H. and H. Oddfellows Lodge.

February 7.—First symptom of disagreements appearing.

February 21.—Eight hours system of labor established.

March 23.—First anniversary of settlement; celebrated by aquatic and rural sports, finishing with a ball in the evening; commemorated by Divine service in Church, forenoon and afternoon.

March 24.—Sports continued. Horse races.

March 31.—Population: Males, 426; females, 319—Total, 745. Births during year, 25; deaths, 9; marriages, 8.

April 11.—Ship "Mary" arrived from London.

April 23.—Regatta at Port Chalmers, or native name Koputai.

May 2.—Native industries noted: cheffonier and writing-desk made of rimu. Cabbage weighing 56lb exhibited.

May 26.—Public meeting, protesting against introduction of convict exiles.

June 5.—Ship "Mariner" arrived from London.

June 9.—*Otago News* enlarged, and published weekly.
 June 15.—Cheap Flour Company proposed to import from Nelson flour, timber, butter, oats, seed corn, grass seeds, &c.
 June 23.—Library of the "Church of Otago" opened.
 July 28.—Dray road as far as Saddle Hill and coal mines completed.
 August 25.—Establishment of a market place, and day urged.
 September 8.—Published, "Notes on the suburban and rural districts of Otago Settlement."
 September 11.—Ship "Larkins" arrived from London.
 September 23.—Ship "Cornwall" arrived from London.
 Died at Otago, May 31st, 1849, Class Settlement: aged fourteen months.
 October 1.—T. S. Watson and two others drowned in harbor.?
 October 9.—Public meeting to consider Edward Gibbon Wakefield's letter.
 October 10.—Progress and condition of settlement reviewed by *News*.
 November 20.—Ship "Kelso" arrived from London.
 November 24.—Deputy-Registrar of births, deaths, and marriages appointed for Otago.
 December 5.—Ship "Canning" arrived from London.
 December 19.—Cricket Club formed.
 December 26.—Ship "Mooltan" arrived from the Clyde.
 December 31.—Revenue for year, £1,995 8s. 11d.; expenditure, £1,732 5s. 6d.

1850.

January 5.—Schooner "Amazon" advertised to sail for Californian Diggings.
 January 26.—First fire: Monson's house, Water of Leith, burned.
 February 23.—Dunedin and Port Chalmers proclaimed towns.
 March 2.—Teetotal Society formed. H.M.S. "Acheron" arrived to complete survey of coast.
 March 14.—Dunedin Property Investment Company formed.
 March 16.—Regatta at Port Chalmers.
 March 26.—Ship "Lady Nugent" arrived from London. Second anniversary of Province celebrated. Horse races.
 April 1.—Population of Settlement: Males, 670; females; 512—Total, 1,182.
 May 11.—First saw and flour mill started, Water of Leith: Valpy's.
 May 31.—Subscription list opened to retain the *News*.
 June 4.—H.M.S. "Acheron" returned, having completed survey of south coast.
 June 12.—Public meeting, protesting against surplus revenue being sent to Wellington: £900.
 June 13.—Money sent to Wellington per "Acheron."
 July 11.—Money sent back.
 July 30.—Judge of Supreme Court appointed for Otago.
 July 16.—A. C. Strode, Esq., appointed Resident Magistrate and Sub-Treasurer for Otago.
 July 26.—Prospectus of United Sheep Association issued.
 August 6.—Ship "Mariner" arrived from London.
 September 4.—Ship "Poictiers" arrived from London.
 October 24.—Ship "Phœbe Dunbar" arrived from London.
 November 17.—Governor Grey arrived on his first visit to the Settlement since its establishment; address presented; levée.
 December 3.—Public meeting, to consider the "Provincial Councils Bill."
 December 4.—Second anniversary Oddfellows in new Hall.
 December 20.—Subscription started to erect a building for Church of England. Only one criminal case since arrival of first ship.
 December 21.—No. 91 of the *News*; last of its race—"Farewell," ex-leader.

1851.

January 17.—Schooner "Titan" arrived from London.
 January 21.—Social soiree held in Dunedin Schoolhouse.
 January 26.—Ordination of elders in connection with Church of Otago.
 January 28.—Brig "Pioneer" arrived from Glasgow.
 February 3.—First vessel built in Settlement launched.

February 8.—First No. of *Witness*: published fortnightly, under the guardianship of a Committee, being too much for one man.

February 14.—Horticultural Society formed: Judge Stephen, President. Foundation stone of Forbury House laid.

March 8.—Jury list published.

March 14.—Meeting as to forming substantial road to Port Chalmers.

March 25.—Meeting to consider modified pasturage regulations.

April 3.—"Harvest Home" at Forbury.

April 14.—Agricultural Society formed.

May 6.—Ship "Cresswell" arrived from London.

May 17.—Disturbance at Survey Office as to possession—Capt. Cargill and Mr. Kettle, Bench of Magistrates, convened to decide; public excluded.

May 13.—Public meeting regarding nominee representatives, the question being, should Mr. Valpy accept or decline a seat in the Legislative Council, being a nominee?

June 3.—Supreme Court opened: Mr. Justice Stephen held a levée, numerous attended; being neither criminal nor civil business, the Court was adjourned till 3rd September; non-attending jurymen were directed to be summoned.

June 6.—Dinner given by the Magistrates to Mr. Justice Stephen to celebrate the opening of the Supreme Court; Her Majesty's health was drank very coldly, and the Governor omitted.

June 9.—Severe gale: Immigrant Barracks so shaken as to be condemned.

June 11.—First meeting of Otago Settlers' Association.

July 5.—Dunedin Mechanics' Institution formed. Regulations for the management of the Burying Ground issued.

July 19.—*Witness* leader headed Defeat of the "Little Enemy."

August 2.—Prospectus of Otago Banking Company issued.

August 7.—Ship "Stately" arrived from London.

August 30.—*Witness* published weekly.

September 2.—Supreme Court sitting: no business of either class.

September 11.—Notice issued by R.M. against driving and killing bullocks on Sabbath.

September 26.—Meeting of Bench of Magistrates to consider the best way to expend £60 in repairing the Port Chalmers road—authorised by His Excellency.

September 28.—Ship "Dominion" arrived from London.

October 27.—Gold reported in quartz at Goodwood.

November 8.—Complete formation of Banking Company announced.

November 14.—R.M. Court: J.P. v. J.P., assault.

November 16.—Ship "Clara" arrived from London.

November 23.—Ship "Simlah" arrived from London.

November 29.—Drawing of Dunedin Exhibited.

December 2.—Third sitting of Supreme Court: no business.

December 27.—Present of a bell for the Church received from friends at home.

1852.

January 7.—Public meeting to review the state of affairs of the Settlement

January 22.—Trial: Justice Stephen v. Mansford, Graham, and Webb: "conspiracy." Mansford v. Stephen: assault. Barge, "Bon Accord," launched. Threatened duel between Dr. Manning and Justice Stephen.

February 7.—Meeting of Bench to consider proclaiming District of Otago into Hundreds. Ship "Columbus" arrived from London.

February 16.—Public meeting anent the Constitution of New Zealand.

March 1.—Ship "Maori" arrived from London.

March 3.—Mr. Justice Stephen and family left Dunedin.

March 8.—Public meeting to establish an opposition newspaper.

March 23.—Fourth anniversary celebrated. Horse races.

April 3.—Births incessant; marriages numerous; deaths, few.

April 26.—Public meeting to consider the state of the roads.

May 4.—Ship "Agra" arrived from London. Bench of Magistrates decided, by a majority, that the reporters should be *for ever* excluded from their meetings.

May 13.—Bench of Magistrates, by a majority, censured Mr. Reynolds for reporting the proceedings

against the decision of last meeting.

May 13.—Proclamation abolishing Supreme Court sittings in Otago.

June 1.—Sitting of the Supreme Court announced; 36 jurymen summoned and attended; again no business—this time no Judge.

June 7.—Proclamation to register a body of electors for Dunedin Town and Country Districts.

August 8.—Wreck of the Schooner "Amazon," at the Bluff, reported.

August 9.—Proclamation determining number of members for Provincial Council of New Munster, Otago: Town of Dunedin, 1; Dunedin Country, 2.

September 1.—Melee on public street: J.P.'s figure largely.

September 21.—Bench of Magistrates to decide on Registration claims.

September 25.—W. H. Valpy, Esq., J.P., died at Forbury.

October 7.—Ship "Persia" arrived from London.

October 30.—Pending the obtaining a Charter for the Bank, Messrs. Macandrew and Co. requested to issue short dated Promissory Notes.

November 6.—Petition to Governor against such a procedure. Rejoicings on receipt of the New Constitution.

November 9.—Ship "Slain's Castle" arrived from London.

November 23.—Ship "Stately" arrived from London.

November 25.—Public meeting to establish a weekly produce market.

1853.

January 3.—Mechanics' Institute opened: Grecian-Doric style of architecture.

January 14.—First sale of land outside Otago block; 150 acres sold in three lots.

February 16.—Population, 1,752.

February 26.—Ship "Tasmania" arrived from London.

February 28.—Boundaries of Province proclaimed.

March 6.—Ship "Royal Albert" arrived from London. Customs' boat capsized coming from Port Chalmers; collector lost £130 in gold.

March 12.—Nineteen Magistrates in Otago, being one J.P. to every 20 male adults.

March 15.—Otago Property Investment Company formed.

April 2.—First anniversary Fair and Market in Dunedin.

April 6.—Dinner to Captain Cargill, leader and founder of the Settlement; 214 present.

April 16.—Proclamation of Otago as a Province, with Superintendent and Provincial Council.

April 30.—North-east Valley Bridge completed.

July 5.—Meeting of Justices to revise list of claimants for Electoral Roll. Decided the Maoris should not be entitled to register as freeholders.

July 16.—Otago Union Meal Mills projected.

July 20.—Ship "Maori" arrived from London.

July 27.—Pasturage regulations, land sales, and timber licenses.

September 6.—Captain Cargill elected unanimously as first Superintendent.

September 20.—M.P.C., Town of Dunedin: Cutten, 54; Adam, 50; Rennie, 39; (Robertson, 33; Mollison, 18).

September 28.—M.P.C., Country District: Harris, 146; Macandrew, 118; Reynolds, 114; Gillies, 111; Anderson, 97; M'Glashan, 94; (Smith, 86; Chalmers, 79; Shand, 76).

September 29.—Members of Assembly, Dunedin: J. Macandrew unopposed.

October 1.—Members of Assembly, Country District: J. Cargill W. H. Cutten, unopposed.

October 3.—Sale of land by Natives southward of Otago completed at Port Chalmers, documents signed, and first instalment of money paid.

October 8.—Ship "Rajah" arrived from London.

October 21.—Welcome dinner to John M'Glashan, Esq.

November 19.—Preliminary meeting of the Provincial Council Difficuly in the way.

December 10.—Ship "Carnatic" arrived from London.

December 30.—Provincial Council opened; nine members; first session commenced—ended, 25th April, 1854.

1854.

January 13.—Macandrew and Cutten Gazetted as first Executive Council.
 January 28.—J. M'Glashan appointed Solicitor and Treasurer.
 February 5.—Ship "Stately" arrived from London.
 February 22.—Ship "Clutha" arrived from Leith.
 February 13.—Meeting to welcome Revs. Messrs. Wills and Bannerman.
 March 16.—Reynolds appointed member of Executive.
 June 27.—Presbytery of Otago constituted.
 July 8.—Erection of St. Paul's Episcopal Church resolved on.
 July 29.—Ship "Thetis" arrived from London.
 September 8.—Otago Block proclaimed into three Hundreds, named Dunedin, Tokomairiro, and Clutha.
 October 7.—Schooner "Star," of Dunedin, launched.
 October 21.—Custom House to be removed from Port Chalmers to Dunedin.
 October 31.—Provincial Council opened; second session commenced—ended 12th September, 1855.
 November 8.—Ship "Dolphin" arrived from London.
 November 16.—Solemn fast for peace in Europe proclaimed by order of Governor.
 December 4.—Ship "Ashmore" arrived from London.
 December 12.—Ship "Pudsey Dawson" arrived from London.
 December 31.—Population of Province: Males, 1,408; females, 1,149—Total, 2,557.

1855.

January 1.—Cricket Match, Fisher's Side v. Harris' Side: Harris won, 9 wickets to go down.
 January 10.—Joint Stock Sheep Company formed.
 January 19.—Otago Maine Law League formed.
 January 25.—Burns' anniversary celebrated by a dinner.
 March 12.—Public meeting on the land question in Tokomairiro approving 10s. per acre as price of rural land, with 40s. improvement clause. Dr. Schmidt starts on his exploration journey of the Province.
 March 29.—Public meeting in Dunedin with same result as at Tokomairiro.
 April 9.—Ship "Simlah" arrived from London.
 May 31.—Custom House, Port Chalmers, broken into and safe carried away; recovered down the coast, contents safe—about £1,400.
 June 1.—Meeting in aid of Patriotic Fund.
 July 16.—Coal reported as discovered in Tokomairiro.
 August 20.—First Town Board for Dunedin elected: nine member's.
 September 3.—"Gil Blas" arrived with first immigrants from Victoria.
 September 15.—Provincial Council dissolved by Proclamation.
 October 21.—Dunedin Gaol burned: it contained one prisoner, who wrought hard to save the building.
 November 17.—Captain Cargill elected Superintendent second time unopposed.
 November 23.—M.P.C. for Dunedin: Kilgour, 53; Harris, 51; Rennie, 49; Reynolds, 47; Cutten, 45; (Proudfoot, 44; Smith, 36; Carnegie, 36; Shaw, 9.)
 November 26.—M.P.C. Eastern District: Adam,; Martin, Proudfoot, (Kirkland,; Jeffcoat,). No poll.
 November 26.—M.P.C. for Western District: Hepburn, 38; M'Glashan, 37; Smith, 37; (Robertson, 16).
 November 30.—M.P.C. for Central District: Macandrew, 28; Lee, 24; Burns, 23; (Fulton, 16; Shand, 15).
 December 4.—M.P.C. for Tokomairiro District: J. Cargill; Southern District: Shaw and Anderson.
 December 9.—M.P.C. for Port Chalmers: Mansford; Northern District: Williams.
 December 11.—M.H.R. Dunedin Country District: J. Cargill and Captain Cargill unopposed; Town of Dunedin: J. Macandrew unopposed.
 December 22.—*Witness* complains of having only 210 subscribers out of a population of nearly 3,000, and that its predecessor, the *News*, was starved out.
 Return for 1855—Births, 91; Deaths, 13; Marriages, 37.

1856.

January 1.—Population: males, 1562; females, 1290; total, 2852.
 January 13.—"Zingari" arrived from Port Victoria with Governor Browne, Lady, and Suite.
 January 19.—Public *dejeuner* to His Excellency. Provincial Council met.
 January 23.—Ship "Dunedin" arrived from London; 84 days from Port to Port.
 January 25.—Burns's festival celebrated.

February 1.—Ship "Isabella Hercus" arrived from London.
 February 26.—Ship "Southern Cross" arrived from London; brig "Gil Bias," from Melbourne, sailed up to Dunedin.
 March 22.—Constitutional Association formed.
 March 25.—Eighth Anniversary celebrated. Horse races.
 March 29.—Report of Auditors on public accounts.
 April 18.—Tokomairiro Ploughing Match.
 August 15.—Ship "Sir Edward Paget" arrived from London.
 August 26.—Ship "Melpomené" arrived from London.
 October 2.—Ship "Strathmore" arrived from London.
 October 13.—Squatters' Association formed.
 December 2.—Provincial Council met.
 December 26.—First number of *Colonist* issued.

1857.

January 2.—Union Bank of Australia opened.
 January 3.—First Brewery started.
 January 9.—£8 fixed as upset price of quarter-acre section, Invercargill.
 January 14.—Ship "Mariner" arrived from London.
 January 24.—Province proclaimed divided into Counties of Brace and Wallace.
 January 26.—Bums' anniversary celebrated.
 February 2.—First Mail from Dunedin to Waitangi and to Invercargill.
 February 3.—Ship "William and James" arrived from London.
 February 9.—Requisition to Mr. Reynolds, M.P.C., to resign; reply, refusing; leaving for Britain.
 February. 20.—Brig "Worthington" wrecked, Stewart's Island.
 February 15.—Tokomairiro Church opened.
 March 20.—First sale of lands, Invercargill.
 March 27.—Ship "John Masterman" arrived from London.
 April 3.—M.P.C. Eastern District: Young, 40; (Houden, 31).
 April 16.—Ship "Maori" arrived from London.
 April 18.—Ship "Dunedin" arrived from London: brought to anchor in Dunedin Bay.
 June 19.—Discovery of ancient coin at Flannagan's.
 June 26.—Amount transmitted to Patriotic Fund, £485 8s.
 July 7.—M.P.C. Central District: Stevenson, 40; (Shand, 28).
 August 28.—M.P.C. Dunedin: Cutten, 69; (Lambert, 39).
 September 8.—M.P.C. Western District: Purdie, 40; (Lang-lands, 30).
 September 11.—*Colonist* enlarged.
 September 21.—Ship "Lord Hardinge" arrived from London.
 October 14.—Death of P. Proudfoot, Chief Commissioner and Treasurer.
 October 28.—Third Session Provincial Council: Superintendent's address repudiated by Executive.
 November 2.—M.P.C. Eastern District: Lambert, 37; (Howarth, 22).
 November 14.—Row about the money chest. "Southern Cross" arrived from London.
 November 26.—Ship "Bosworth" arrived from London.
 November 30.—Ship "George Canning" arrived from London.
 December 5.—£500 offered for discovery of a goldfield.
 December 24.—Second Annual Ploughing Match, Tokomairiro.

1858.

January 2.—Reward of £500 for discovery of a goldfield; £250 for a coalfield.
 January 8.—Ship "Strathallan" arrived from Leith.
 February 9.—Ship "Robert Henderson" arrived from Glasgow: 84 days' passage.
 February 14.—Ship "Palmyra" arrived from London.
 March 13.—J. M'Glashan Gazetted Deputy-Superintendent.
 March 23.—Tenth anniversary celebrated.
 March 25.—Supreme Court opened by Mr. Justice Gresson.
 March 31.—Old Cemetery closed.

April 1.—New Cemetery opened: regulations issued still in force.
 April 3.—Ship "Rockhampton" arrived from London.
 April 28.—Otago Building and Land Society started.
 April 29.—Ship "Strathfieldsay" arrived from Glasgow.
 May 5.—Ship "Nourmahal" arrived from London. Land regulations issued: rural, 10s. per acre, with improvement clause of 40s.
 May 22.—Ship "Strathallan" sailed for London; first ship direct; cargo, £19,010 13s.; Macandrew and Co. charterers.
 June 5.—J. H. Harris called to Legislative Council.
 June 7.—Meeting to memorialize against division of Province.
 June 15.—M.H.R. Dunedin County: J. P. Taylor, 73; (P. M. Napier, 46).
 June 17.—Ship "Strathfieldsay" sailed for Melbourne; first large ship direct with produce; J. Macandrew and Co. charterers.
 July 13.—Ship "Three Bells" arrived from Glasgow, s.s. "White Swan" arrived, under engagement for inter-provincial trade.
 July 22.—Public meeting of new arrivals as to wages.
 July 27.—s.s. "Queen" arrived at Dunedin; laid on by Macandrew and Co. for trade between Melbourne, Otago, and Canterbury; welcomed with a salute of 20 guns.
 August 31.—Re-apportionment of N.Z. Company's debt between the three Provinces of Middle Island: Nelson, £45,000; Canterbury, £77,500; Otago, £77,500.
 September 16.—Amount transmitted to India Mutiny Relief Fund, £375 6s. 9d.
 September 23.—Ship "Jura" arrived from Glasgow.
 September 24.—M.P.C. Port Chalmers: Thomas Taylor.
 October 5.—Dinner to James Adam on his return as Immigration Agent, s.s. "Lord Worsley" arrived from London.
 October 13.—M.P.C. Northern District: W. H. Teschmaker. M.P.C. Murihiku District: R. Stewart and A. M'Nab.
 October 22.—Meeting to consider the question of steam communication with Melbourne.
 October 27.—Ship "Agra" arrived from London. Kaikorai Flour Mill started.
 November 3.—Fourth Session of Provincial Council opened. Ship "Regina" arrived from London.
 November 4.—Agreement made with Macandrew and Co. for subsidy to steamer "Queen."
 December 28.—Ship "Gloucester" arrived from London.
 December 31.—Return for year: Births, 243; marriages, 51; deaths, 58. Census: Males, 3,321; females, 2,705—Total, 6,086.

1859.

January 12.—M.H.R. Dunedin: J. Macandrew, 40; (Grant, 3).
 January 17.—Ship "Melbourne" arrived from Leith.
 January 25.—s.s. "Pirate" arrived from Melbourne. Heavy flood, doing considerable damage.
 January 31.—p.s. "Geelong" arrived from Melbourne.
 February 10.—Ship "Oriental" arrived from London.
 February 12.—M.P.C. Dunedin: Thomas Dick.
 March 1.—Meeting at Invercargill approving separation.
 March 8.—Ship "Tamora" arrived from London.
 March 9.—Agreement made with Jones, Cargill and Co. for coastal steamer.
 March 14.—District Court opened; J. H. Harris, Judge; no Crown Prosecutor; Court adjourned.
 March 21.—Ship "Equator" arrived from London.
 March 23.—Eleventh anniversary celebrated: horse racing; horticultural show.
 April 5.—Barque "Revival," of Limerick, stranded at Heads.
 April 30.—Harbor steamer "Pride of the Yarra" arrived. Brigantine "Comet" landed stock at Oamaru; first direct from N.S.W.
 May 13.—Inter-colonial R.M.S.S. advertised.
 May 16.—Harbor steamer "Victoria" arrived.
 June 2.—Ship "Mariner" arrived from London.
 June 3.—Ship "Gloucester" sailed for London direct with cargo—£28,636; Jones, Cargill and Co., charterers.
 June 7.—District Court sat for business.

June 23.—M.P.C. Tokomairiro: Smith, 20; (Dewe, 18).
 July 27.—Supreme Court: Judge Harris rebuked by Justice Gresson, and fined £50 for non-attendance as a witness.
 August 10.—Ship "Avonvale" arrived from London.
 August 12.—Duncan's flour mill, Water of Leith, started.
 August 20.—Ship "Henbury" arrived from London.
 August 22.—Ship "Henbury" burned at Port Chalmers.
 September 7.—Ship "Countess of Fife" arrived from London.
 September 12.—Ship "Alpine" arrived from Glasgow; 1,164 tons.
 October 6.—Ship "Sebastian" arrived from London.
 October 8.—Eighth Session Provincial Council opened.
 November 23.—Foundation stone of Knox Church laid.
 November 29.—Ship "Cheviot" arrived from Glasgow.
 December 2.—Ship "Sevilla" arrived from Glasgow.
 December 16.—H.M.S. "Niger" arrived, with Governor Gore Browne.
 December 22.—Levde and *dejeuner* at Provincial Hotel.

1860.

January 3.—J. Macandrew elected Superintendent.
 January 5.—M.P.C.: Dick, 95; Kilgour, 87; Gillies, 72; Cutten, 67; Reynolds, 66; (Strode, 58; Walker, 39; M'Glashan, 32; Kettle, 18; Redmayne, 14; Martin, 8).
 January 10.—Opening of Otago Engine Works and Foundry.
 January 25.—Ship "Bosworth" arrived from London.
 February 22.—Ship "Gala" arrived from Glasgow.
 March 27.—M.H.R. Dunedin Country District: T. B. Gillies. April 1.—"Carolina" lost in New River.
 April 6.—Separation meeting at Invercargill.
 April 11.—Ninth session of Provincial Council.
 April 19.—Schooner "Dunedin" arrived from Dundee.
 April 28.—"Storm Cloud" arrived from Glasgow.
 May 1.—p.s. "Geelong" subsidized for North, and s.s. "Oberan" for South Coastal trade.
 May 6.—Knox Church opened.
 May 23.—M.P.C. Central District: Howarth.
 May 25.—First Town Board of Port Chalmers elected.
 May 30.—Karetai, known as "Jacky White" one of the oldest Maori Chiefs, died.
 June 9.—"Elizabeth" arrived from London.
 June 15.—Third Building Society started: Dunedin Building and Land.
 July 7.—"Ben Nevis" arrived from Leith.
 July 10.—"Kinnaird" arrived from London.
 July 14.—"Isabella Hamilton" arrived from London.
 July 18.—Tenth session of the Provincial Council: price of rural land raised from 10s. to 20s. per acre.
 July 23.—Oriental Bank opened.
 July 25.—Ploughing Match, Tokomairiro: 27 ploughs.
 August 6.—Captain Cargill died.
 August 8.—Masonic Lodge formed.
 August 11.—Agricultural Society meeting.
 August 20.—"Pladda" arrived from Glasgow.
 August 23.—Dunedin Total Abstinence Society formed.
 August 31.—North Taieri Flour Mill started (Culling's).
 September 3.—"Robert Henderson" arrived from Glasgow.
 September 11.—Meeting in aid of Taranaki settlers.
 September 12.—"Bruce" arrived from Glasgow.
 September 24.—"Henrietta" arrived from Glasgow.
 October 1.—"William Miles" arrived from London.
 October 4.—Taieri Ploughing Match.
 October 12.—"Oamaru Lass" wrecked at Oamaru.
 October 14.—"Evening Star" arrived from London.
 October 22.—p.s. "Prince Albert" arrived from Melbourne.

October 29.—"Silistria" arrived from Glasgow
November 1.—First sale of town land in Oamaru on the spot. Masonic Hall Company formed.
December 12.—Eleventh session of Provincial Council. December 26.—"Chili" arrived from London.
December 29.—Regulations for Dunedin and Invercargill districts' Volunteers.
December 31.—Bazaar in aid of Port Chalmers manse.

1861.

January 11.—p.s. "Ada" wrecked at Molyneux.
January 29.—"Lady Egidia" arrived from Glasgow.
January 31.—Agreement for monthly inter-colonial steam service, Royal Mail Steam Packet Co.; Carisbrook proclaimed a Jail; Oriental and Union Banks opened branches at Invercargill.
February 5.—M.P.C. Tokomairiro: Hardy, 53; (Popplewell, 14; Adam, 10).
February 9.—Ship "Cashmere" arrived from London.
February 16.—*Southern News* published Invercargill.
February 20.—Tokomairiro Cattle Show. M.H.R. Dunedin: T. Dick and E. M'Glashan; County of Bruce: T. B. Gillies and C. H. Kettle; Wallace: F. D. Bell and W. B. Mantell; Hampden Captain Frazer.
March 1.—Ship "Chili" sailed for London.
March 2.—Ship "Lizzie Spalding" sailed for London.
March 6.—Macandrew removed from Superintendency; Richardson, as Speaker, assumed office.
March 18.—Ship "Melbourne" arrived from Leith.
March 25.—Anniversary day.
April 1.—Southland, at Murihiku, established as a Province.
April 3.—Ship "Shelbourne" arrived from London.
April 10.—Scene at Waste Land Board Meeting: Fraser and Cutten.
April 22.—Heavy Flood; Mataura Bridge destroyed.
May 1.—Lindis goldfield announced.
May 6.—Circuit Courts appointed at Dunedin.
May 11.—First sale of rural lands in Northern Hundreds. Southland indignant at its name and boundaries; name suggested Menziemanian.
May 17.—Superintendent's election: Richardson, 292; (Macandrew, 189; M'Master, 106).
June 8.—List of voters who supported Macandrew published in *Witness*.
June 12.—M.P.C. Northern District: A. M'Master.
June 17.—Kihvining Lodge, S.C., opened.
June 19.—Twelfth session of Provincial Council.
June 23.—M.P.C. Clutha: A. F. Oswin.
June 24.—Tuapeka Goldfield announced.
July 3.—s.s. "Victory" wrecked at Wicliffe Bay.
July 23.—s.s. "Oberon" wrecked in Bluff Harbor.
July 30.—Ship "Storm Cloud" arrived from Glasgow.
August 3.—First meeting of Southland Provincial Council; J. A. R. Menzies elected first Superintendent.
August 8.—Bank of New South Wales opened; Oriental Bank retired; Ship "Veloce" arrived from London; First Steam Engines and Thrashing Mills imported: J. M'Indoe, Indentor. Oamaru declared port of entry.
August 18.—Male and female prisoner escaped from Jail; caught at Oamaru on 26th. New Hundreds proclaimed Waikouaiti, New Hawksbury, New Moeraki, Otepopo, and New Oamaru.
August 23.—First meeting of Chamber of Commerce.
August 28.—St. John Branigan appointed Commissioner of Police.
September 3.—First Town Board Invercargill elected.
September 8.—Ship "Pladda" arrived from Glasgow.
September 20.—Schooner "Pioneer" wrecked at Clutha mouth.
September 30.—Ship "Vicuna" arrived from London.
October 3.—M.P.C. Dunedin: Paterson, 73; (Hardy, 68).
October 8.—Ship "Robert Henderson" arrived from Glasgow.
October 11.—Cobb and Co.'s first Coach started for diggings.
October 14.—Ship "Remark" arrived from London; M.P.C. Tokomairiro: J. L. Gillies.
October 18.—Sticking-up cases at Maungatua.
October 23.—Thirteenth session Provincial Council.
November 1.—Ship "Winged Arrow" arrived from Glasgow.

November 4.—Boat accident in Harbor; Macandrew nearly drowned.
 November 6.—Blue Mountain Rush.
 November 8.—First Cab on Dunedin streets; Detachment of 70th Regiment landed in Dunedin.
 November 15.—First number of *Daily Times* issued.
 November 26.—Ship "Derwentwater" arrived from London.
 December 1.—Great Fire: Cargill and Co.'s Store, Shand's Bakery, Daily Times Office; £10,000.
 December 2.—Bank of New Zealand opened.
 December 5.—Molyneux declared port of entry; Fourteenth session of Provincial Council.
 December 7.—New hundreds proclaimed: Waitahuna, Pomahaka, and Popotunoa.
 December 12.—Ship "Chili" arrived from London.
 December 15.—Meeting to decide an erection of Roman Catholic Church, Residence, &c.
 December 17.—s.s. "Oscar" wrecked in New River.
 December 20.—Waipori Diggings discovered.

1862.

January 1.—Caledonian Sports at Jones' Horse Bazaar.
 January 4.—Ship "Simoom" arrived from Glasgow; Great flood at Gabriel's Gully.
 January 15.—Ship "Silistria" arrived from Glasgow.
 January 17.—Second session Southland Provincial Council.
 January 21.—Barque "Genevieve from Mauritius, and wrecked at Heads; First direct cargo of sugar: Cargills and Co., agents.
 January 23.—Ship "Ocean Chief" burned in Bluff Harbor.
 January 26.—Defence meeting held in Dunedin.
 January 30.—Wakatip diggings discovered.
 February 15.—Ship "Young America" arrived from Glasgow. News of loss of ship "Eleanor" by fire; from London to Otago.
 February 16.—Ship "Hannah" arrived from London.
 February 24.—M.P.C. Western District: E. B. Cargill unopposed.
 March 4.—*Colonist* published triweekly; Princess Theatre opened.
 March 15.—District Court abolished: Farewell of Judge Harris.
 March 17.—M.H.R. Dunedin: Dick; (Richardson informally proposed.)
 March 24.—Jockey Club Races.
 March 26.—Complimentary dinner and presentation to Capt. M'Lean of the s.s. "Aldinga."
 April 2.—Regatta Club formed.
 April 8.—Ship "Oliver Cromwell" arrived from London.
 April 16.—Fifteenth session of Provincial Council opened; Ship "Akbar" arrived from London with first instalment of immigrants attracted by goldfields.
 May 7.—Ship "Lady Egidia" arrived from London.
 May 10.—Separation Meeting in Princess Theatre; First direct shipment of gold to London by ship "Chariot of Fame," 15,000oz.
 May 24.—Regatta at Port Chalmers; First Telegraph Post on line Dunedin and Port Chalmers erected; Gas and Coke Company projected.
 May 30.—M.H.R. Dunedin: Richardson, 45; (Paterson, 37).
 June 2.—Ship "Zambia" arrived from Glasgow.
 June 5.—C. H. Kettle, first Surveyor of Province, died.
 June 6.—Foundation Stone of Episcopal Church, Moray Place, laid; Ship "Black Swan" arrived from London.
 June 21.—Launch of the "Betsy Douglas," first steamer built in Otago.
 July 12.—Theatre Royal opened. Intense frost; Waiholo Lake frozen over; fit for skating.
 July 13.—St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church opened; Wilson's murder at Molyneux. M.H.R. Bruce: Cargill, 74; (Baldwin, 54.)
 August 7.—Billiard match, Princess Theatre: Lamb, 1000; Townsend, 915.
 August 12.—Caledonian Society organised.
 August 14.—Meeting to organise Fire Brigade.
 August 15.—Hartly and Simmon's discovery of Dunstan Gold-fields.
 September 8.—Ship "Grasmere" arrived from Glasgow.
 September 11.—Ship "Bombay" arrived from London; Ship "Flying Mist" wrecked at Bluff.

September 12.—Nokomai Diggings discovered; s.s. "Guiding-Star" wrecked in New River.
 October 6.—Reducing of Bell Hill commenced.
 October 8.—Ship "Jura" arrived from Glasgow.
 October 13.—Ship "Cheviot" arrived from Glasgow.
 October 14.—C. W. Richmond appointed Supreme Court Judge.
 October 22.—3rd session Provincial Council, Southland.
 November 6.—Schooner "Tamar," from Hobart Town, wrecked at Heads.
 November 8.—Ship "Aboukir" arrived from Glasgow; "Sevilla" from Glasgow.
 November 13.—Mount Benger goldfield proclaimed.
 November 15.—Cardrona diggings announced. M.H.R. Dunedin: Paterson.
 November 17.—Amount transmitted to Lancashire Relief Fund, £756.
 November 10.—Ship "Scoresby" arrived from London.
 November 26.—Sixteenth session of Provincial Council.
 December 6.—Prospectus of Dunedin Waterworks Company issued. M.H.R. Waikouaiti: J.R.Jones; (Vogel, no poll).
 December 8.—Ship "Storm Cloud" arrived at Bluff from Glasgow.

1863.

January 1.—First Grand Gathering Caledonian Society on Grange Estate; Vauxhall Garden opened with sports; p.s. "Lady of the Lake" launched at Pelichet Bay.
 January 4.—Cobb's coach made journey from Dunstan in one-day. Barque "Time and Truth" wrecked at Bluff; 2000 sheep-lost.
 January 11.—Disastrous fire at Dunstan.
 January 12.—p.s. "Golden Age" arrived from Melbourne.
 January 15.—Sitting of Supreme Court: Mr Justice Richmond Resident Judge.
 January 19.—Ship "Ben Lomond" arrived from Glasgow.
 January 23.—Complimentary dinner to Major Richardson at Dunstan.
 February 4.—Fire in Princes street (Butements).
 February 5.—Tairoa, Maori Chief, died; Taieri Agricultural Show.
 February 7.—Provincial Council dissolved by proclamation.
 February 12.—Ship "John Duncan" arrived from London.
 February 22.—4th session Provincial Council, Southland.
 February 27.—Garriek Club performance in aid of Lancashire Relief Fund: £113 taken.
 March 4.—New Zealand Champion and Otago Jockey Club Races at Silverstream: Champion winner Ladybird, Prize, £1000, with sweeps; time, 5 min. 52½ sees.; distance, 3 miles.
 March 5.—Northern Agricultural and Pastoral Society formed at Oamaru.
 March 19.—Return of Hector's West Coast Expedition.
 March 20.—Ship "Arima" arrived from Glasgow.
 March 23.—Fifteenth Anniversary of Province. Regatta in Dunedin Bay. p.s. "Planet" wrecked Taieri mouth. Murder of "Yorky" at Miller's Flat.
 March 28.—M.H.R. Dunedin and Suburbs North: Major Richardson.
 April 6.—M.H.R. Dunedin and Suburbs South: Reynolds, 77; (Vogel, 31; Cutten, 11).
 April 9.—Election of Superintendent: Harris, 560; (Richardson, 432).
 April 13.—Barque "Charlotte Andrews" from San Francisco; ship "Gladiator" from New York.
 April 14.—M.H.R. Goldfields: Baldwin and Brodie unopposed. April 17.—Fire in Princes street at Jones and Williamson's
 April 19.—Ship "Silistria" arrived from Glasgow.
 April 20.—Stern-wheel steamer "Tuapeka" launched at Port Chalmers.
 April 22.—Acting Provincial Executive gazetted.
 May 1.—First number of *Evening Star* issued.
 May 5.—District Surveyor M'Kerrow's Reconnaissance survey of Lake district published.
 May 9.—Gas lit for first time in Dunedin from Gas Works.
 May 22 Provincial Council elections, 35 members: Waikari: Hepburn, 22; (Junor, 8). North Harbor: Cargill, 39; Duncan, 33; (M'Glashan, 23; Duke, 16). Dunedin: Dick, 302; Reynolds, 261; Birch, 241; Cargill, 240; Moss, 238; Kilgour, 235; Paterson, 165; (Webb, 150; Redmayne, 135; Switzer, 132; Vogel, 114; Walker, 57). Green Island and Caversham: Lloyd, 31; Blair, 26; (M'Glashan, 23; Martin, 16). Lindis: Walker. Port Chalmers: Macandrew, 27; (Taylor, 11). Wailioli: Mollison. Tokomairiro: Dewe, 52; Gillies, 47; Hardy, 43;

(Adam, 34). Clutha: Richardson, Steele, and M'Kenzie. Waikouaiti: Vogel, 21; (M'Glashan, 16). Manuherikia: Murison. Goldfields: Baldwin, Brodie, Hughes. Taieri: Stevenson, 85; Reid, 79; Bums, 77; Rennie, 72; (Shand, 72; Howorth, 34; Shand, 24). Oamaru Country: Gleeson. Oamaru Town: Miller. Matau: Mansford. Peninsula: Morris. Wakatipu: Pinkerton.

May 25.—Queen's Birthday holiday. Christening Fire-Brigade bell. Loyal Dunedin Lodge, M.U., I.O.O.F. Ball. Regatta, Port Chalmers.

May 29.—Caple's successful penetration to the West Coast from Lake Wakatip announced. Tokomairiro Presbyterian Church opened.

June 4.—Ship "Electric" arrived from Glasgow.

June 5.—Slight earthquake felt.

June 8.—Detachment of 70th Regiment left Dunedin.

June 12.—Foundation of Bank of Australasia laid.

June 20.—M.H.R. Dunedin and Suburbs South: Paterson, 105; (Vogel, 72).

June 22.—Fire at the Courthouse.

Ship "Prince of Wales" arrived from London.

June 30.—Prince of Wales' marriage celebrated.

July 3.—Ship "Motoaka" arrived from London.

July 4.—Collision in the Harbor: Steamers "Favorite" and "Pride of the Yarrow;" Rev. H. Campbell, Rector of the High School, wife, five children, and two servants, who had previous day arrived from London, drowned.

July 9.—Great floods at Dunstan, Arrow, &c.

July 12.—Ship "Victory" arrived from Glasgow.

July 18.—Amount of subscription to English and Scottish District Relief Fund, £2835 3s 1½d.'

July 21.—*Daily Times* publishes list of electors who voted at Port Chalmers election.

July 24.—Taieri Agricultural Society's Annual Ploughing Match.

July 25.—Ship "Wave Queen" arrived from Glasgow.

July 30.—Second disastrous flood, Shotover and Arrow.

July 31.—Annual Ploughing Match at Green Island.

August 4.—Opening of the High School.

August 5.—Trial trip of stern-wheel steamer "Tuapeka,"

August 12.—Seventeenth session of Provincial Council.

August 13.—Ship "Ocean Home" arrived from London.

August 15.—Loss of life by an avalanche at Serpentine Gully.

August 18.—Case of Sticking up at Woodney's Hotel, Hogburn.

September 1.—Ship "City of Dunedin" arrived from Glasgow. Ships "Crimea and Dudbrook" from London.

September 3.—First lighting of Dunedin streets with gas.

September 4.—Ship "Mallard" arrived from London. First escort from Mount Ida arrived in town. M.H.R. Dunedin and Suburbs North: Vogel unopposed.

September 6.—M.P.C. Waiholo: Mollison, 20; (Dyer, 18).

September 13.—Ship "Sir Ralph Abercrombie" from London.

September 15.—Ship "Mataura" from Glasgow. Schooner "Highland Lassie" wrecked in New River.

September 16.—Seizure of effects of Dunedin Town Board by the bailiff under a distress levy.

September 26.—Oamaru Ploughing Match. Police-Sergeant Garvey perished in snow storm at Mount Ida.

October 6.—Mr Vogel, M.P.C. for Waikouaiti, censured by the Council for contempt.

October 8.—Return of Dr. Hector from West Coast Expedition.

October 10.—5th session of Provincial Council, Southland.

October 13.—Ship "Phoebe Dunbar" from London.

October 14.—West Taieri Goldfields announced.

October 27.—First appearance of Miss Julia Matthews.

November 3.—Wreck of brig "Lochinvar" at Port William.

November 9.—Prince of Wales Birthday celebrated.

November 10.—Ship "Nelson" arrived from Glasgow.

November 12.—Ship "Persian" arrived from London.

November 23.—Oamaru proclaimed a warehousing port.

November 25.—First sod of Oreti Railway turned. Ship "Star of Tasmania" arrived from London. Ship "Chile" arrived from London, p.s. "City of Dunedin" arrived from Glasgow.

November 26.—Ship "Dauntless" arrived from London. Local Fire and Marine Insurance Company projected.

- November 30.—Ship "General Wyndham" arrived from London.
 December 2.—First meeting of New Zealand Building and Mutual Investment Society.
 December 5.—Ship "Viola" arrived from Glasgow; ship "Daniel Rankin" arrived from Glasgow.
 December 8.—Bank of Otago opened.
 December 12.—New Zealand Banking Corporation opened. Cricketing Match: 11 Victoria v. 11 Dunedin; Dunedin won. p.s. "Peninsula" launched.
 December 22.—Ship "Bombay" arrived from Clyde.
 December 26.—Cricket Match and Games Recreation Grounds South.

1864.

- January 1.—Caledonian Gathering.
 February 1.—All England Eleven Cricketers arrived.
 February 2.—Great fire in Stafford and Hope streets; £50,000 loss. Heavy gale.
 February 2 and 3.—Cricket Match. Scores: Otago Twenty-two, 154; All England Eleven, 158, with 9 wickets to go down.
 February 10.—6th session of Provincial Council, Southland.
 February 17.—Foundation Stone of Exhibition Building laid Masonically.
 March 5.—Fire at Invercargill: Union Bank, two hotels; loss £15,000; two women burned to death.
 March 8.—M.P.C, Clutha: Thompson.
 March 10.—Jockey Club Races at Silverstream.
 March 11.—s.s. "Scotia" arrived from Glasgow, first of Otago Steam Co.'s fleet; Southland *Daily News* issued; Price of 4lb. loaf, 1s 4d.
 March 12.—Cargill Monument, Octagon, commenced.
 March 22.—Foundation Stone Congregational Church laid.
 March 23.—Sixteenth anniversary: Horticultural Show. Tilting Tourney at Vauxhall.
 March 30.—Moa skeleton found in South Recreation Grounds.
 March 31.—M.P.C. Wakatip: Clapcott.
 April 6.—First Coach through from Dunedin to Invercargill.
 April 7.—Eighteenth session Provincial Council.
 April 16.—*Bruce Herald*, issued.
 April 21.—Foundation Stone Baptist Church laid.
 April 3.—Steeplechase at Anderson's Bay.
 April 27.—Port Molyneux a port of entry.
 May 2.—Justice Chapman took his seat on the Bench.
 May 5.—M.P.C. North Harbor: Street, 52; (Walker, 39).
 May 14.—s.s. "Albion" arrived from Glasgow.
 May 27.—Southland promissory notes issued.
 June 2.—s.s. "Scotia" wrecked at Bluff Harbor.
 June 14.—M.P.C. Tokomairiro: Clarke 56; (Dyer, 35).
 June 24.—Fire in George-street: £5000loss.
 June 29.—Foundation of Tairoa's Heads Lighthouse.
 July 2.—*Otago Mail* issued.
 July 4.—First coach for Dunstan *via* North Road.
 July 9.—p.s. "Bruce" launched at Dunedin.
 July 15.—Taieri Agricultural Society's Ploughing Match.
 July 18.—7th session of Provincial Council, Southland.
 July 25.—High School opened; Rev. Mr Simmons, Rector.
 July 28.—Dunedin District Ploughing Match.
 July 30.—Tokomairiro Ploughing Match.
 August 11.—Installation of first Grand Master of Provincial Grand Lodge of Otago, E.C.
 August 20.—Tender for new Post Office Building accepted.
 August 22.—Second Anniversary Dunedin Fire Brigade.
 September 1.—Waikouaiti Ploughing Match.
 September 3.—M.P.C. Tokomairiro: Dyer 55; (Murray, 36).
 September 9.—Dunedin Water Works Company formed.
 September 12.—Dunedin Savings Bank opened: depositors., 127; amount, £717.
 September 17.—Financial difficulties in Southland.

September 23.—Benevolent Institution Bazaar: £1100 realized.
 September 25.—Jewish Synagogue, Dunedin, consecrated.
 October 1.—M.P.C. Clutha: Thompson, 62; (Dalrymple, 57;) Lindis, Walker.
 October 11.—Nineteenth session Provincial Council.
 October 14.—Champion Ploughing Match at Caversham: 32 competitors.
 October 16.—Fire in Dowling-street: Millar's, F.S.A.
 October 17.—Oreti Railway to be opened. Proposal to start a Bank for the benefit of Southland.
 October 22.—Alarm as to safety of Exhibition Building, caused by Mr Adam's statement in Provincial Council.
 October 31.—Fire in Tay-street, Invercargill: £6000.
 November 2.—Death of John M'Glashan, Esquire.
 November 3.—Public meeting in Theatre as to price of meat; Government urged to open ports for cattle importation. Inauguration of Port Chalmers Athenæum.
 November 11.—First Exhibition of Northern Agricultural and Pastoral Society at Oamaru.
 November 26.—Southland Provincial Council elections.
 December 1.—8th session of Provincial Council, Southland: Row as to Superintendent.
 December 9.—Fire at Dee street, Invercargill: £7000.
 December 16.—Trotting match from Tokomairiro to Dunedin, 35 miles: 2½hours. M.P.C. Dunedin: Bastings, 412; (Barr, 347; M'Leod, 122; Maddock, 16).
 December 28.—Roberts, billiard player, in Dunedin; Third Show Taieri Agricultural Society.

1865.

January 2.—Caledonian Society Games: Recreation Grounds North; Grand Stand 360 feet long. Oddfellows at Vauxhall.
 January 6.—Enthusiastic Separation Meeting at Princess Theatre.
 January 10.—Horticultural Society Show.
 January 11.—Laughable hoax at midnight announcing arrival of Governor.
 January 12.—New Zealand Exhibition opened by J. H. Harris, Esq., Superintendent; First Intercolonial Cattle Show, North Re-creation Grounds.
 January 13.—J. P. Taylor elected Superintendent of Southland.
 January 15.—Fire in Stafford street, man burnt to death.
 January 18.—Large comet observed in south-west. Soiree Total Abstiners' Union.
 January 19.—Fire in Hope street.
 January 20.—Annual meeting of Athenæum and Mechanics Institute.
 January 23.—Lyster's Opera Company, second series.
 January 24.—Great fire, Princes street: Original First Church, Bank of Otago, £25,000.
 January 25.—Annual meeting of Ayrshire Association of Otago.
 February 5.—Great Northern Hotel, Invercargill, burned.
 February 6 & 7.—Cricket match, Canterbury and Otago, at Christchurch.
 February 8.—Separation meeting, Princess Theatre, for opinion of Representatives, adjourned till 20th inst.; Great fire, Octagon and Princes street, £11,000.
 February 11.—Foundation of All Saints' Church laid.
 February 16.—Opening of First Church new building.
 February 22.—Bazaar in aid of Baptist Church: £600, four days.
 February 24.—Volunteer ball in Universal Bond.
 March 8.—Murder of David Stewart at Matura.
 March 13.—Former election being informal, J. P. Taylor reelected Superintendent of Southland. Barque "Gazehound" wrecked at Oamaru.
 March 15.—Another fire in Octagon: Henry & Co., Telegraph Hotel, &c., £15,000; First trial of Captain Jarvey commenced, for poisoning his wife. Jury discharged, not agreeing on verdict: Trial lasted seven days.
 March 18.—M.P.C. Manuherikia: M'Pherson, 29, (Bell 6).
 March 23.—Seventeenth anniversary of the Province.
 March 29.—Murder of "German Charlie," in Alva street, Dunedin.
 April 6, 7, 8.—Dunedin races at Silver Stream.
 April 8.—M.H.R. Bruce County: Burns, 102; (Dyer, 78.)
 April 12.—Twentieth session Provincial Council in Farley's Hall; M.P.C. Matau, Bell.
 April 13.—Ordinance dissolving Dunedin Town Board, and appointing Commissioners passed through all

its stages, and received His Honor's assent same day; Town Board met and appointed Committee of Action to keep possession of the office and papers; Execution levied by the Sheriff on the Province of Southland for £10,000.

April 17.—Committee of Action met, locked up safe and doors, entrusting keys to Mr Bastings for safe keeping.

April 18.—Formal demand made by solicitor to Commission for key.

April 19.—First Provincial Grand Master of the Colony under S.C. initiated.

April 21.—Meeting of ratepayers in St George's Hall denouncing the Provincial Council for "executing the Town Board." Com missioners resigned. Board resolved to keep the keys. Steamer "Tuapeka" brought round from Clutha to Dunedin.

May 6.—New Zealand Exhibition closed.

May 8.—New Commissioners appointed, Forman, Bastings, and Grey, having the keys in possession.

May 12.—Provincial Council suddenly adjourned from danger of the building. A false alarm.

May 15.—Telegraph between Dunedin and Invercargill opened.

May 22.—Telegraph between Dunedin and Christchurch opened.

May 24.—Queen's birthday: Regatta at Port Chalmers. Presentation of colors to Port Naval Brigade.

May 25.—Supreme Court in Banco—affairs of Southland.

May 27.—Slight earthquake: Southland, £20,000 worth of railway plant sold under execution for £273.

May 29.—M.H.R. Goldfields: Haughton, 237; (Bradshaw, 149; Campbell, 130.)

June 3.—Paddle steamer "City of Dunedin lost."

June 7.—10th session of Provincial Council, Southland.

June 10.—J. H. Harris resigned Superintendence.

June 17.—Public meeting as to relief of sufferers in "City of Dunedin."

June 19.—Second trial of Jarvey for wife-poisoning commenced. Adjourned till next session, Dr. M'Adam not being able to attend.

July 11.—Night attack on Dunedin: Volunteer corps.

July 14.—Taieri Ploughing Match.

July 15.—Nomination for Superintendency: Dick, Clapcott, M'Glashan

July 17.—Nomination for first Mayor of Dunedin: Forman, Mason, Paterson, Wilson, M'Gregor.

July 21.—Mayoral election: Mason, 494; (Paterson, 398; M'Gregor, 88; Wilson, 73; Forman, 10.)

July 22.—Foundation of Benevolent Institution laid.

July 23.—All Saints' Church opened.

July 25.—Discovery of Quartz reefs at Skippers and Arrow.

July 26.—M.H.R. Bruce County: Macandrew, 207; (J. Cargill, 34.)

July 28.—Great Blast at Blue Spur.

August 1.—First City Council, Dunedin, election: South Ward, Chalmers, 186; Griffin, 176; (Crate, 70.) High Ward, Barr, 253; Carrick, 249; (Langlands, 145.) Bell Ward, Ross, 244; Birch, 122; (Lovell, 85; Sholl, 77; Smith, 71.) Leith Ward, Driver, 195; Turner, 168; (Barnes, 136; Copeland, 63; Wilson, 24.)

August 4.—Election of Superintendent: Dick, 990; (M'Glashan, 565; Clapcott, retired.) Dog Island lighthouse illuminated for first time.

August 6.—First meeting of City Council.

August 16.—Severe thunder storm, Lakes district.

August 20.—Third anniversary of Fire Brigade.

September 11.—Second trial of Jarvey for wife-poisoning commenced, finishing on 15th: prisoner condemned.

October 5.—Southern Steam Navigation Company formed.

October 11.—M.P.C., Dunedin: Grant, 433; Haggitt, 418; (Mason, 291; Birch, 226.)

October 24.—First execution in Otago: Jarvey.

October 27.—M.P.C.: Clyde, Isaacs; Wakatip, Maddock; Tuapeka, Brown.

November 1.—M.P.C.: Queenstown District, Haughton, 51; (Manders, 14.)

November 9.—Prince of Wales birthday: Holiday.

November 15.—Twenty-first session Provincial Council. Banquet to W. H. Reynolds, Esq. H.M. c.s.s. Victoria, Commander Norman, at Port Chalmers. Banquet to Messrs Macandrew and Burns, M.H.R.'s, at Clutha.

November 17.—Meeting of Assembly of Presbyterian Church.

December 18.—11th session of Provincial Council, Southland.

December 23.—Foundation stone of Oamaru Jetty laid.

December 25.—Appointment of Bishop Jenner to See of Dunedin announced.

December 27.—Fancy Fair in aid of Benevolent Institution.
December 29.—Scene in Provincial Council: Mr Lloyd, sole Executive.

1866.

- January 1.—Caledontan sports, fourth gathering. M.U. Odd-fellows, Vauxhall.
January 4.—Municipal Corporations Ordinance passed.
January 12.—Ball in aid of Benevolent Institution, s.s. "Tairoa" launched at Port Chalmers.
January 13.—First Meeting of Synod of Otago and Southland.
January 16.—Foundation of Episcopal Church, Tokomairiro.
January 22.—Annual Meeting of Athenæum and Mechanics' Institute.
January 29.—First Mayor's Court held at Dunedin.
January 31.—Sheriff Forman arrested at Heads for robbery as a baillee.
February 3.—Otago Rifle Association: Presentation of Prizes.
February 6.—Forman discharged by His Worship Mayor Mason.
February 13.—Cricket match: Otago, 167 and 2 wickets to fall; Canterbury, 164.
February 28.—M.H.R., Waikouaiti: Murison, 37; (Vogel, 35.) Goldfields: Vogel and O'Neill.
March 1 & 2.—First Show Agricultural and Pastoral Society of Otago.
March 4.—Fire in Maclaggan street: Caledonian, Melbourne, and Scandinavian Hotels, £18,000.
March 7 & 8.—Dunedin Jockey Club Races: Silver Stream. M.H.R.'s: Taieri, Reid; Bruce, Cargill; Hampden, Haughton; Clutha, Macandrew; Riverton, Hankinson; Mataura, Bell; Invercargill, Wood, 75; (Heales, 73;) Dunedin, Paterson, 610; Reynolds, 609; (Grant, 215; Millar, 214; Birch, 119;) Goldfields Boroughs, Bradshaw, 75; (Main, 70; Manders, 7;) Manuherikia, Baldwin, 63; (Jack, 10;) Caversham, Burns, 88; (Cantrell, 47; Robertson, 43;) Port Chalmers, Dick; Roslyn, Hepburn, 81 (Borton, 54; Grant, 7;) Oamaru, Campbell, 80; (Ingram, 43;) Wallace, M'Neill.
March 8.—12th session of Provincial Council, Southland.
March 20.—Second annual ball: Dunedin Volunteers, in Exhibition building.
March 23.—Anniversary of Province: Caledonian Gathering, special games. Volunteer encampment at Taieri.
March 29.—Colonial prize for rifle shooting at Wellington: Champion belt and silver medal, Corporal Christie, East Taieri; 2nd prize, Corporal Taylor, No. 2 Scottish. Queenstown declared a Municipality.
March 31.—M.P.C., Taieri: Vogel, 82; (Burns, 56.)
April 2.—Regatta at Dunedin Bay. Dunedin City Council prohibited bell-ringing in streets; horn-blowing started.
April 6.—Ball on opening Otago Benevolent Institution, Caver sham. Second execution in Otago: John Jones, *alias* Poole.
April 10.—M.P.C., Waikouaiti: Orbell, 41; (Mitchell, 35; Webb, 9.)
April 16.—First portion of Benevolent Institution building occupied.
April 22.—Presentation of General Government prizes to Volunteers at Exhibition buildings.
April 26.—Musical soiree in aid of St Joseph's Church, in Exhibition buildings. Telegraph opened to Dunstan.
May 2.—Cromwell incorporated as a town. M.P.C. Taieri: Driver, Shand. 13th session of Provincial Council, Southland.
May 22.—Second annual meeting of Acclimatisation Society.
May 24.—Port Chalmers Regatta.
May 31.—Cinnabar reported as found at Waipori.
June 27.—Bazaar in aid of St. Paul's and All Saints' Church.
July 18.—14th session of Provincial Council, Southland.
July 21.—Mayors elected: Dunedin: Mason, 612; (Grant, 231; Ross, 16). Port Chalmers: Rolfe, 92; (Taylor, 67; Dyason, 12). Hawkesbury: Orbell, 45; (Smith, 37). Milton: Brown, 49; (Forsyth, 46). Clyde: Ferraud. Cromwell: Barry. Queens-town: Robertson, 40; (Fuller, 29).
July 27.—Julia Matthews' Farewell Benefit.
August 7.—Malting started at Well Park Brewery.
August 21.—Oamaru Ploughing Match.
August 24.—Prisoners Robson and Langham escaped from Gaol. Langham shot, Robson wounded.
August 26.—Cook's Straits Cable successfully laid.
August 30.—M.P.C. Tokomairiro: Landells.
September 3.—First number of *Otago Punch*.

October 10.—Meeting of Agricultural and Pastoral Society of Otago. Great flood at Manuherikia. Demonstration in Dunedin on return of members of Assembly.

October 15.—Great meeting in Princess Theatre: Dunedin and its Representatives.

October 17.—Annual Horse Show.

November 3.—Fire in Provincial Council Hall.

November 6.—Twenty-second session of Provincial Council; met in new building.

December 6.—First Show Tokomairiro Farmers' Club, Grain, &c.

December 7.—18th Anniversary of H. and H. Lodge of Oddfellows.

December 8.—Foundation Stone of Oamaru Masonic Hall laid.

December 11.—Slight shocks of earthquake.

December 15.—Sale of leases Dunedin Town Belt. Opposition.

December 16.—Disastrous fire at Tokomairiro: 7 horses burned.

December 20.—Provincial Council prorogued to be dissolved.

December 21.—Schooner "Clarendon" wrecked at Moeraki.

December 27.—Taieri Agricultural Society's Annual Show.

December 29.—Volunteer Encampment at Kaikorai.

1867.

January 1.—Fifth Gathering Caledonian Society.

January 2.—Bazaar in aid of St. Joseph's Church.

January 7.—Brigantine "Den Dherdj" a Foo-chow-foo. First direct cargo of tea: W. and G. Turnbull & Co.

January 8.—Meeting of Synod of Otago and Southland.

January 9.—Second Show Agricultural Pastoral Society of Otago, North Recreation Grounds. Horticultural Society's Show.

January 11.—Provincial Council dissolved.

January 14.—Fifteenth Session Provincial Council, Southland.

January 19.—M.H.R., Dunedin: Reynolds, 333; (Grant, 52.)

January 22.—Dunedin Philharmonic Society, Third Meeting.

January 25.—Burns' Anniversary celebrated. Dinner in Farley's Hall.

February 4.—Nomination for Superintendent: Dick and Macandrew.

February 5.—Bluff and Invercargill Railway officially opened for traffic.

February 14.—Arrival of His Excellency Governor Sir George Grey.

February 15.—Volunteer Review and Ball.

February 18.—Governor's Levée.

February 20.—Election of Superintendent Macandrew, 2,260; (Dick, 1,392.)

February 21.—Annual Meeting of Otago and Southland Rural Deanery Board.

March 1.—Dinner in Celebration of Macandrew's Election. Provincial Council Election, 39 Members—The Lakes : Haughton. Waihola : Mollison; Lindis : France; Port Chalmers : Taylor, 62; (Malcolm, 58). Wakari : Driver, 83; (Cunningham, 43.) Taieri : Shand, 123; Robertson, 123; Burns, 116; Reid, 85; (Stevenson, 76; Culling, 63; Paterson, 13.) Dunedin : Duncan, 753; Reynolds, 746; Turnbull, 737; Vogel, 705; Sibbald, 644 : Millar, 571; Haggitt, 495; (M'Indoe, 456; Kidston, 404; Turner, 391; Barnes, 387; Smith, 286; Bell, 285; Ross, 246; Carrick, :225; Cargill, 195; Grant 88; Graham, 9.) Waikouaiti: Mitchell, 101; (Orbell, 59.) Oamaru County: Hutchinson, 66; (Gleeson, 24.) North Harbor : Green, 73; M'Dermid, 66; (Turner, 51; Simpson, 36; Macfarlane, 20; Switzer, 19; McFadyen, 18.) Oamaru Town : Julius. Tokomairiro : Muir, 86; Clark, 78; Murray, 78; (Kidston, 69; Hardy, 51; Adams, 45; Barnes, 45; Landels, 24; Dyer, 2.) Clutha: Thomson, Henderson, M'Keznie, (Richardson.) Green Island and Caversham : M'Indoe, 80; Barr, 65; (Fulton, 60; Blair, 55; Martin, 36; Lloyd, 25; Graham, 7.) Dunstan : Frazer, 80; (Isaacs, 25.) Goldfields : Brown, 404; Mouatt, 345; Shepherd, 343; Nicholson, 280; M'Intyre, 199; O'Neill, 63.) Tuapeka : Hughes, 186; (Groves, 97.) Peninsula : Seaton, 103; (Hutchison, 74.) Manuherikia, Main.

March, 13.—Schooners "Stately" and "Vixen" wrecked at Oamaru.

March 15.—Governor's departure from Province.

March 21.—Dunedin Jockey Club Races at Silverstream.

March 26.—Horticultural Society's Show. 19th Anniversary.

April 1.—Largest Fire yet occurred in Dunedin, both sides of -Princes street from Moray Place to Octagon, £35,000 to £40,000.

April 3.—S.S. "South Australia," wrecked at Coal Point, 14 miles north from Nuggets.

April 5.—M.H.R., Manuherikia : Mervyn, 51; (Jack, 33.)

April 16.—Bradshaw appointed General-Government Agent for Otago Goldfields. Strong feeling of indignation expressed.

April 24.—Private Meeting of Members of Provincial Council to consider action of General Government, 22 Members present.

April 25.—Public Meeting at Octagon condemning action of General Government.

April 26.—Meeting of Volunteers at Dunedin and Port Chalmers to consider their position, signs of disturbance at Lawrence, Waitahuna, &c.

May 1.—Twenty-third Session of Provincial Council.

May 12.—Hon. J. C. Richmond, Commissioner of Customs, arrives on behalf of General Government; and on the 16th writes the Superintendent that an important Member of his Executive was present and took part in the irregular proceedings on the Goldfields. On the 17th, His Honor replies, asking in what capacity he makes the statement. On the 18th, this reply is acknowledged as having been received.

May 27.—Sixteenth Session Provincial Council, Southland.

May 31.—Great Meeting in Theatre on Provincial and General Government relations.

June 1.—Plebiscite of Province taken on Goldfields management. Result in favor of Provincial management, 8,307; of General 147.

June 5.—Grain and Seed Show, Tokomairiro.

June 15.—M.H.R., Port Chalmers: Main, 92; (Malcolm, 81; M'Dermid, 22; M'Indoe, 1.)

July 9.—Taieri Annual Ploughing Match.

July 16.—Port Chalmers Mayor: Rolfe re-elected.

July 18.—Public Meeting in Theatre on Goldfields delegation.

July 21.—Green Island Ploughing Match.

July 22.—Mayor of Dunedin: Harris, 340; (Turner, 273; Birch, 200; Millar, 101). Oamaru: Gibbs, 154; (Lukes, :70; France, 27.)

August 9.—Waikouaiti Ploughing Match.

August 16.—Public Meeting on Education Question.

August 20.—Fifth Anniversary Volunteer Fire Brigade.

September 10.—Seventeenth Session Prov. Council, Southland.

September 18.—Trout ova from Tasmania placed in breeding box, Water of Leith.

October 28.—Hull of dredge "New Era," launched at Port Chalmers; Steam Ploughs introduced into Southland.

November 11.—P.S. "Wallace" launched at Dunedin.

November 13.—All Saints' Church Bazaar. Fourth Annual Show, Agricultural and Pastoral Society, Oamaru.

November 23.—Heavy gale and flood. Schooner "Caroline" wrecked at Oamaru.

December 5.—P.S. "Geelong" sailed on expedition to Martin's Bay.

December 9.—Dunedin Water Works formally opened.

December 10.—Tokomairiro Farmers' Club Annual Show.

December 18.—Martin's Bay Expedition returned.

December 20.—Census of Province taken.

December 26.—Fourth Fete of Oddfellows at Vauxhall.

December 27.—Sixth Show of Taieri Agricultural Society.

1868.

January 1.—Sixth Annual Gathering Caledonian Society.

January 3.—First Show of Clutha Agricultural Society.

January 9.—Third Show Otago Agricultural and Pastoral Society.

January 6.—Eighteenth Session Provincial Council, Southland.

January 14.—Annual Meeting of Presbyterian Synod.

January 24.—Horticultural Show in New Post Office Buildings Burns' Anniversary celebrated.

January 29.—Annual Meeting Rural Deanery Board.

February 3.—Heavy Gales and Floods. Ships "Star of Tasmania" and "Water Nymph" and schooner "Otago" wrecked at Oamaru. Steamer "William Miskin" wrecked at Timaru.

February 6.—First Trial of Dredge "New Era."

February 11.—Fifth Annual Cricket Match at South Recreation Grounds: Canterbury, 102; Otago, 104, with nine wickets to fall.

February 20.—Day of Humiliation for Disasters by Sea and Land.

March 20.—Dunedin Jockey Club Races.
 March 24.—20th Anniversary. Fire Brigade Fete at Vauxhall.
 April 8.—Twenty-fourth Session of Provincial Council.
 April 20.—T. Birch elected Mayor of Dunedin in room of J. H. Harris, resigned.
 April 27.—Nineteenth Session Provincial Council, Southland.
 May 2.—Salmon ova arrived from London by "Celestial Queen."
 May 9.—Schooner "Jane Anderson" launched at Waikava.
 May 12.—Reception of Volunteers on return from Wellington. Grand Assembly.
 May 22.—Grain and Seed Show, Tokomairiro.
 May 25.—Her Majesty's Birthday celebrated: Public Demonstration. Expression of sympathy with Duke of Edinburgh. Presentation of Prizes to Volunteers.
 May 28.—Foundation Stone of new First Church, Bell Hill, laid.
 May 30.—Dunedin Regatta. Tradesmens' Races, Ocean Beach.
 May 31.—Foundation Stone of Masonic Hall laid.
 June 5.—Taieri Society's Annual Ploughing Match.
 June 12.—Heavy Snow Storm in Dunstan district.
 July 16.—Dunedin Agricultural Society's Ploughing Match. T. Birch re-elected Mayor of Dunedin, unopposed.
 July 17.—Fire at Commercial Stables, £12,000.
 July 18.—Captain Frazer gazetted Deputy-Superintendent.
 July 20.—Foundation Stone of Graving Dock laid.
 July 24.—M.H.R., Waikouaiti: Mitchell, 119; (Gordon, 110.)
 July 30.—Mayoral Elections: Port Chalmers: T. Taylor. Lawrence: H. Bastings. Oamaru: S. Gibbs. Clyde: J. Hazlett, Alexandra: R. Finlay. Cromwell: W. Whetter. Queenstown: J. W. Robertson.
 August 3.—Floating Dock, Port Chalmers, launched.
 August 10.—First Performance Garrick Club, Princess Theatre.
 August 15.—Public Meeting in Dunedin on Cemeteries Bill. Great Earthquake or Tidal Wave.
 August 14.—Oamaru Ploughing Match.
 August 26.—S.S. "Salamander" arrived from London.
 August 31.—Presentation to Rev. Dr. Burns.
 September 28.—Twentieth Sess. Prov. Council, Southland.
 October 8.—Balclutha Bridge opened.
 November 6.—Political Meeting in Dunedin to hear Representatives: Mr. Paterson declined to attend, and resolution passed asking him to resign.
 November 7.—Steamer "Antrim" launched at Lake Wakatip.
 November 9.—Prince of Wales' Birthday. Foresters at Vauxhall.
 November 14.—Argyle Water Race, Switzer's completed.
 November 24.—Public Meeting called by Superintendent to consider the serious condition of Affairs in the North Island,
 November 30.—Twenty-first Session Prov. Council, Southland.
 December 2.—Second Show Clutha Agricultural and Pastoral Society.
 December 10.—Third Show Tokomairiro Fanners' Club.
 December 14.—Brigantine "Emulous" arrived from Nova Scotia, with immigrants.
 December 26.—Tradesmens' Races, Oddfellows' Fete, Vauxhall.
 December 29.—Seventh Show, Taieri Agricultural Society.

1869.

January 1.—Seventh Annual Gathering Caledonian Society. First number of *Evangelist* monthly magazine issued.
 January 3.—First Sunday. Heavy Gale and Floods.
 January 10.—Volunteer Encampment, North Recreation Grounds: Total number, 255.
 January 15.—Fourth Show Otago Agricultural and Pastoral Society.
 January 21.—Waikouaiti and Shag Valley Show.
 January 25.—Burns' Anniversary: Dinners at Wain's and Robert Burns' Hotels.
 February 3.—Bishop Jenner arrived in Dunedin.
 February 12.—Inter-Provincial Cricket Match: Canterbury v, Otago. Opening of Fine Arts' Exhibition. M.H.R., Roslyn: Driver, 217; (Allan, 89.)

March 1.—Twenty-second Session Prov. Council, Southland.
 March 5.—M.H.R., Dunedin: Birch, 577; (Grant, 179.)
 March 16.—Mr. John Jones died.
 March 19.—Horticultural Society's Show.
 March 23.—Twenty-first Anniversary of Province.
 March 26.—Tokomairiro Races.
 April 6.—Volunteer Prize Firing at Green Island.
 April 7.—Diocesan Synod of Dunedin met.
 April 8.—M.P.C., Oamaru: Ashcroft, 108; (Clendining, 8.)
 April 22.—Twenty-fifth Session of Provincial Council.
 April 23.—New Masonic Hall consecrated.
 April 26.—H.R.H. Duke of Edinburgh arrived.
 April 27.—M.H.R., Waikouaiti: F. D. Rich. "Mindora" arrived from London, with second shipment of salmon ova.
 April 30.—Levéé in Provincial Buildings. Caledonian Games.
 May 11.—Testimonial to Mr. Vogel on leaving Province.
 May 13.—M.P.C., Dunedin: Bell, 688; (Dodd, 396; Grant, 3.)
 May 14.—M.H.R., Oamaru: Graham.
 June 23.—M.H.R., Taieri: Howorth, 70; (Culling, 57; Murray, 53; Sibbald, 24; Rennie, 11; M'Indoe, 0.)
 June 24.—Sharp Earthquake shock felt over Province.
 July 3.—Meeting in favor of New Zealand Institute.
 July 21.—Mayor of Dunedin: Birch, 568; (Fish, 514; Dodd, 74; Millar, 38.) Port Chalmers: Rolfe, 76; (O'Donoghue, 58.)
 August 16.—S.S. "Maori" arrived from Melbourne.
 August 17.—Twenty-third Session Prov. Council, Southland.
 August 25.—Foundation Stone of Wesleyan Church, Stuart street.
 September 10.—M.H.R., Wallace: Webster; (Brown.)
 October 1.—First Anniversary of reorganised Fire Brigade.
 October 21.—New Zealand Distillery Co. commenced malting.
 October 22.—Farewell Presentation to St. John Branigan.
 November 10.—24th and last Sess. of Prov. Council, Southland.
 November 10.—Foresters' Fete at Caledonian Grounds.
 November 11.—Sixth Show Oamaru Agricultural and Pastoral Society.
 November 12.—Foundation Stone of Athenæum laid. City Police Court opened.
 November 13.—Arrival of Maori Prisoners.
 December 2.—Inter-Provincial Cricket Match. Annual Show Tokomairiro Farmers' Club.
 December 8.—Twenty-sixth (Special) Session of Provincial Council.
 December 15.—T. Paterson, Railway Engineer, drowned at Kakanui.
 December 18.—J. M. Balfour, Marine Engineer, drowned off Timaru. Horticultural Show.
 December 31.—Volunteer Artillery Ball in new Post Office.

1870.

January 1.—Eighth Annual Gathering Caledonian Society.
 January 2.—First Sunday. Heavy Gale and Floods.
 January 11.—Meeting of Synod of Otago and Southland.
 January 13.—Volunteer Battalion Parade, 284. "Laughing Water" wrecked at Orepuki.
 January 15.—First number of Otago and Southland Mining Journal.
 January 26.—Burns' Anniversary celebrated.
 February 4.—"Warrior Queen" from London, with second shipment of birds, hares, &c.
 February 9.—Road from Lake Wakatip to Lake M'Kerrow, proved practicable.
 February 10.—Drawing School opened. Martin's Bay Settlement Regulations issued.
 February 13.—St. Andrew's Presbyterian New Church opened.
 February 21.—M.P.C., Waikouaiti: Mitchell, 119; (Ure, 29; Thompson, 22.)
 March 2.—Wesleyan Church Bazaar.
 March 11.—Horticultural Society's Show. Tokomairiro Races.
 March 14.—M.P.C., Taieri: J. Allan.
 March 21.—M.H.R. Bruce: J. C. Brown.

March 23.—Dunedin Jockey Club Races, Silverstream. 22nd Anniversary of the Province.
 April 27.—Twenty-seventh Session of Provincial Council.
 April 29.—M.H.R., Caversham: M'Indoe, 146; (Cutten, 71; Graham, 16; Robertson, 9.)
 May 1.—Inter-Provincial Rifle Match.
 May 3.—Volunteer Ball.
 May 7.—Athenpeum formally opened by Hon. W. Fox.
 May 18.—M.H.R., Riverton: M'Gillivray. Petition of unemployed.
 May 20.—Heavy Floods. Garrick Club Performance.
 May 24.—Tradesmens' Races, Silverstream.
 June 7.—Annual Meeting Acclimatization Society.
 June 10.—Tenth Annual Ploughing Match, Taieri.
 June 17.—Tokomairiro Farmers' Club Ploughing Match.
 June 22.—Dunedin District Ploughing Match.
 July 3.—"Achilles," 1,520 tons, arrived: largest vessel yet. entered port.
 July 21.—Mayoral Elections, Dunedin: Fish, 789; (Griffin, 724; Reynolds, 54; Millar, 28.) Port Chalmers: M'Dermid, 73; (Taylor, 63.)
 July 31.—Great Gold Robbery at Clyde, £12,448 value.
 August 16.—Meeting of unemployed.
 August 29.—Port Chalmers Railway Work started.
 August 31.—Smart Shock of Earthquake felt.
 September 4.—Shipment of Trout ova from Tasmania.
 November 2.—M.P.C., Dunedin: Fish, 395; (Bathgate, 370; Birch, 149.)
 November 8.—Re-union of Southland Act proclaimed.
 November 9.—Prince of Wales' Birthday. Foresters' Fête, Vauxhall.
 November 11.—Seventh Show Northern Agricultural and Pastoral Society.
 November 15.—Twenty-eighth Session of Provincial Council. Otago and Southland united.
 November 19.—Road Steamer imported by J. L. Gillies.
 December 8.—Fourth Show Clutha Agricultural Society. Mr. Yogel's Meeting in Princess Theatre on Public Works Policy.
 December 13.—Mr. Yogel's Address from Government Building; Terrace.
 December 14.—Tokomairiro Fanners' Club Show.
 December 17.—Horticultural Society's Show. "Banshee." wrecked at Shag Point.

1871.

January 2.—Ninth Annual Gathering Caledonian Society.
 January 13.—Third Annual Agricultural Show, Blueskin.
 January 20.—M.H.R., Dunedin: Bathgate, 694; Reynolds, 692; (Macassey, 545; Graham, 64; Grant, 50.)
 January 21.—Nomination for Superintendence: Macandrew and Reid.
 January 23.—Rev. Dr. Burns died, aged 76.
 January 25.—M.H.R., Wakatip: Haughton, 221; (Shepherd, 192.) Invercargill: Calder. Caversham, Cantrell, 165; (M'Indoe, 107; Scott, 28.) Riverton: M'Gillivray. Waikouaiti: M'Lean; (Hutchinson.)
 January 28.—M.H.R., Bruce: Murray, 122; (Cutten, 87; Dyer, 71; Black, 31.)
 January 30.—M.H.R., Clutha, Thomson, 140; (Macandrew, 54; Richardson, 39; Mosley, 13.) Roslyn: Driver, 204; (Ross, 168.)
 February 3.—Burns' Anniversary celebrated, postponed to this date on account of death of Rev. Dr. Burns. M.H.R., Taieri: Reid; (Tolmie.)
 February 6.—M.H.R., Oamaru: Steward, 188; (Macassey, 137.)
 February 8.—M.H.R., Dunstan: Shepherd, 196; (Frazer, 139; Mervyn, 53; Hughes, 45.)
 February 11.—M.H.R., Mataura: Bell, 235; (Kinross, 73; Denniston, 10.)
 February 13.—M.H.R., Tuapeka: Brown, 348; (Cutten, 82.) February 15.—M.H.R., Port Chalmers: Macandrew, 196; (Jago, 97). Waikaia: Bradshaw, 264; (Dean, 144.) Wallace: Webster, 48; (Cuthbertson, 36.)
 February 17.—H.M.S. "Clio," with Governor Bowen on board: Struck on Rock at Milford Sound.
 February 18.—Bishop Moran arrived.
 February 20.—Superintendent Elected: Macandrew, 3,243; (Reid, 2,950.)
 February 25.—Ship "Warrior Queen," arrived from London, with importation of birds.
 March 6.—H.E. Governor Bowen arrived at Invercargill.
 March 14.—Governor's Levee. Horticultural Show.

March 18.—First sod of Clutha Railway turned by His Excellency.
 March 23.—Twenty-third Anniversary of Province. Opening of Forbury Park. Jockey Club Races.
 March 27.—Brig "Hindoo," from Foo Chow, ashore at Riverton.
 March 31.—M.P.C., Oamaru: M'Lean. Mataura: Clark; Milton: Gillies. Riverton: Daniels, 83; (M'Gillivray, 67.) Waitahuna: Browne, 53; (Grundy, 57; Dunn, 26.) Waikouaiti: Smith. Tuapeka: Bastings, 321; Brown, 296; (Hay, 121; Herbert, 13.) Dunedin: Reynolds, 887; Cargill, 878; Turnbull, 713; Bathgate, 630; Barton, 609; Cutten, 575; Duncan, 545; (Birch, 541; Mason, 478; Howorth, 426; Fish, 365; Turton, 346; Barnes, 342; M'Indoe, 319; Smythies, 300; Jago, 284; Reeves, 239; Graham, 177; Walter, 121; Isaacs, 62.) Oamaru County: Webster, 41; (Hutchinson, 36,) Waihola: Mollison, 76; (Dyer, 32.) Mount Ida: Armstrong: (Mervyn); N. E. Harbor: M'Glashan, 73; (Harris, 67; M'Dermid, 54; Calder, 24.) Waihemo: M'Kenzie, 70; (Douglas, 39.) Aparima: Basstian, 62; (Lyon, 55.) Lakes: Haughton; (Robertson). Waikari: Driver, 64; (Hepburn, 59.) Waitaki: Sumpter. Waihopa: Blacklock, 115; (Wood, 60.) Kawarau: Hicky, 84; (Hughes, 62; Marsh, 53.) Clutha: Thompson and Henderson. Oteramika: Bell, 49; (Kinross, 30.) Mount Benger: Bradshaw, 265; (Dean, 114.) Dunstan: Shepherd, 83; (Niven, 65; Orbell, 40.) Makarewa: Macarthur, 73; (Wilson, 41; Pratt, 30; Toshack, 5.) Mataura: Menzies, 68; (M'Kenzie, 41.) Caversham: Cantrell, 120; (Bamford, 77; Ure, 56; M'Indoe, 26; Sibbald, 11.) Taieri: Allan, 258; Reid, 246; Shand, 207; (Prain, 115; Howorth, 106; Jeffcoat, 63; Gow, 47.) Moeraki: Hutchinson, 61; (Redmayne, 15.) Oreti: Holmes. Blueskin: Green, 65; (M'Lean, 62.) Invercargill: Lumsden, 131; (M'Clure, 26.) Peninsula, Seaton, 104; (Tolmie, 69; Ross, 41; Robertson, 10.) Kaikorai: Barr, 29; (Roberts, 28; Martin, 26; Lloyd, 3; Graham, 0.)
 April 6.—P.S. "Luna" arrived with Volunteers from Auckland: Complimentary Dinner.
 April 10.—Port Chalmers Regatta.
 May 2.—Census Returns: 91 Religious Denominations; Total population, 60,578. P.S. "Tairoa" wrecked at Molyneux.
 May 10.—P.S. "Nevada," first of San Francisco Line, arrived at Port Chalmers.
 May 24.—Tradesmens' Races.
 May 25.—Twenty-ninth Session of Provincial Council, Complimentary Dinner to Donald Reid, Esq., M.H.R., M.P.C.
 June 4.—Consecration of Episcopal Bishop of Dunedin.
 June 13.—Fire in Princes street, City Buffet, Dunning Bros., &c.
 June 21.—Annual Ploughing Match, Tokomairiro.
 July 3.—Woodhaugh Flour Mills burnt.
 July 5.—Otago University formally opened.
 July 21.—Mayoral Elections, Dunedin: Fish, 762; (Thoneman, 633; Birch, 179.) Port Chalmers: Dench, 117; (M'Dermid, 78.) Milton: Goodall, 60; (Cunningham, 59; Capstick, 41.) Cromwell: Taylor, 37; (Smitham, 34.) Queenstown: Hallenstein, 178; (Malaghan, 114.) Lawrence: Bastings. Riverton: M'Gillivray. Invercargill: Wood, 191; (Mitchell, 140.)
 July 22.—Mr. John Gillies, R.M., died.
 July 31.—Barque "Premier" wrecked at Oamaru.
 August 9.—Sir Walter Scott's Centenary celebrated.
 August 11.—Dunedin District Ploughing Match.
 August 29.—M.P.C., Waikari: Macassey, 52; (Hepburn, 31.)
 September 12.—M.H.R. Roslyn: M'Glashan, 240; (Cutten, 147; Cargill, 52; Graham, 13; M'Indoe, 6.)
 September 21.—Mosgiel Woollen Factory started work.
 October 11.—Great Fire at Invercargill, Bank of Otago, &c., £5,000. Sale of 50,000 acres Island Block to Clark.
 October 16.—Meeting in Masonic Hall against Brogden's Contract.
 October 24.—Dunedin Gasworks sold by auction for £17,800.
 October 31.—Glue Factory started at Kaikorai. Palmerston proclaimed a Municipality.
 November 9.—Prince of Wales' Birthday. Volunteer Sports, Rifle Match, &c.
 November 10.—Oamaru Pastoral Society's Show.
 November 20 and 21.—Champion Rifle Match, Forbury Butts: Walker, 310; Christie, 305.
 November 22.—S.S. "Ahuriri" lost off Tumah.
 November 30.—St. Andrew's Day. Regattas, Excursions, Sports, &c.
 December 20.—Sixth Show Tokomairiro Farmers' Club.
 December 22.—Acclimatization of trout proved at Palmerston.
 December 23.—Heavy Gale: Pinnacle of First Church spire blown down.
 December 26.—Oddfellows' Fête, Golf Contest, Picnics, Bazaar in aid of School for Dominican Nuns.
 December 28.—Ninth Annual Cricket Match. Taieri Agricultural Show.

1872.

- January 1.—Tenth Annual Gathering Caledonian Society.
- January 11.—Otago Graving Dock handed over by contractors. Meeting of Presbyterian Synod of Otago and Southland.
- January 19.—White Horse Hotel, Tokomairiro, burned. Signori Cagli's Opera Company.
- January 25.—Burns' Anniversary celebrated.
- February 9.—Eighth Annual Meeting of Otago Rifle Association. Severe Shock of Earthquake at Queenstown.
- February 24.—Schooner "Onehunga" wrecked at Oamaru.
- March 12.—Maori Prisoners formally released from Gaol.
- March 15.—Graving Dock, Port Chalmers opened. Fire Empire Hotel. M.H.R., The Lakes: Hallenstein, 431; (Macassey 272; Miller, 21.)
- March 17.—Royal Horticultural Society's Show.
- March 23.—Twenty-fourth Anniversary. Jockey Club Races.
- March 23.—First Bell cast in Dunedin, at Burt's Foundry.
- March 27.—Fire at Black and Thompson's Timber Yard.
- April 2.—M.P.C., Peninsula: Tolmie, 144; (Hutchison, 51; Robertson, 9.) Colonial Prize Firing at Canterbury. Cup: Wales, Champion.
- April 13.—Drinking Fountain of Cargill Monument opened.
- April 18.—M.P.C., Port Chalmers: M'Dermid, 66; (Dench 58; O'Donoghue, 16; M'Kenzie, 8.) First Mayor of Palmerston: W. A. Young. H.M.S. "Rosario" arrived.
- April 25.—M.P.C., The Lakes: Innes, 167; Hallenstein, 122; Manders, 118.)
- April 30.—Thirtieth Session of Provincial Council. Conference of Mayors at Dunedin.
- May 17.—First Grain Show Tokomairiro and Clutha Society.
- May 29.—Taieri Annual Ploughing Match.
- June 13.—M.H.R., Waikouaiti: Munro, 232; (Webster, 58; Preston, 44; Hutchison, 28; Thompson, 12; Cutten, 10.)
- June 21.—Blueskin Annual Ploughing Match.
- June 27.—Queenstown Athenæum and Town Hall opened.
- June 28.—Fire in Princes street, M'Leod & Co., £7,000. Meeting of Acclimatization Society.
- July 1.—Mayoral Elections, Dunedin: Fish. Port Chalmers: Dench. Oamaru: Waitt. Invercargill: Wood. Waikouaiti: Pratt. Tokomairiro: Goodall. Cromwell: Fraer. Balclutha: M'Neil. Lawrence, Herbert.
- July 18.—Brig "Our Hope," wrecked at Oamaru.
- August 8.—Convict Plummer escaped from Gaol; captured, 13th inst.
- August 15.—M.P.C., Caversham: Stout, 148; (Fish, 109; Leary, 90.)
- August 28.—M.H.R., Caversham: Tolmie, 217; (Cutten, 152.)
- September 6.—First sod Mataura Railway cut.
- September 10.—First block Oamaru Sea Wall laid.
- September 17.—First goods on Port Chalmers Railway from Burke's Brewery.
- October 1.—Fire at Duncan's Flour Mill and Wilson's Brewery, Water of Leith. Fourth Anniversary of Fire Brigade.
- October 3.—M.P.C., Wakari: Driver, unopposed.
- October 19.—Tragedy at Wikivi.
- October 30.—First telegram from London in eight days.
- November 8.—Oamaru Pastoral and Agricultural Show.
- November 11.—Prince of Wales' Birthday celebrated. Volunteer and Foresters' Sports, Cricket Match, Excursions, &c.
- November 14.—Bishop of Dunedin (Neville) arrived.
- November 20.—Shock of Earthquake felt.
- November 24.—Foundation Stone of Knox New Church laid. Tricentenary of death of John Knox.
- November 30.—St. Andrew's Day. Sports, &c., Green Island.
- December 2.—Jockey Club Races at Forbury Park, Picnics, &c.
- December 6.—Twenty-fourth Anniversary Hand and Heart, M.U.I.O.O.F.: Concert and Ball.
- December 11.—First Session of Anglican Synod of Dunedin opened.
- December 17.—Ninth Annual Meeting of Otago Rifle Association.
- December 18.—Eleventh Annual Show, Taieri Agricultural Society.

December 20.—Eighth Show: Waikouaiti and Shag Valley Society. H.M.S. "Dido," in Graving Dock, Port Chalmers.

December 21.—Visit of Governor and Lady Bowen, per p.s. "Luna."

December 23.—Horticultural Show in Drill Shed.

December 26.—Otago Agricultural and Pastoral Association Show, Forbury Park.

December 27.—Masons' Ball to Governor in Masonic Hall.

December 31.—Port Chalmers Railway formally opened by Governor.

1873.

January 1.—Eleventh Caledonian Gathering and Games.

January 6.—Citizens' Ball to Governor and Lady Bowen.

January 13.—Signor Cagli's Opera Season opened.

January 14.—Fire in George street.

January 15.—Meeting of Presbyterian Synod of Otago and Southland.

January 17.—M.P.C., Waihopa: Wood, 29; (Wilson.)

February 21.—Meeting of Settlers, who arrived prior to 1856, to form Association. M.H.R., Waikouaiti: Munso.

March 10.—First sod of Moeraki-Waitaki Railway cut.

March 13.—Royal Horticultural Society's Show.

March 14.—Mayor of Naseby: George, 93; (Basch, 51.) Dunedin Bowling Club formed.

March 24.—Twenty-fifth Anniversary. Jockey Club Races, Forbury.

April 1.—M.P.C., Dunedin: Fish, 609; (Prosser, 520; Reeves, 155.)

April 15.—Fire, Cumberland street, Gibbs & Clayton, &c., £10,000.

May 1.—Third Session Otago University inaugurated.

May 5.—Salmon ova ex "Oberon," landed at Invercargill.

May 6.—Thirty-first Session of Provincial Council. Schooner "Mary Ogilvie" stranded at Oamaru. Brig "Moa," at Allday Bay.

May 10.—Schooner "Margaret Campbell," total wreck, Oamaru.

May 14.—Foundation of new Post Office, &c., laid at Milton.

May 22.—Provincial Council dissolved.

June 4.—Nomination for Superintendency: Macandrew, Gillies, and Graham.

June 10.—M.P.C., Dunedin: Davie, 897; Turnbull, 897; Reynolds, 828; Fish, 690; Turton, 619; Haggitt, 559; Bathgate, 549; (Cargill, 523; Prosser, 510; Reeves, 502; Walter, 331; Cutten, 315; Barton, 283; Isaacs, 244; Millar, 121; Rossbottom, 82; Graham, 72.) Oamaru Town: M'Lean. Riverton: Daniels. Port Chalmers: M'Dermid. Milton: Gillies: (Cunninghame, 67.) Wakari: Driver. Waihola: Mollison. Oteramika: Kinross, 64; (Hamilton, 57.) Taieri: Shand, 330; Reid 312; Allan, 294; (Prain, 136; Webb, 80.) Tuapeka: Bastings, 433; Brown, 373; (Pyke, 228.) Waitahuna: Brown. Waihemo; M'Kenzie. Clutha: Richardson, 206; M'Neil, 150; (Thompson, 140); Waikouaiti: Mills, 84; (Orbell, 70.) Matau: Clark. Oreti; Rodgers. Mount Ida: Oliver, 254; De Latour, 189; (Armstrong.) 152; Mervyn, 106.) Waihopa: Wood, 139; (Perkins. 96.) Oamaru County: Webster, 68; (Waddell, 41; Aitchison, 16.) Invercargill: Lumsden, 154; (Tapper, 132.) Peninsula: Tolmie; (Cutten.) Moeraki: Teshmaker, 56; (Hutchison, 55; Murcott, 45; Steward, 9.) The Lakes: Hallenstein, 295; Clark, 220; (Innes, 215; Mauders, 168.) Mataura: Menzies. Blueskin: Green (Howorth.) Caversham: Stout; (Leary.) Aparima; Oummings; (Basstian.) Duustan: Hazlett, 244; (Shepherd, 97.) Mount Benger: Ireland. Waitaki: Sumpter. Makarewa; Wilson, 104; (M'Arthur, 99.) Cromwell: M'Kellar, 170; (Colclough, 115; Pyke, 1.) Kaikorai: Roberts, 75; (Barr, 50.) North Harbor: M'Glashan.

June 18.—Election of Superintendent: Macandrew, 3,902; (Gillies, 2,759; Graham, 26.)

June 27.—Taieri Ploughing Match.

June 29.—Ship "Yorkshire," from Melbourne, for London, put in for repairs.

July 1.—Thirty-second Session of Provincial Council. National Bank opened, taking over business of Bank of Otago. Ship "J. N. Fleming," arrived from Clyde, 69 days 11 hours land to land; 72 days, port to port.

July 4.—Tokomairiro Farmers' Club Ploughing Match.

July 6.—Ship "Cospatrick" arrived from London.

July 11.—Foundation of South Dunedin Episcopal Church laid.

July 17.—Wakari Ploughing Match. Mayoral Elections—Invercargill: Lumsden. Waikouaiti: Pratt, 36; (Smith, 26. Milton: Cunningham, 79; (Capstick, 46; Goodall, 28.) Dunedin: Mercer, 970; (Thoneman, 630; Barnes, 500.) Cromwell: Fraer, 62; (Marsh, 43.)

July 23.—M.H.R., Waikouaiti: Gillies, 102; (Pratt, 74.)

July 28.—First donkey (in harness) seen in Dunedin, arrived from Melbourne along with H.M. Representative.

August 7.—Port Chalmers Railway purchased by Government £175,000.

August 8.—Storming of Masonic Hall.

August 12.—Trout hatching successful at Young's Pond,. Palmerston.

August 14.—First Canary and Poultry Society's Show. M.H.R. Lake Wakatipu: Pyke.

August 21.—Public Meeting in Theatre on Terminus of Northern Line. National Insurance Company projected: Provisional Directors appointed.

August 28.—Schooners "Emille" and "Scotsman," wrecked at Oamaru.

September 10.—St. John Branigan died.

September 17.—Schooner "Oreti" ashore at Oamaru.

September 24.—Ship "Wild Duck," from Adelaide, for London, put in for repairs.

October 9.—Annual Meeting of Manchester Unity I.O. Oddfellows.

October 10.—Mosgiel Woollen Factory (Limited) projected.

October 30.—Fire in George street.

November 3.—Fire in Princes street.

November 14.—Standard Insurance Company (Limited) projected.

November 20.—Oamaru Pastoral and Agricultural Society's Show. French Republic s.s. "Vire," in Port Chalmers.

November 23.—New First Church opened.

December 14.—Southern Trunk Railway opened to Green Island, by Premier the Hon. J. Vogel.

December 15.—Launch of Submarine Boat. Fire in George street.

December 19.—First Meeting Caithness and Sutherland Counties Association. Hallenstein & Co.'s Clothing Factory started.

December 22.—"Redcliffe" wrecked at All day Bay.

December 23.—Arrival of Governor Sir James Ferguson.

December 30.—Royal Horticultural Society's Show. Wreck of the ship "Surat," from London to Port Chalmers at Catlin's River: First serious casualty to a passenger ship bound to Otago.

1874.

January 1.—Caledonian Society Twelfth Annual Gathering.

January 2.—*Southern Mercury*, first number published.

January 5.—Banquet to the Premier, Hon. Julius Vogel; about 300 present.

January 8.—M.P.C. Clutha: Henderson, 92; (Thomson, 88.)

January 12.—Complimentary ball to Captain Jacquemart and officers of the F.R. war steamer "Vire" for their services to passengers of "Surat."

January 13.—Presentation by Provincial Government to Captain Jacquemart. Amount collected for relief of "Surat" passengers £770 10s.

January 14.—Annual Meeting of Presbyterian Synod.

January 22.—Moari Meeting at Kaik to open meeting-house.

January 26.—Burns' 114th anniversary celebration.

January 30.—Captain of "Surat" sentenced to imprisonment.

February 2.—Submarine boat "Platypus" tried.

February 14.—Woodland section of Southland railway opened.

February 24.—A. C. Strode, Esq., retired from Magisterial Bench. Judge Bathgate took his seat on the Bench.

March 6.—M.P.C. Dunedin: Reeves, 588; (Cargill, 428; Isaac, 56; Chapman, 50.)

March 11.—Royal Agricultural Society's Show.

March 23.—Twenty-fifth anniversary of Province. Dunedin Jockey Club Races at Forbury.

March 26.—First sod of Dunedin-Moeraki Railway cut by Superintendent.

April 23.—M.H.R.—Dunedin: Wales, 629; (Barton, 541; Grant, 39.)

April 28.—Public Meeting as to deepening Otago Harbor.

April 29.—Thirty-third Session of Provincial Council opened.

May 1.—Colonial Bank of New Zealand projected.

May 2.—"Ocean Wave" and "Emulous" wrecked at Oamaru.

May 25.—Queen's Birthday. Four men drowned in Harbour. Races at Forbury.

June 4.—Dunedin Waterworks purchased by Corporation.

June 10.—Fire in Stafford-street. G. F. Reid's and Mosgiel warehouses.
 June 23.—First degree of Otago University Council conferred on A. H. Williamson.
 June 26.—First sod of the Crepuki Railway turned by Superintendent.
 June 29.—Otago Regatta at Port Chalmers.
 June 30.—Presentation to Captain Wain, D.V.F.B., by City Council.
 July 1.—Southern trunk railway opened for traffic to Green Island.
 July 3.—Waiareka Branch Railway work started.
 July 4.—Fire in Princes-street, Hay, draper.
 July 6.—First meeting of Otago Harbour Board.
 July 9.—*Clutha Leader* newspaper issued.
 July 11.—Green Island Ploughing Match.
 July 17.—Taieri Derby Ploughing Match. Mayoral election Dunedin: Ramsay, 1100; (Walter, 1072.) Port Chalmers: M'Kinnon, 125; (Innes, 103). Palmerston: Arkle. Oamaru: Shrimski, (Sumpter.) Naseby: Busch. Milton: Goodall. Balclutha: Grigor.
 August 14.—Temperance Hall, Moray-place, opened.
 August 19.—First steam engine constructed in Invercargill, Mr Hay.
 August 20.—Hillside Patent Brick Factory started.
 August 23.—Great fire, Guthrie and Larnach's timber yard.
 August 28.—S. steamer Bruce arrived from Glasgow.
 September 1.—Salmon trout caught at Dunedin Heads.
 September 10.—Union Bank of Australia new building opened.
 September 12.—Canary and Poultry Show.
 September 30.—Second Annual Session of Anglican Synod.
 October 1.—Colonial Bank opened for business.
 October 11.—H.M.S. Blanche arrived at Port Chalmers. Sixth anniversary of Volunteer Fire Brigade.
 October 15.—Milton Pottery Works started.
 October 29.—U.S.A. S. "Swatara" arrived with Venus Transit Expedition.
 November 7.—First meeting Otago Typographical Association French war steamer "Vire" arrived.
 November 9.—Prince of Wales' Birthday. United Friendly Societies' Fete, St. Leonards.
 November 30.—Jockey Club Spring Race Meeting at Forbury.
 December 7.—Trout Fishing legalised.
 December 9.—Transit of Venus. Rev. L. Mackie inducted to First Church.
 December 23.—Albion Brewing Company projected. Launch of new screw steamer "Shag," Kincaid and M'Queen. Launch of new screw steamer "Egmont," R. S. Sparrow and Co.
 December 24.—Peninsula and Ocean Beach Railway. First sod turned by Superintendent.
 December 28.—Turkish Baths opened.
 December 30.—Thirteenth Show Taieri Agricultural Society.
 December 31.—Waterworks transferred to Corporation, cost £120,000. First Social Gathering Caithness and Sutherland Association.

1875.

January 1 and 2.—Caledonian Society's Thirteenth Annual Gathering.
 January 13.—Annual Meeting Presbyterian Synod.
 January 15.—Fire, Victoria Brewery, £3000.
 January 25.—Burns' anniversary celebrated.
 January 27.—Complimentary concert to Miss Aitken, tragedienne.
 February 1.—Dunedin Sailor's Home opened.
 February 20.—Spire of First Church completed, 285 feet.
 February 23.—Disastrous fire, Invercargill, Albion Hotel, &c.
 March 9.—North Otago Turf Club Racing, Oamaru.
 March 12.—Ross, Inverness, Argyle, and Bute Association formed.
 March 15.—Foundation-stone of Port Chalmers Reservoir laid.
 March 17.—Royal Horticultural Society's Show. Colonial Building and Investment Company's prospectus issued.
 March 19.—Forfar, Perth, and Kincardine Association formed.
 March 23.—Twenty-sixth anniversary of Province. Dunedin Jockey Club Race Meeting at Forbury, three days.

March 31.—Retirement of Mr. Justice Chapman from the Bench.
 April 4.—Death of Judge Wilson Gray.
 April 8.—Dunedin Working Men's Club formed.
 April 19.—Lanark, Renfrew, and Dumbarton Association formed.
 April 20.—Arrival of ship "Timaru" with salmon ova at Bluff.
 April 24.—Board of Conservators for Clutha River elected.
 April 29.—Banquet at Clutha to Sir J. L. C. Richardson.
 April 30.—Fire in Heriot Row.
 May 3. Thirty-fourth session of Provincial Council opened. M.H.R Waikouaiti: M'Lean, 277; (Rich, 175.)
 May 6.—Wharf at Oamaru Breakwater officially opened.
 May 7.—Arrival of his Excellency the Governor at Dunedin.
 May 8.—Schooner "Elderslie" wrecked at Oamaru.
 May 11.—Governor's levee. Reception by Lady Normanby.
 May 14.—Citizen's ball to his Excellency and Lady Normanby.
 May 22.—Dunedin Working Men's Club opened.
 May 24.—Queen's Birthday. Tradesman's Races, Forbury Park.
 May 26.—Railway Workshops, Hilside, started.
 May 31.—Chain Hills Tunnel pierced.
 June 5.—Heavy snow storm on goldfields.
 June 10.—Union Company's steamer "Hawea" arrived from Glasgow.
 June 18.—First sod of Kaitangata Railway turned by Sir J. Richardson.
 June 20.—Erection of Mataura Paper Mills started.
 June 22.—Sixth anniversary Licensed Victualler's Society. North Taieri Annual Ploughing Match.
 June 26.—M.P.C. Aparima: M'Intosh.
 June 30.—Influential deputation to Superintendent complaining of delay in construction of the various trunk lines of railways.
 July 1.—Ballachulish Slate Quarry, Otepopo, started.
 July 2.—Union Company's steamer "Taupo" arrived from Glasgow.
 July 3.—Flexman's Tannery, Kaikorai, burned, £6000.
 July 12.—Heavy gale.
 July 16.—Mayoral elections, Invercargill: Mitchell. Palmerston: Arkle. Oamaru: Sumpter, 267; (Shrimski, 183.) Lawrence: Fraer, 81; (Hay, 47; Walker, 45.) Balclutha: Cramond, 87; (Stewart 71.) Naseby: Busch, 68; (George 32.) Dunedin: Walter, 1048; (Reeves, 682.) Port Chalmers: M'Kinnon, 171; (Murray, 79.) Milton: Dyer, 76; (Goodall, 73; White, 27; Holt, 18.) Clyde: Naylor. Cromwell, Jolly.
 July 23.—First reunion Ayrshire Association.
 July 30.—Invercargill first Champion Ploughing Match.
 August 2.—Fire in Thames street, Oamaru, £2500.
 August 3.—Princess Theatre, Dunedin, burned.
 August 4.—Coomb's Tannery, Cumberland street, burned, £10,000. O'Connell Centenary celebrated by banquet at Watsons' Rooms. M.H.R. Wallace: Bastian, 53; (Cameron, 38; Monkton 22.)
 August 9.—Judge Williams took his seat on the Bench.
 August 12.—Subscription to "Euphrosyne" fund £450.
 August 18.—New Harbour Board nominated.
 August 20.—M.I.R. Caversham: Stout, 232; (Larnach, 221.)
 August 30.—Railway from Invercargill to Gore opened, 40 miles.
 September 1.—Railway from Dunedin to Clutha opened, 52 miles.
 September 3.—Fire in George street, J. Adam, Ching Shing, &c. Third annual show Canary and Poultry Society.
 September 4.—Fire at Phoenix Bond £9000.
 September 5.—Ceremony of consecration of scroll at Synagogue.
 September 21.—Third Annual Session of Diocesan Synod.
 September 25.—Railway from Oamaru to Waitaki opened.
 October 1.—Fire at Ross place, Lawrence, two lives lost.
 October 5.—Escape of convict Cyrus Haly from gang, shot dead. Thirteenth Annual Show of Entire Horses.
 October 6.—Meeting in Temperance Hall, unemployed question. October 7.—Tenth Annual Meeting of the Acclimatization Society.
 October 13.—Final meeting of First Volunteer Fire Brigade, Dunedin.

October 15.—Gasworks bought by Dunedin City Council £43,000.
 October 17.—Wreck of the s.s. steamer *Brace* at Otago Heads. October 21.—Fire at Moray-place, Dunedin.
 October 27.—Superintendent and distinguished visitors arrived at Port Chalmers. Reception there and at Dunedin. Banquet in Messrs Sargood's New Warehouse, about 500 present.
 October 28.—Drainage machine competition, Tokomairiro. October 29.—Banquet to Mr. Thomson, M.H.R., Clutha.
 November 4.—Legge's Mill, Tokomairiro, burned.
 November 9.—Prince of Wales' Birthday. Fete at St. Leonard's. Foundation-stone of Forester's Hall, Port Chalmers, laid.
 November 15.—First Mayor of Green Island: Eagerty 45; (Pollock, 20; Runciman, 14.)
 November 18.—Twelfth Annual Exhibition Northern A. and P. Association, Oamaru.
 November 23.—Banquet to D. Reid, Esq., M.H.R., at Taieri.
 November 30.—St. Andrew's Day. Dunedin Jockey Club Spring Meeting.
 December 1.—Hon. Mr Reynold's meeting of constituents in Drill-shed.
 December 7.—Fire at the Grange, Mr J. H. Harris, £2500.
 December 8.—Ninth Annual Show Southland Agricultural and Pastoral Association.
 December 9.—Twelfth Annual Meeting Otago Rifle Association
 December 15.—Horticultural Society's Show and Concert in Arcade.
 December 18.—First Mayor of St. Kilda: Jones, 54; (Godisson) 43.)
 December 20.—M.H.Rs. Dunedin: Macandrew, 891; Stout, 865; Larnach, 843; (Reynolds, 476; Macassey, 409; Fish. 238; Grant, 29; Armstrong, 24.)
 December 21.—M.H.R. Caversham: Seaton, 278; (Cargill, 184.)
 December 22.—M.H.R. Waikouiti: M'Lean, unopposed; Tuapeka, Brown, unopposed. First Mayor South Dunedin, Maloney.
 December 23.—M.H.R. Invercargill: Lumsden, 180; (Cuthbertson, 150.) M.H.R. Bruce: Murray unopposed.
 December 27.—Regatta at Waihola. Hibernian Society's Annual Fete.
 December 28.—Taieri Agricultural Society's Fourteenth Annual Show at Mosgiel. M.H.R. Roslyn: Burns, 233; (Grant, 46.) Dunstan: Pyke, 339; (Baird, 159.) M.H.R. Port Chalmers. Reynolds, 241; (Green, 185.) Waitaki: Hislop, 335; Shrimski, 275; (Steward, 171; O'Meagher, 98.) Clutha: Thomson. 236, Mosley, 78.) Mount Ida: De Latour, 303; (Chapman, 60; Herstlett, 24.) Wakaia: Bastings, 180; (Ireland, 77; Mervyn, 0.)
 December 29.—M.H.R. Taieri: D. Reid unopposed. Wallace-Joyce, 85; (Bastian, 76.) Lakes: Manders, 261; (Bradshaw, 200; Cope, 35.) Mataura: Wood, 262; (Cuthbertson, 143.) Riverton: Hodgkinson, 190; (M'Intosh, 146; M'Gillivray, 105.)

Mr. R. Stout, M.P.C.,

At The Forbury.

Mr. R. Stout., M.P.C., addressed his constituents at the Forbury School-house on Friday, 6th inst. Mr. Rutherford was in the chair. There were about 80 electors present.

Mr. STOUT said that he appeared before them that evening because he always considered that it was the duty and privilege of a representative to address his constituents, in order to give an account of the trust which they had reposed in him. If it should happen that he and his constituents disagreed, then it would be the duty of such representative to retire from his position. It was more particularly the duty of a politician to meet his constituents on the present occasion, in view of the impending changes which were about to be carried out. If the Provinces were abolished he intended to retire from political life, and in such case his present address might be regarded as being his farewell speech to them. He therefore thanked them now for the many kindnesses which he had received at the hands of the electors of the Caversham district. He would have to ask their attention for a somewhat longer time than usual that evening, in order that they might come to a rational conclusion on the various schemes which were at present before the public of the Colony. There was no greater curse to New Zealand than apathy on the part of electorates. Many would remember the stand taken in the year 1870 against the grand scheme introduced by Mr. Vogel; many protested against it—not that the scheme was bad in itself, but that in one involving such grave changes the people should be consulted, and calmly discuss the matter. But unfortunately they did not do so, but said, "We will have no discussion; we want the scheme, and nothing but it." This impending Abolition is the fruit of the action then taken by the electorate. Had the people shown a firm front when that change was first introduced, and told their legislators in the Assembly that they would not allow it, they would not now behold a scene in the New Zealand Parliament which was not to be

found elsewhere, namely, a Parliament without an Opposition. Schemes involving the expenditure of hundreds of thousands passed in a single night without criticism or discussion. This was one of the many things from which the electorate had to suffer in consequence of its not discussing these measures as they should have been. If those whom the people in Otago termed obstructionists had their way, and some scheme adopted for the purpose of securing to it its own revenue, and providing for financial separation, they would not have suffered as they had done in past years, and as they should suffer in the future. Before dealing with General Government politics he would allude to what took place in the Provincial Council during its last session. When the Council met, Mr. Reid was in office. The schemes which he brought down in reference to the proclamation of Hundreds, and also the selection of blocks of land for deferred payments, were approved of Nothing was opposed until the Estimates came on for consideration; then a cry arose about turning out the Government. The Opposition comprised many of the members for Southland, who thought that their district was being slighted. The question at issue was not one of principle, but one of the distribution of money throughout the various districts. It was this which led to the defeat of the Reid Government. He was not going to mention names, as he always wished to avoid personalities. The Reid party, however, again returned to power, and of course they all now knew who constituted the Executive. It was unfortunate that the Reid Government should have been put out on a question in which no principle was involved beyond the mere expenditure of money, as large capital was being made out of it in the General Assembly. He need not point out to them the various bills which had been passed by the Provincial Council during its last session. There was a matter which he had opposed most strongly—that was, the introduction into the Otago Harbour Bill of the vicious principle of nomineeism. He contended that its members should be elected by the people, and not by the Government. He called for division after division, for the purpose of having the principle of nomineeism eliminated from the bill. The Provincial Council, however, was in favour of it, and it was carried. Referring to the land question, he said that he knew many who were then in the room, and who had only recently arrived in the district, were probably ignorant of its provisions and history. He would point out what had been the nature of the agitation which had taken place in reference to it. He did not intend to deal with the regulation which had been made by Sir George Grey in reference to it, but would come down to the year 1865, when the runholders' licenses having nearly expired, and the Province at that time not being in a good financial position, they offered to give an increased rent for their runs, on condition of the Government granting them an extension of their leases for 10 years, they also offering to give 3s. 6d a head for cattle, and 7d. a head for sheep which they would depasture on the runs held by them. This was agreed to, and became the Waste Lands Act of 1866, which continued in force until 1869, when an Act, termed the Otago Hundreds Regulation Act was carried. It provided that the runholder should be entitled to receive compensation at the rate of 2s. 6d. an acre, and also that the land opened should contain a certain portion of agricultural land. This was not approved of by the Council, which resolved not to open any land under these provisions. Mr. Stout then sketched the history of the land legislation down to the year 1872, and the changes he desired. He had advocated that the landed estate of the Province should not be sold at all, but that they should adopt a State leasing system, as this, he considered, was the only way of effectually preventing a monopoly in land. On the occasion of his speech at Caversham last year, he pointed out some of the benefits which would result from it if carried into effect. Land was not ordinary property, as it was limited in quantity. The earth had been well termed the mother of everything, and being limited in quantity, it must necessarily be a monopoly. Great evils had resulted from it in the Old Country, and they were beginning to make themselves felt in this Colony already. The only way to avoid the evils of landlordism was to adopt a State leasing system. When he first brought this under the notice of the public he introduced nothing new, as it had been discussed previously by political philosophers. Though he had at first met with considerable opposition in reference to it, the feeling of the people in Otago was now more in its favour. In Victoria Messrs. Higinbotham and Grant, and others, had, in the Assembly of that Colony, supported the principle of the State leasing its lands. If the electors would only consider the matter they would see that the people had the right to the use of the land, and, if put out of it, to be paid compensation for any improvements which they might have effected upon it. This was no new system, as it was carried out by large capitalists on their private estates, and when such was the case, why could not the same thing prevail in the case of the public estate? Ten years ago the flat, there, was worth but little, but it had since risen in value. This was not due to any act of the proprietors, but rather to the whole country. Why, then, should the former get the whole of the benefit? The educational reserves of the Province were also leased. If nothing were done to check the monopoly of land the result would be that it would fall entirely into the hands of the wealthy. In coming to the Colony many of them thought that they were going out of the reach of the evils of landlordism, and of lords and dukes who dictated to people how they should vote. In Canterbury, where the price of land was £2 an acre, large tracts of country extending for 10 or 15 miles, were converted into sheep walks. He brought this land question prominently before them, because it was one of the main political questions of the day, and one which should not be lost sight of. He pointed out that they should be warned by what had taken place in Victoria on the attempt, in the time of Wilson Gray, to introduce a liberal law. The cry

of Free-Trade and Protection was raised, and the land question avoided. Many squatters joined the Protectionists in order to do this he had touched on this question because it led up to something he intended to say in respect to the

Abolition Bill.

And if there was no other objection to it than that it took the whole administration of the waste lands of Otago out of the hands of the people of Otago, that should of itself be sufficient to cause its rejection. He did not exalt the land revenue to the position of first place—the administration of our waste lands was, in his opinion, of as much importance to us the revenue to be derived from them; and this bill took the administration of the waste lands out of the hands of the people, and vested it in the General Assembly, in connection with which there was an Upper House that had done everything in its power to prevent a liberal land bill being passed. (Applause.) But that was not all the bill did, as he would show hereafter. It not only took away the administration of the waste lands, but introduced a most vicious system, that of allowing the people to be governed by nomineeism. He was not, as they would see, opposing this nominee system because it was introduced into the Abolition Bill. He had opposed the same thing as introduced in the Harbour Board's Bill in the Provincial Council, and because, as he stated, he would never consent to nomineeism having anything to do with govern- ment; therefore he was now simply asserting the same principle that he asserted in the Provincial Council before this question of abolition came up. Now, what did this bill propose? They might say they did not want a Superintendent and Executive. But this bill provided for a nominee Superintendent; and the only difference what they had now and what was proposed was this: At the present time the people elected the Superintendent; under this bill the Governor elected him; and they would even find in the bill that there was a provision for officers in lieu of Executive officers. He (Mr. Stout) quoted the 9th section of the bill, which provided that the functions performed heretofore by the Executive officers should be exercised or performed by any person or persons from time to time appointed for the purpose by the Governor; so that it would be seen they would, even if the bill was passed, have their Superintendent left, and their Provincial Executive left; but with this distinction, that they would have no voice in their election. Therefore, this was another step on the road to this vicious system of nomineeism. With respect to the general phases of the bill, they would remember that last year, when the resolutions were introduced in the House, he addressed meetings at Caversham and at Mornington, and then said two things which were found fault with by the Press. According to the report of his meeting at Mornington he said: "To those who said that they must believe in Mr. Vogel's sincerity when he said he would not touch the Middle Island land fund or abolish the Middle Island Provinces, he would merely ask them to remember Mr. Vogel's action in reference to the capitation allowance, which showed what political exigencies compelled Mr. Vogel to do. Mr. Vogel's proposals for the abolition of the North Island Provinces must end in there being a common purse for the whole Colony. The whole of the lands will be administered from Wellington, and the proceeds of the land will be taken to pay the Colonial debt." Now, he would prove that every word he then uttered, everything he said, had come to pass; but what did the *Star* say? The *Star* said this: "We are told that in revenge they (that is, the North Island Provinces) will never rest until Provincialism is abolished in this island. This is the bugbear held up to frighten us, and if we allow ourselves to be terrified by it we shall deserve what will inevitably follow. If Northern Provincialism is maintained, our land revenue will pass from us." So that the *Evening Star* was so prophetic as to say that there was no intention to abolish the Provinces in the Middle Island, and that the people ought themselves to trust to Mr. Vogel's sincerity and Mr. Reynolds' honesty, and that the abolition of the Provinces in the Middle Island would not be carried out. He (Mr. Stout), however, stated at the time that the *Star* was making a statement that would within a year be shown not to be a fact, and he now asked the meeting whether he or the *Star* had been right in their prophetic conclusions as to the future? (Hear, hear.) The Hon. Mr. Reynolds, when he came to Dunedin, stated—and, of course, that gentleman was always very careful what he did say—that there was no chance of the abolition of the Provinces in the Middle Island. In fact, Mr. Reynolds told them that if such proved to be the case, he would retire from the Ministry. (Hear, hear.) Then Mr. Reynolds was asked what guarantee Canterbury and Otago would have that Provincialism would not be abolished in those Provinces. This was his sapient reply: "The guarantee Canterbury and Otago had that their Provincial Governments would not be abolished was, that if their members, and other strong members, opposed the project, a Government could not stand before them for an hour." Therefore, they would see that the question of Provincialism was brought before the people in the Middle Island under the distinct guarantee that whatever happened in the Northern Provinces, in the South it should not be interfered with. That, in fact, was dinned into the people's ears daily by the Press, and by members for Otago who supported abolition in the North; and yet those men now came forward and said that the Middle Island people had never opposed the abolition of Provincialism. But they must acknowledge that the people had been misled on this question, and led to believe, also, that it would not affect the Middle Island

people at all. He (Mr. Stout) had said this much to make them cautious of the promises of politicians. The promises of politicians were likened by an American to a Western road, which opened out broad and fair, but ultimately ended in a squirrel track up a tree. That was the type of the promises of a politician of the present day. (Laughter.) Everything was beautiful and fine; everybody was to get lollies; but when they came to gauge them they were not what they pretended to be. He had brought forward this matter to show that what he said last year had been fulfilled to the letter. Now, it had been admitted that the abolition of the Provinces would confer a boon on the North Island. That, indeed, could not be got over; they might cloak it and endeavour to disguise it as they pleased—the funds of the Middle Island would be taken for the benefit of the North. He did not care how the matter was put. He would guarantee to show any man who would consent to discuss the question with him—he would, he said, guarantee to show any man, by figures, that such was the fact, and some of the papers had already admitted it. He would quote from the GUARDIAN of last year. First, the GUARDIAN said—"There is no foundation for the rumour at all,"—namely, that the land fund would be absorbed. Then the GUARDIAN also said—"Would it not be better for Otago to have a rich and prosperous neighbour living across Cook's Strait, than a needy and struggling one—a neighbour able and willing to buy its merchandise and produce, and foster and increase its trade?" Well, that certainly was a novel proposition—that in order to get a trade for the Middle Island they must provide the North Island with funds. Let them apply the same proposition to commercial life. Let them take, for instance, a storekeeper who started business on the flat. He had got a small trade, and his neighbours were not able to buy his groceries, but in order to enable them to do so, he went and furnished them with money. (Laughter.) That was precisely the position which the GUARDIAN took up, namely, that the Middle Island should give money to the North Island to enable them to buy their produce. No doubt there would be plenty of buyers, if a storekeeper only furnished his customers with plenty of money. (Hear, hear.) Now, there were two views of

Provincialism.

There was the money view and the political or theoretical view. He was willing to meet the Abolitionists on both grounds. He did care whether they took the mere money point of view or what might be termed the theoretical or political point of view; in respect to either, he was prepared to prove that on neither ground should Provincialism be abolished. Let them just look at what might be termed the money point of view. But first, he asked, were the Otago electors to look at every political question from a money point of view? For example, this Abolition Bill had not been introduced as he contended a Constitution Act should be introduced, as a form of government to be placed before the people under which they were to live. It was clogged with money questions. Here the centres of population were treated as in the evil days of ancient Rome. Whenever it was desired to carry a measure in Rome the mass of the electors were bribed by some largesses or bounties. The same thing was attempted by this bill. Municipalities were to get bribes of 20s. and road boards 40s. per £1 on the rate. This system of bribery was adopted in 1870, for Provincialists were told that if they supported the scheme 40s. per head would be given to the Provinces. Next year, however, some charges were taken over by the Colonial Government and the capitation reduced to 15s., and now, if this bill were carried, there would be no capitation at all. This was the way attempts to bribe the electorate were made. No one could read the Colonial Treasurer's statement without seeing that he had tried to bribe Christchurch in respect to the fees and fines. Christchurch did not get what Dunedin got for license fees, &c., neither had they such a large landed endowment as Dunedin possessed. The Municipal Council asked the Provincial Council to give them the license fees and other sources of revenue, but the Provincial Council declined to accede to their demands. The Provincial Council said, "You have got the city, and you can tax yourselves to maintain the streets. Thereupon the Colonial Treasurer stepped in and promised that if the Municipal Council would support abolition he would give them the license fees, &c., and a bonus of £1 for £1 on the rates. That a bribe thrown out to Christchurch, and a like bribe was given to the populations of the cities. He said that that was a conclusive argument against those who said that Provincialism in Otago or other parts had been a modified Centralism put up to the injury of the outlying districts, and it was not doing the outlying districts justice. This then was the manner in which the proposal to abolish the Provinces had been introduced. It had been introduced and made a mere money question. The people had been told that if they would only support it they should get £1 for £1, the license fees, &c., forgetting what happened in connection with the capitation allowance—that this bonus for bonus must cease; that the Colony could not afford to give this bonus all round as promised; and next year they would hear of a proposed reduction, as had taken place in respect to capitation allowance. That was the bribery to which he alluded, and that was the reason why he had approached the question from a money point of view. Now let them see how the Abolition question affected them so far as Otago was concerned. Supposing the Provinces to be abolished, what would they save by it? He had already told them that they did not get rid of the Superintendent, nor of the Executive. The only thing they would get rid of by abolition was the Provincial

Council; and by getting rid of the Provincial Council they would save some £3,000 or £4,000. All the present political offices must be kept up. First, there was the storekeeper; he had to look after all contracts, and could not possibly be dispensed with. He also acted as Secretary to the Superintendent. Then there were only two Executive Council clerks—that was all the staff of the Provincial Executive, and if the Provinces were abolished to-morrow, those clerks could not be dispensed with. Additional clerks would have to be employed to conduct the correspondence at Wellington. The Waste Lands Board Department, the Survey Department, and all the other departments of the Provincial Government would have to be increased, and not diminished, because of the additional correspondence that would ensue with the General Government. There was no simplification whatever of the Government functions by abolition; but, on the contrary, there will be a large increase of road board clerks, civil servants, &c., and the cost of the Government to the people would not be diminished, but increased. Therefore all the saving at the first glance—though it was not a saving—was the sum of £3,000 to £4,000 for the abolition of Provincial Councils; and he asserted that, even if it were a saving, it would be better to pay the £4,000 annually and keep the administration of the lands in their own hands. Now, what really did they lose? The appropriation of the capitation allowance was done away with. Their revenue consisted of the capitation allowance, gold export duty, gold-fields revenue (which was estimated at £8,000 only this year), tolls on roads, and their railways, and that was all; and the expenditure on roads and works, bridges, and buildings, exceeded the revenue from the sale of land. Therefore, when they heard people talking about the alleged wasteful expenditure of Provincial Councils, they should recollect that they could prove for themselves by figures that the expenditure on roads, works, bridges, and buildings exceeded the ordinary land revenue.

The Conservation of Our Land Revenue

was made a great deal of; the Provinces were to be split up into shires or road districts, and the road boards were to do very much what the Otago road boards did—although he thought it would be found it meant the maintenance of main roads, too, because shire councils got no additional revenue—had to maintain the main roads. The whole revenue arising from Crown land sales was made a separate account, and out of this account the first thing taken was the interest and sinking fund on loans. That was the first charge made on the land revenue. The interest on our loans was taken out of it; the capitation allowance was formerly sufficient to pay that. The next thing that came out of the land revenue was the pound for pound on rates that were raised in the various districts. At present, 25s. was paid to road boards—part was paid by the Provincial Council and part by the General Government. The £1 for £1 for municipalities came out of the Consolidated Fund. Well, that was how the land fund was conserved to them; and this would entail an endless cost on the Colony, because there would have to be separate accounts for each Province. It was the same as if the Caversham people had a large sum of money to spend on public works in the district, after the ordinary maintaining of the roads had been accomplished, and they went to all the road districts and asked where they should spend the money on various parts of the Flat. Now, the land revenue was Otago revenue, and made so by the Colonial Treasurer in his Statement. He stated that the Parliament of New Zealand was to decide where public works in Otago were to be executed, and where Otago money was to be spent. Now, that was at variance with all ideas of government, because it was allowing people not interested in the Province to decide in what portion of the Province money was to be spent. But it was said that by this arrangement our land revenue would be preserved. At the first flush they might think that the land revenue was secured, but it was the same as if they put money into two pockets and did not let one hand know what the other hand was doing. He would take Auckland, which realised from its land revenue £4,713 in 1873—4, and its interest and sinking fund amounted to £47,000. It could not pay its interest out of its loan revenue, neither would it have anything left for public works or road boards. "Oh," said the Treasurer, "that is all very well, but you must put Auckland in an independent financial position." The proposal made was something like Macawber's way of paying debts. When Micawber was in difficulty, he gave a bill; and that was what the Colonial Treasurer proposed when a Province was hard up; that Province must give a bill. The 17th section of the Act provided for the raising of Treasury bills should the land fund be insufficient to meet the land charges made on it. There were several Provinces in the Colony totally unable to pay the interest on their debts out of the loan revenue, but to enable them to do so, Treasury bills were to be raised. The Colonial Treasurer said they should be charged against the land fund, but what would be the use of that? Where was the future land fund to come from? What they were asked to do by the bill was this: That the Provinces unable to pay for their loans, &c., and give money to the municipalities to provide for education and other purposes, should obtain it from the Middle Island. He thought that, sooner than have this system of separate accounts kept up, and different expenditures, it would have been far more honest if the Government had said the Colony was to have only one purse, and that all Provinces should be dealt with alike. (Hear, hear.) It was simply nonsense to say that the Middle Island revenue was not absorbed. The land fund was just as much

taken away by the bill as if the Colonial Parliament had been honest enough to say that they looked upon the Colony as a whole, and intended to put every Province in the same position. Where, then, was their gain? They only saved £4,000 at the most. But it must also be remembered that if the bill was passed they would keep the Parliament in session perhaps eight months in the year, at a very considerable additional cost. Members must be paid double, or perhaps treble, what they were paid now, because they could not expect men to go to Wellington without remuneration, unless they were men of capital. They might have two sets of men—capitalists, and political Micawbers waiting for something to turn up. (Hear, hear.) That would cost an additional sum to be voted; and in consequence of the complication of accounts, also, that would follow abolition, they would not be one whit better off—because these public works must be carried on; and there were the gaols, hospitals, and other institutions. It was simply, as he had already stated, putting the whole Colony on the same level. Those who knew anything about the history of the Colony knew that some had allowed miles and miles of the best lands to pass into the hands of a few capitalists for a few shillings. They should make those persons pay taxes if the Provinces had little revenue. He could show that so far as the bill was concerned, it conferred no boon—that it simply amounted to another way of taking their land revenue; and it would therefore have been more honest for the General Government to have said it was their intention that there should be one common purse, and that they should vote money independent of Provincial sections of the Colony. But the bill was a sham, a delusion, and a snare." There was no boon given to the outlying districts. Did they expect the diggers were going to form road boards and tax themselves out of the rates? They had tried the county system in Westland, and had failed. The miners of Otago would have formed road boards long ago if they had so desired, and have got their subsidy at the rate of £2 to £1. Not a single digging district had formed a road board, the reason being that they were better cared for by the Provincial Councils. Where, then, was the advantage they were to get from this bill? Now, let them look at it from a financial point of view. He had the Local Government Bill there. It contained 270 clauses, but there was but little difference between it and the present Road Board Ordinance. He then commented upon the bill. There was a further view in which to look at Provincialism. It was that which had been constantly dinned into their ears, namely, that they must get the Assambly to manage their affairs because they would be better managed. He denied that such would be the case. He held that things were better managed by Governments when the eyes were continually on them. They did not expect, for example, when they got members to go to Wellington, that they would vote more in accordance with the desires of the people than if they had met in a Provincial Council. They had not that public opinion here which other Colonies possessed, and which was so necessary for the proper discharge of Government functions. The Otago journals were scarcely ever read beyond the bounds of Otago, and one only saw the other Provincial journals in the Athenæums or at hotels. They had not such a public opinion as tended to keep down those gross abuses to which all centralised Governments were liable—abuses such as had been perpetrated by the Assembly in the disposal of 200,000 or 300,000 acres of land in the North Island to a few individuals for a few shillings, and a monopoly of the finance of the Colony to one bank, that had the Colony's millions lodged in its coffers. The people seemed helpless to get rid of these monopolies. They would not get their affairs better managed after abolition than now. It had been stated that if they had their affairs removed from local control the greatest purity would exist. The fact was, there was the greatest jobbery and corruption in the biggest Legislatures. Local Governments can manage local affairs best of all. People on the Flat did not require to call the people of Mornington or the Taieri to enable them to expend their road rates; but the Colonial Treasurer admitted that in the past it had been practically impossible for the General Assembly to distribute the matter equitably, and that the House had voted money in the interest of localities without any reference to the Colony's necessities. They could not abolish locality-feeling. Indeed, the Colonial Treasurer perpetuated it by keeping up the present Provincial boundaries. Referring to the other point of view in which he proposed to consider the matter, namely, in its

Theoretical Aspect.

he would say this, that as far as Governments were concerned, there was no such thing as an absolutely perfect system. They should look

at the various surroundings, such as the number of people and the requirements of the country. No one had yet discovered a constitution suitable to all circumstances. He did not mean to assert that Provincial Governments were the best that could be had, nor the General Assembly either. Governments must grow, not be formed in accordance with theory. The Provincial Governments were more democratic than that of the General Assembly. They heard it continuously urged in favour of the General Government that it tended to unite the Colony, and create a national feeling, whereas Provincialism did not. If such were so, why preserve the Provincial boundaries, as was done in the Abolition Bill? If they desired to keep up this national feeling, why not abolish Provincial boundaries altogether? Indeed, there was nothing to prevent it being kept up under the

Provincial system. An inhabitant of Vermont, Ohio, or Maine, was none the less a citizen of the United States. The States, and State Governments, were far more independent and separate than those of the Provinces. They established their own courts, and managed the whole of their civil administration, and possessed far greater powers than the Provinces. It was nonsense to say that Provincial institutions had the tendency to destroy national feeling. To do an injustice to any portion of the inhabitants of this Colony, was far more likely to do so. He then referred to Ireland as being in point, and said its government was taken away by bribery, the same as was now being done with the Provinces. Did the Irish people become national in consequence of its Parliament being abolished? He believed more ill-feeling was engendered by the destruction of it than by any act which the English Government had done in regard to Ireland. (Applause.) When the people of the Southern Island would see their revenues being taken from them, a feeling would arise in it which would do far more to destroy the national feeling and unity than the existence of Provincialism ever would. If they were to sacrifice everything to centralisation, why not carry the principle to its full extent and have one Parliament in Melbourne for the whole of the Australasian Colonies? Then, should they want a sludge-channel at the Hogburn. or a water-race at Tuapeka, they would have to apply there for it. This would simply be carrying the matter to its logical conclusion. He would ask them to look at the question from an ideal point of view. If Sir George Grey's idea was carried out, namely, that of federalism, such would lead to the highest form of government. There was a maxim in biology that if efficiency was required, it would be necessary to have specialisation of function. If they wished to make a man a good bootmaker, they did not seek to do so by teaching him other trades. If they desired to have able lawyers, they would not expect them to be doctors and clergymen as well. So, if they wanted good government, it would also require to have special functions to perform. Mr. Godley, the founder of the Canterbury Province, had even insisted upon the powers of the Legislature being properly defined. He said: "It is essential, therefore, that when the Central Legislature shall have formally abandoned certain powers to the Provinces, from thenceforward all questions of jurisdiction be referred to the Supreme Court of the Colony, and that this Court, moreover, shall be so constituted as not to be, nor even appear, dependent or partial." He regretted that the Canterbury people had not paid more attention to Godley's speeches in this discussion. Speaking on the question of the probable abolition of Provincialism, he said: "As communications become more frequent and easy, and as, in the progress of wealth and civilisation, a leisured class comes into existence, able and willing to make politics a profession, and devote their whole time to such pursuits, it becomes possible and desirable to abolish Provincial distinctions, and to centralise governmental power. The extent, therefore, to which political subdivision should be carried in any political case is quite arbitrary." That federal government as the best form, they need only look to America and Switzerland. In the former country, on the occasion of the secession of the Southern States, they adopted a system of government similar to that under which they had previously lived. It was a great mistake to suppose that one large central government was the best. The larger the central government, the greater the amount of corruption which prevailed. In proof of this they need only refer to the resolutions passed by the Provincial Councils of New Zealand. These were always marked by a much greater degree of liberality than those of the General Assembly. In theory he altogether denied that a central form of government was the best, but asserted the contrary. The mischief attending the administration of distant governments was well pointed out by Godley in the following passage:—"If I were asked what is the main lesson I have learned from my Colonial experience, I would say it was the blighting and ruinous effect of distant government. I stand here myself, the agent of a distant and irresponsible governing body, to say that I think no amount of abilities, no amount of theoretical knowledge, no amount of zeal and disinterestedness, can ever approach to compensating for the enormous disadvantage of being without personal interest in its local affairs. It appears to me to be as indisputable as an axiom in Euclid, that 'a country governed from a distance will either be jobbed and tyrannised over, or altogether neglected'" What was true then was also true at the present time. He would also tell them that with a central government possessing more power they would get more despotism as well. There were many other things to which he might refer, but he would now cut short his remarks by making a few further observations upon this question. He thought, so far as revenue was concerned, the abolition of the Provinces would not result in any gain to the Middle Island, and had also pointed out some of the evils which would result from the measure being carried out. Notwithstanding what the *Star* and *GUARDIAN* had said in regard to the abolition of the Middle Island Provinces, his warning had proved true. They could take his statements against those of the Press, with Mr. Vogel's sincerity thrown in, that if they supported the bill, they would, in return for the bribe offered them, be allowing the whole of their land revenue to be taken away from them, and power removed from their hands. The Christchurch people had supported it, so had Timaru; but the people of the latter district wanted all their own money. This idea of mixing up money matters with constitutional changes was a most vicious one. What would have been thought of it had such been done when the people of England asked for the lowering of the franchise? If they made politics merely a scramble for money, they would do more injury than all the good which national unity could confer upon them. It was degrading politics to do so. What led to political degradation in America? Simply that

the Government of a State was looked upon as being a fit object of plunder. If, instead of desiring to see New Zealand progress, they simply wished to get money from the Government, then they were relegating politics to an ignoble position. If they placed confidence in what he had said, then he would ask them to use their influence among their friends, and demand, before any constitutional changes took place, that they should be calmly and rationally discussed. They should also demand from the Press that in discussing these questions it should defend its position upon substantial grounds, and not delude the people with the cry of "bonuses for road boards!" while at the same time their money was being filched from them. He besought them that, if they thought what he had stated was fair and reasonable, and not stretched in any way, they should think well before they consented to this inroad upon their Constitution, and which, once sanctioned, they would be utterly powerless to redress. (Applause.) He spoke for about two hours, and after answering a few unimportant questions,

Mr. BARROWMAN said he looked upon the abolition of Provinces as an agitation having its origin not with the people, but with the Press. Such a proposal should have emanated from the people. This was being forced on them. He then alluded to Mr. Reynolds' speech and to his declaration that the Middle Island Provinces should not be abolished, and moved, "That this meeting disapproves of the Abolition of Provinces Bill, as being a measure not in the interests of the people, nor called for by them." (Applause.)

Mr. M'INDOE seconded, and the resolution was carried without one dissentient.

Mr. HALLIGAN moved, and Mr. MALONEY seconded, "That the Chairman be requested to transmit the resolution to his Honor the Superintendent in Wellington," which was carried unanimously.

Mr. THOMSON moved, and Mr. EASTON seconded, "a vote of thanks to, and confidence in, Mr. Stout, as the representative of the district," which was carried unanimously.

Mr. STOUT returned thanks to the audience for the vote, and for the patient hearing that had been accorded him, and moved a vote of thanks to the chair, which was carried with acclamation. The meeting then dispersed.

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The Future. A Lecture

Delivered by R. Stout, ESQ., M.P.C.

(Barrister at Law)

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The Future.

When one stands on an eminence viewing a landscape there are generally one or two things that particularly attract him. His neighbour or friend, who is viewing the same sight, is busy noticing some other thing. Is it a scene with land and sea in view? It may be that it is the ship in the distant offing that attracts the one, while the attention of the other is arrested by watching the play of the clouds. This shows our bias. Indeed there is nothing in which it is not shown. Let two photographers take photographs of the same scene or person, and see what a difference there is. The pose, the light, the shade, all are different. And this happens where the medium is the product of the art of the optician; but where the medium is a man's senses or feelings, the distortion, or rather difference in view, is more marked. Even in astronomy the observer has to allow for personal error; that is, every one making an observation has to allow in his calculation for the error necessarily made by him in observing; and this error varies. And if this bias is manifested in ordinary things where only the senses are involved, what does it not become when love of country, early training, habits, feelings, are all factors? This bias, the patriotic bias, the theologic bias, the scientific bias, the political bias, are ever present with us. I have mentioned this tendency to partialness in view to guard myself and you from assuming that the way we examine and report on anything is necessarily accurate, or can be even approximately so. And in to-night taking a glance at the future, this must be especially kept in view, Here hope comes in and with it a rose-colouring of the ever-distant To-night I shall attempt to point out the tendencies of the age, so that what our future may be and may not be, and what the goal is, we may the more accurately determine. In doing this, I do not intend to deal with the wide subject of the immortality of man's soul, nor with the existence of a life beyond the present. I would rather confine our attention to the probable future of our world and race. There are many marked tendencies in the present age, and I shall deal with a few in different departments of knowledge, and show how these different departments are becoming as it were interwoven.

First, the PHILOSOPHICAL

First, the SCIENTIFIC

First, the MOHAL

First, the POLITICAL

There are at least two marked schools of philosophers. In these two schools there are minor differences, but there are two marked doctrines—the Intuitionists and the Experientialists. It would take up too much time to deal with the doctrine of perception, and of an external universe, and might not be interesting. I shall therefore only give one brief distinction or difference between these two. The intuitionists assert that every person has certain ideas implanted in him by his very existence, and from the Great First Cause. It is true that these ideas are admittedly few—one the idea of a God, or a first cause—the idea of space, the idea of time. The other opposing school assert that these ideas are not innate—not born with a man—that is, not in his mind ready to be developed when his body develops, but that they are the product of experience: that the idea of cause or a first cause is obtained by an observing of nature, and by seeing that everything that exists has an antecedent, or as we often term it a cause, and that we therefore infer a cause to exist for all things—a God. There are others, like Kant, who assign a different origin to the ideas of time and space, viz., that they are the forms of all phenomena of external sense, that the forms preexist in the mind, and that we cannot conceive or observe without observing and perceiving in these forms. The experientialists denied both the Kantian and the intuitionist view, as I have said, and I have mentioned these two philosophic schools to show how, by a higher law, so to speak, the two have been brought nearer than before. It is true that the experientialists had always against them the appeal to consciousness, and they therefore with this appeal were weakened. Evolution, which is simply extended experientialism, has, however, been introduced, and with it a bridge has been constructed across the chasm that separated the two schools. Evolution and hereditary transmission are now used to explain the products in consciousness, and to show how they came there. The effect of this in the future, on philosophy, will be most marked, for cerebral psychology, sneered at by Martineau, will be closely examined, and though there may be something apart from the bodily organs of the mind, from the white and the grey matter in the nervous centres, still as these are how this mind is shown, is expressed, the instruments—they ought to be closely watched. In the future, therefore, physiology and psychology must go hand in hand, and with them the study of metaphysics may popularly cease to be looked upon as a very uninteresting and uninviting one. And, indeed, whatever is new in literature in the present day really has its root in some of these philosophic conceptions, and, as I shall show further on, it tinges our science, our morality, and our politics. There are, however, two other doctrines that are having, and are still further destined to have, a wide effect in the future; and these are the doctrines of Relativity and Expediency, and I may briefly state what they imply. The word that is opposed to relative is absolute. A familiar example may be given. It is said that twice two makes four is absolutely true, that is, that it could under no circumstances be false; but it is said that it is the duty of the State or people to punish a citizen, may be true or false. We may conceive of an occasion in which it might be true of the State's duty, and one in which it might be false. It is only relatively true. Not that this first statement that twice two makes four is held to be an absolute truth; on the contrary, many philosophers hold that it is relative only, and that it is not necessarily true, for that it is comprehended in the very definition of number. (See Mill's 'Logic,' vol. I., p. 260.) Again, however, I must refrain from entering on such a vexed question as Necessary Truth. (See 'Dublin Review,' for a statement opposed to J. Stuart Mill's, &c.) Relativity may, however, be defined as that which is only true when the circumstances and times are the same. This doctrine of Relativity has a most important bearing in morals and politics, as I shall hereafter point out; and as Expediency is really involved in it, I shall reserve any remarks till then.

The doctrine of evolution is not, as I have said before, confined to philosophy. Indeed, it is from science it has been borrowed. Now, by science I understand knowledge obtained through observation and experiment. Of the workings of evolution, of Darwin's and Wallace's researches, of Smidt's, indeed of all naturalists' and geologists', &c., I need not speak. I might point out only what has happened in geology. The Neptunists, the Plutonists, the Catastrophists—all have vanished. To understand geology we must be prepared to speak of gradual risings and fallings, the washing down of hills through ages, and not of vast cataclysms in nature. It is true earthquakes and volcanoes have been and left their records behind them, but they have been the exceptions. The evolving process has been the means by which, from a nebulous mass, this planet has risen to its present position. This evolution doctrine has, as it has been the bridge between the opposing schools of philosophy, also become the means of bringing the scientists face to face with the problems of existence. Nothing is so surprising as the rise, within, I might say, the last ten years, of the study of psychology, or of philosophy. This study has assumed varied phases. With Tyndall it has gone to the question of the first atoms; with others, as to the origin of life—Huxley's Protoplasm—the protein of German chemists and physicists. With others, the union of body and mind has formed the basis of their lectures, articles, and speeches. Almost all admit an evolution. The difficulty lies in fixing its limits and scope. Had the highest products of genius once a place in the nebulous centre of gas from which the earth arose, or is there a Divine afflatus that influenceth every man distinct from himself? Has there been an endless progress from a monad to our present state, or what? This is science's problem—the origin of matter and of life. In the discussion of this problem a most marked change has come over the definition of matter. A dead inert substance was once its definition; but on close scrutiny the

distinction between organic and inorganic is found as difficult to determine as the origin of either. Possibly the position of Spencer may be after all found the only tenable one, and it is that there is a region unknowable which, with our present faculties, we can never hope to explore. And thus evolution brings philosophy and science face to face, and shows that to each the same problem is open for solution.

In the future, therefore, we shall find that the ostracised metaphysics will assert their sway, and that the problem of whence and whither will be as interesting as in the Academia where Socrates taught. I have, however, set before you, and very briefly, this doctrine of evolution and its bearing on the present and future of philosophy and science, in order to lead up to more practical matters.

And first as to morality; the duties—if there be such—we owe to each other and to ourselves. Now, you see here again exemplified the interdependence of all knowledge. For this doctrine has created, as it were, new duties and new engagements. Take one thing—the necessity of cleanliness, that the search for the origin of life has shown. You have all heard of the germ theory of disease. It is on this theory that all the action of our Boards of Health, our quarantine, our fumigations, our sowers, is based. That disease exists as life—multiplying, if it has food to feed on—all now admit. This granted, the necessity of cleanliness as the basis of health is put on a scientific foundation. And hence we find that every day brings us discoveries in the science of health, so that in the future we may hope to see disease and death lessened. But this is a small matter, relatively speaking, to a larger question that evolution has opened up. You have heard of the doctrine of hereditary transmission. This is a doctrine not wholly proved yet, but which every day brings some new facts to further establish and see what a bearing this has on morals. This shows that a sin committed brings a punishment, not only on the door, but on the door's offspring; and that good done, an intellect trained, emotions cultivated, can be, and are, also transmitted. Nothing, heretofore, had been made plainer than that excess of all kinds vitiated a man's physical nature, and also injured his mind. This now doctrine, however, shows that the drunkenness and vice of the parent are manifested in his children; and that, as was said long ago, the punishment extends to the third and fourth generation. But as the punishment extends, so does the reward. As O. Wendell Holmes says in one of his works, the New England blood counts for something. That is, the cultured classes' offspring are quicker at learning than the children of those whose minds are untrained. And then the progress; the growth of new organs; the decay of unused organs—and this the evolutionists have proved—see what a strong bearing this has on morals. It brings up and bridges the other opposing doctrines on this very morality question. You have heard of Owenism. I do not mean it in its socialistic phase, but in the moral doctrines that underlay it. These were usually summed up in the aphorism, "Circumstances make the man." This has been proved fallacious; but if you say circumstances plus hereditary descent, or plus transmitted qualities, I do not know if many would quarrel nowadays with the doctrine. Here again is evolution a bridge. The conscience and circumstances are joined. Morality is from within as well as from without. At one time it was thought, if this doctrine of circumstances influencing conduct—of what may be termed determinism as opposed to freewill—were believed in, that the effect would be most pernicious; but now, plus hereditary descent, it is recognised as a doctrine with no baneful consequences. I read in the *Evangelist* of this month a statement that from one morally-depraved woman 200 criminals can trace their descent. And in the same paper is a sermon by the Rev. D. Sidey; he at once confesses that hereditary gifts must be recognised. This doctrine has everything to do with moral reform, and forms the strongest argument for the existence of State education and industrial schools. It does not assert that no educated men belong to the criminal class. On the contrary, it asserts that, except men's moral, sentimental nature be trained, the training of the intellect will not alone make them good citizens. But, while this is admitted, the fact that the surroundings go to form a man's character makes it imperatively necessary that the surroundings should be improved before you can look for healthy moral action. The germ theory of disease teaches us that, if we desire health and the absence of epidemics, we must have cleanliness. So, if we are to expect good deeds, all immoral associations must be removed. If vice and sensuality are the associations of youth, it would be a most improbable thing were our youth not vicious and sensual. And this, I repeat, is one of the strongest possible arguments for State education, and Industrial or Reformatory Schools. There is also another thing that this evolution doctrine as applied to morals has shown, and that is, no man can neglect the training and culture of his moral nature without injury to himself. If a man be wholly given up to the world, the flesh, or the devil, he is so much the less a man, and the evil may not end with himself. And so, if a community or nation gives itself up to the search after one thing, makes Mammon its God, e.g., the result will be an injury inflicted on the nation. Habit is everything. The nation that has, as its citizens, people whose habits are reverential, prudent, careful, sympathetic, and truthful, is a great nation. It may be poor, have no resources, and be comparatively barren, but if its people are great the nation is great. But, if its people are unreliable, are selfish, are extravagant, no matter what faith they express, or what wealth their country abounds in, the nation is poor. "It is righteousness that exalteth a nation."

But in politics, in the practical relations of life in a State, these doctrines have a still more marked effect. First. Evolution shows that the elevating of the people in the State cannot be accomplished by a quick process.

To many the winning of the five points of the Charter was the conferring of an immense boon on the nation—would do good to the people—make them better in their actions one to another, and also raise their standard of well-being. But the extension of the suffrage has come, and the electors can vote in secret, but no great change has come with those. The power of beer, in the last English election, was greater than in any prior election. Bribery is not stamped out. The electors do not elect a man for his honesty and ability. On the contrary, some constituencies rejected the ablest candidates, and elected the least able. The liberal ideas that were to prevail when the mass could vote are found to be non-existent. A Tory majority is the consequent of the antecedent ballot. I only cite this as an example, showing that a nation or people change slowly; one does not expect a people to become all at once wise or honest. And so with any radical reform. The change of a Ministry, the change of even a form of government, will not effect much. Some people think, only let a new Constitution be framed, and the country is saved; extravagance will cease, and log-rolling vanish. Alas! the evil is too deep-seated for a paper Act to reach. Do you imagine, if we abolished all our colonial knights, and there was no such thing as a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George known in our island, that we should feel any perceptible advantage? Or, if our schools were under a Board in Wellington, and Provincialism was of the past, that the political atmosphere would be thereby rendered so pure that no possible smoke or mist would ever prevent us enjoying the sweets of sunlight? Surely our hope is not so great as that. That is not what needs change. I do not say but what a Constitution may not be a hindrance to the growth of a people, but I also assert that by evolution the Constitution will alter and adapt itself to the varying circumstances of the people. Do not let us delude ourselves with the notion that if we are misgoverned it is because of our form of government. The New Yorkers have been misgoverned, and once the moral strength of the people was put in action the misgovernors were ostracised. It needed no change of constitution. It needed what? Why, the moral tone of the people to be raised and roused to action. For what, after all, have we in all law to depend on? Is it not on the morality of the people? If our criminal statutes by their enacted punishments shock the sense of justice in the mass, what happens? Juries won't convict. The justice in the soul, as a poet phrases, transcends the written law.

Justice is not settled by legislators and laws—it is in the soul.

It cannot be varied by statutes, any more than love, pride, the attraction of gravity, can, and, therefore, the New Yorkers did not begin and frame a new State Constitution, or abolish State Governments. They did the contrary; they elected the State party, or what we would term the Provincial party; saw that their salvation lay not in a change of the form of their government, nor in the repeal of a statute, but in each person insisting on honesty and economy. Nor can we expect that this reform will come all at once. The circumstances, the conditions must change. The people are always properly represented. When we have such a representative, who is to blame? The representative? Not he! It is the people who sent him there. If he is defective, the senders were defective; if he is extravagant, the people were extravagant; if he changed his political creed, the people changed theirs; if he was careless of how the public money may be squandered, did he not have a constituency whose continual cry was progress, and spending money in the place? The constituency in a double sense makes the members; but then it may be asked, what of great men? Is it not a fact that they create, and are not themselves the created? A Carlyle, a Cromwell, a Napoleon, a Pope Pius, a Gladstone, a Dr. Newman, a Cardinal Manning, a Bismarck, an Emerson—are they made by the age? Are they not a power within the age, moulding it to themselves, shedding their influence all round? As a pebble cannot be cast into a pool without disturbing the whole water in the pool, the circles widen to the extremities, so a great man cannot arise without influencing his fellows. Here, again, comes evolution into play. The great man is a product as much as a producer. As the great novelist of this century says—

*Our deeds still travel with us from after,
And what we have been makes us what we are.*

The great man gives an impetus to his age. He pushes it ahead, makes it press onward; but the force he uses, it has been stored up for ages perhaps. Carlyle can trace in himself his grand father's traits. You cannot expect a man of culture to arise where there has been no education. We do not get our philosophers from Spain, but from Germany. Before a Fichte or a Goethe can arise there must be prior conditions. Scotland is famed for its study of mental science, and hence, considering its population, it has produced a greater number of psychologists and philosophers than any other country. The youth of America, as pointed out by Burke, turned their attention to law more than to theology and medicine, and the American lawyers' works are now text-books in England. The bent of the best students was towards law. Where do we expect to find the highest literary criticism? Why, in Germany. Where in the United Kingdom the best classical scholars? In Oxford and Dublin; and the best mathematicians in Cambridge. These things come not in a day. We see varieties of plants where there is a great number of the same kind; so before we can expect a genius there must be a big seed-bed.

But are there diverse social forces working in our midst? And whither tend they? I do not think anyone can overlook the forces that are at the surface, so to speak, of all questions—Individualism and Socialism. Here are the opposing systems. The one founded on rivalry, on competition—the other wishing society to be bound

together by mutual affection—by love. The one asserts that the fittest should survive, and that this can best be obtained by a rude freedom and a kind of social warfare. Competition is Individualism's Alpha and Omega. Each must strive for himself—strive to get wealth, to get luxuries, to fulfil greater desires. Socialism, again, wishes to see competition abolished, and war—social and commercial war—at an end. These two questions are at the root of our education questions, our land questions, our poor-rate questions. If Individualism were carried to its legitimate end, as Spencer carries it in his 'Social Statics,' there would be no State education and no State aid to the poor. His reasoning is, that it is the duty of the State to allow Individualism its fullest play, to protect rights, and that by educating a child at the expense of the State a wrong is being done to certain individuals in the State, for something is taken from them not necessary for the protection of their rights.

Socialism again asserts it to be the duty of men to aid the weak and that a man should, out of his substance, give help to the poor and wretched. I have not time to discuss Socialism and Individualism. They are the two moving forces at present of politics. The latter is shaping the political economy of Germany, while the battle is still raging as to which shall conquer in England. Greg is perhaps the type in England of the Individualist political economist; and now that J. S. Mill is dead, few, if any, English political economists speak well of Socialism. And here comes that other doctrine I mentioned—that of expediency in politics. What should the aim of a politician be? Every man who thinks has theories. He has ideas of what is best. Ought he at once to carry his ideas into practice? Or should he recognise that his ideas will be only useful and good when the conditions arise for them? May not a thing be good, but not expedient? Politics is a practical thing, and, being practical, we may not be able to carry out our ideas in practice. This is what is termed the doctrine of expediency. It may in the abstract in our opinion be right to do so and so, but is it expedient? This is just saying we must look at all the surroundings before we attempt to carry out our ideal. We must allow for growth, for evolution. Free unrestricted commerce is good for a people, but ought Custom-houses at once to be swept away? May there not be other and more evils attendant on direct taxation than those attendant on a custom-tax and a restricted trade? This is how political questions must be approached; and yet we need not sacrifice our ideal. For example, we may hold a firm conviction that all unrestricted monopoly of land is bad, and yet be not surrendering our ideal when we attempt to palliate the evil by making the monopolists numerous instead of few; or we may imagine that the training of the feudal system to the belief in the sacredness of the soil, has been so long, has borne such fruits, that the State-leasing system may be impossible for ages to come. Take yet another example—direct versus indirect taxation. When we look at the question from one point of view, we shall find that, in theory, a man ought to pay taxes in accordance: first, with the safety guaranteed to his person, and then to his property, by the State—a sort of poll-tax and property-tax. But the property men, under the indirect system, pay little or nothing; if absentees, almost nothing. This is not fair, not equitable, unjust; but can we change it? "Of all debts," says Emerson, "men are least willing to pay the taxes. . . Every where they think they get their money's worth except for these." And until you get the people to understand taxation and the theory of government, you may be doing less injustice by indirect taxation than you would by direct taxation. This is the expediency doctrine, and with it, "What are the duties of the State?" comes up. Is the duty of the State limited, as Spencer limits it—to the giving of the like liberty to everyone—each to enjoy the most perfect liberty so long as he does not infringe on his neighbour? The answer is given. This is the Utopia for which we should strive; but in the meantime the goal is distant—evolution is recognised—and we must have benevolent institutions and hospitals supported by the State, and State schools, and universities, and museums, and rates, and taxes, and Custom-houses. A policeocracy is not yet the highest form of Government. As there was a time when a State Church did good, but that time has passed, so in the future the time will come when the State school is as unknown as the State Church. Here, again, a recognition of this ever-present Protean-like doctrine—evolution. In every shape it comes up.

I have briefly sketched what effect it has had, and is having, on philosophy. I have shown what science must now meet, and how moral doctrines are being shaped by it; and in politics I have hinted how the questions that call for the thoughts and votes of the electors must now be dealt with. In this I may appear to have dealt with the present rather than with the future. But I believe that the only true prophecy nowadays of what will be is the statement of what is. This, again, you see is just evolution. I do not care to deal with the theological aspect of that question, because I believe, if true, that theology will discover that it is not opposed to its doctrines. Indeed many clergymen admit evolution in a modified way already. But this doctrine cannot fail to have a most important bearing on all our social life. It may weaken our notion of spirit; but as Emerson says, "Fear not the new generalisation. Does the fact look crass and material, threatening to degrade the theory of spirit? Resist it not; it goes to refine and raise the theory of matter just as much." Matter, a dead, inert substance, becomes a mass containing the potentiality of life—nay, of the highest possible intellectual life. Matter and spirit are not changed; they are made one. I do not therefore fear any evil effect from this doctrine. Indeed, if *true*, it would prevent all investigation, all thought, all science, were we to assert that it could possibly be hurtful. It may not be expedient to preach it as a gospel; but there is little danger of that kind of

preaching spreading. Men must have something more emotional, more stirring. Still this evolution doctrine is not without its goodness. First it states that where there are wants there will be supplies. Are people subject to accidents, the strong to sickness, the young to death? What are our Oddfellows' lodges but an organism to meet these? To meet them by independence, not by surrendering a man's manliness, by application for State alms, but by exercising prudence and care to provide for the future. And indeed Spencer contends that social evolution or growth is so strong that had our growth been negatively regulative—that is, if the Government had not interfered, had allowed each to do as he liked, so long as he did not interfere with another's like right—we should have had better railways, better post-offices, better education than the State affords. Whether that be so or not, at any rate it teaches us to look to the future with hope, with a belief that progress is the law of existence, and that, though reforms come slowly, they come surely. And it also impresses on us this fact, that no reform can come per saltum, by a leap, but that the conditions must change. And though it may appear to some to impair a man's individuality and freedom by urging the expediency doctrine, it has really no such aim. What is, as I have already said, the doctrine of expediency, but looking all round a subject? But the duty to battle for the ideally true is not one whit restrained; on the contrary, each one is to fearlessly utter what he believes to be true, and fearlessly strive for what he believes to be best. He may be wrong, he is not infallible, but it is only by thus uttering and thus striving that his ideas can get sifted, and, if true, carried into execution. I do not believe with those who see only woe and desolation in the future. Bad times may come, reactions will intervene, but our civilisation is not at its meridian. It is rather, as has been said, only at its sunrise—at its dawn. How popular is education now! Schools everywhere, British associations, science lectures, magazines, newspapers. And will these not have a result? Are we to believe that all this force is wasted, and that its aim—simply because it deals with one or more departments of knowledge, and neglects the region of religion, of faith—is brutal and Godless? It would be strange indeed if this were so—nay, it would be a libel on Nature and on the race. This scientific investigation is a product; and it also will produce and is producing, changes in our thoughts and in our manner of looking at things such as we have not yet imagined. And this test—of what comes of it?—is, perhaps, the only one we have. If we find that education lessens crime; if we discover that the Government of the country where education is most diffused is the most stable; if we find that the finer feelings of mankind are found to have the most scope where you have good schools, good museums, good music, good picture-galleries, plenty of newspapers, and thoughtful magazines,—depend on it these things are good, and not brutal and Godless. For, after all, our test is: By their fruits ye shall know them.

And though we are products, we also are producers. Science may be abroad, culture may be abroad; our duty is to disseminate both. Do not let us do what Buckle (Vol. II., 53) says the Spaniards did: "They were satisfied with themselves. They were sure of the accuracy of their own opinions; they were proud of the notions which they inherited, and which they did not wish either to increase or diminish. Being unable to doubt, they were therefore unwilling to inquire. New and beautiful truths, conveyed in the clearest and most attractive language, could produce no effect upon men whose minds were thus hardened and enslaved. An unhappy combination of events, working without interruption since the fifth century, had predetermined the national character in a particular direction, and neither statesmen, nor kings, nor legislators could effect aught against it. The seventeenth century was, however, the climax of all. In that age, the Spanish nation fell into a sleep, from which, as a nation, it has never awakened. It was a sleep not of repose, but of death. It was a sleep in which the faculties, instead of being rested, were paralysed."

And so we should discuss the present question. Don't let us be afraid to doubt. Let us get facts. Theories are useful. The hypothesis is a necessary adjunct to the investigation. If we remain blind to the present, if we neglect culture, we may retard the evolution of our colony. The country that pays attention to thought is the country that progresses. Germany, not Spain, leads Europe. It was with this idea I brought this subject forward. New truths I had none to tell. I could only draw attention to what was passing around us, in the hope that we might all see that not one thing that comes up in our newspapers, and in our everyday life, but has involved in it something deeper than what appears on the surface; and also in the hope that, seeing this, we might aim to make the world better than we found it, and strive for a future time more glorious than the golden past. This I conceived I could best do by exalting evolution. It is this which gives the fullest play to a man's faculties. It is this which clothes as with divinity a man. Not one man's life is in vain; not one action but has its result; not one evil seed sown but springs, and with it its crop; and not one good action done but also has its aim.

That nothing walks with aimless feet,
That not one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void.

And I believe that were we all to shape our actions by this belief we should be more safe in our philosophy,

more careful in our scientific examinations and hypotheses, more correct in our morals, and the change in our social life and political acts I do not believe we can adequately comprehend. There are some ardent, enthusiastic spirits who are damped by the coolness of opposition and the slowness and apparent uselessness of reform. Hero is a doctrine to rekindle their fires; and with this rekindling may we not hope, when it spreads and begins to be acted on, that our future will be better than our present, and that Walt Whitman's announcement may not be extravagant:

I announce natural persons to arise;

I announce Justice triumphant;

I announce uncompromising liberty and equality.

* * * * *

I announce splendours and majesties to make all the previous politics of the earth insignificant.
decorative feature

The New Zealand Confederation:

An Enquiry Into the Present State of Political Affairs, with Suggestions as to the Best form of Government for the Colony.

By Chas. W. Purnell, Author of "An Agrarian Law for New Zealand," Etc.

R. T. Wheeler Dunedin Stafford Street. 1877

Price One Shilling.

The New Zealand Confederation.

I.

ONE result of the legislation attending the abolition of Provincial Institutions has been the material increase of the political power of the richer classes of the community, notably the run-holders, in which term I include all persons occupying runs, whether as freeholders or as pastoral tenants of the Crown. It has consolidated the strength of the runholding party in the General Assembly by enabling it to act more effectively, since the land laws for the whole Colony will, for the future, be dealt with in a general measure whenever amendments are proposed; whereas, in the past, this party has frequently found itself embarrassed by having to deal with the land laws for each Province *seriatim*, and so been unable to check the progress of liberal principle?. An illustration of its augmented strength has already been furnished by the action of the Legislative Council, in excising the clauses of the Waste Lands Administration Bill, which provided for the extension of the deferred payment system throughout the Colony; and a further proof will be found in the attempt (which failed of success more by accident than anything else) made last session to renew the leases of the Canterbury pastoral tenants without public competition. The Waste Lands Boards have likewise been virtually placed under the control of the same party. The principle of popular election has never prevailed in respect of these bodies' but they have, to all intents, been tranches of the Provincial Governments, the General Government having a voice in their proceedings through the media of the Chief Commissioners. They have been strictly local bodies, and amenable to local control, whereas, under the new order of things, they are Boards nominated by the Ministry and responsible to it alone, nor will the County Councils possess the faintest right to complain of their conduct, even should it meet with public disapproval. While the Boards are thus removed from popular influence, their powers are augmented; and they will henceforth exercise many of the functions which formerly appertained to the Provincial Councils and Executives. The Otago Board, for example, will be required to perform the delicate task of deciding what blocks of land shall be set apart for hundreds and for sale on deferred payments, subject, indeed, to the approval of the Governor, but still wielding a power which is liable to be used in the most mischievous manner. The Counties Act is likewise calculated to strengthen the political power of the rich. By the system of multiple voting which it introduces, it will be possible for a large property holder to possess forty-five votes in a single county, whereas the poor man can enjoy but one, while the corrective originally provided whereby the Chairman of the County Council was made elective by the single votes of the whole body of ratepayers, has been taken away by the Legislative Council, and the election of Chairman entrusted to the County Council itself, thus aggravating the inequality of the franchise.

The power of the runholding party is likely to continue growing, by reason of its numerical strength in the Legislature and in the Cabinet. There are sixteen large landholders in the Lower House—a number preposterously out of proportion to the representation enjoyed by the rest of the community; and this phalanx is supported by a few other members so closely connected by business ties and otherwise with the large

landholders, that they may be considered to represent the same interest. It would be superfluous to descant upon the immense influence of the runholders in the Upper House, which is entirely under their control. The same interest is preponderant in the Cabinet. When the session closed, matters stood thus:—The Premiership and the Colonial Treasurership were held by Major Atkinson, who is not a runholder, and cannot indeed be said to represent any particular interest. Dr. Pollen was Colonial Secretary. He likewise, so far as I am aware, is not connected with the runholding interest, but from his many years' service in the Government departments, must be looked upon, if anything, as representing the Civil Service in the Cabinet. Sir Donald McLean was Native Minister, Mr. Richardson Minister for Public Works, Mr. Bowen Minister of Justice, and Mr. G. McLean Commissioner of Customs. The two former are runholders. Mr. McLean avowedly represents the same interest, and it is perhaps not unfair to class Mr. Bowen in the same category. Mr. Whitaker, the most prominent member of the Cabinet, is likewise the most active agent which the large land-holders possess there. His name has been repeatedly before the public in connection with various transactions which shew clearly the direction of his political views, one of the latest and most notable being the sale of the Piako Swamp, wherein he acted as attorney for the purchasers, and from his place in the House defended the transaction, although he did not vote in the division. It is confirmatory of the general scope of these remarks that all the runholders in the House voted with the Government on this question. Then, when the Ministry, unmindful of the law, increased its number to nine, it did so by taking into the Cabinet two more runholders in the persons of Mr. John Hall and Mr. Ormond, who, however, after a few days' tenure of office, disappeared abruptly from view. Just now the Ministry is in one of its periodical states of solution, and until a definite compound is again formed, its precise composition must remain a matter of some uncertainty. What has, up to the present time been effected, is the replacement of Sir Donald McLean and Mr. Richardson by Messrs. Ormond and Donald Reid, accompanied by a slight shuffling of portfolios. Had Mr. Reid joined the Ministry two or three years ago, it would have been a pretty sure pledge that the progress of settlement would not have been sacrificed to the private interests of the large landholders; but in proportion as Mr. Reid has grown older, the native Toryness of his disposition has developed at an alarming rate, and his political conduct has latterly been of such a character as to make him a by no means unfit member of a squatting Cabinet. Had indeed Mr. Reid remained staunch to his old opinions, it is very questionable whether he would have been permitted the opportunity of bringing those liberal ideas into play, now that the powers of the Government over the administration of the public estate have been so greatly augmented; for apart from the proclivities of the members of the present Cabinet, if the reader will take the trouble to review the composition of the Ministries which have held office during the past few years, he will be struck with the immense influence which the squatting interest, in its various branchings, has wielded in the counsels of the Government. The same hand disclosed itself in those land and timber-right transactions in the North Island which recently shocked the moral sense of the community; and if any inquisitive person would like to gather a little information, put into euphemistical language, as to the manner in which the New Zealand Ministry is sometimes mixed up with mercantile speculators, let him read the report of and evidence taken before the Public Petitions Committee relative to Mr. Coleman Phillips' petition, together with the debate in the Lower House thereon, and the letters from Sir Julius Vogel and Mr. Phillips to the 'New Zealand Times' on the same subject; while he will further reflect that it is unusual, in the practice of Responsible Government, for the principal legal adviser of a Bank which is the sole depository of the Government Account to occupy a seat in the Ministry.

It is not from a desire to aggravate political animosities that I review these circumstances, but all parties will admit that the present political situation cannot continue; that fresh constitutional legislation must take place; and the first thing to be done is to gain an accurate idea of the ground upon which we stand, blinding ourselves neither to its advantages nor its disadvantages. I take it to be undeniable that recent legislation has augmented the power of the richer classes of the community, and that power is fortified by a strange abandonment of one of the fundamental principles of Parliamentary Government which has occurred. Without counting the formal change of Ministry necessitated by the "Indemnity" escapade of last session, eight Ministries have been sworn into office since Mr. Stafford resigned in 1869; but in one instance only was the change the result of a parliamentary vote of want of confidence, With the exception of the break occasioned by Mr. Stafford's brief tenure of power in 1872, the same Ministry has, to all intents and purposes, remained in office during the whole period. The mode of procedure has been this: When Mr. A. got unpopular as a member of the Cabinet, he has been thrown overboard, and Mr. B. shipped; when the Ministry, as a whole, has begun to find things unpleasant, it has been "reconstructed" by all the Ministers resigning, and the leaders being sworn in again, with fresh colleagues. This performance having been accomplished, the remodelled Ministry has come down to the House and declared that it was not responsible for the acts of its predecessors, the delinquents thus escaping punishment, and yet continuing to rule. The principles of Parliamentary Government have been further invaded by another objectionable practice. It is an essential feature of this form of Government that the Cabinet Ministers should be chosen from amongst the members of Parliament; but Mr. Fox, when forming his Ministry

in 1869, departed from the constitutional rule by appointing Mr. Gisborne, the Under Secretary for the Colony, and who had been for a large part of his life in the Civil Service, Colonial Secretary, a sacrifice being made to the proprietors by giving him a seat in the Legislative Council. This bad precedent was followed in the case of Mr. Bowen. This gentleman had been discharging the duties of Resident Magistrate of Christchurch for several years, and was suddenly raised by Mr. Vogel, in 1874, to the rank of Minister of Justice. Mr. Bowen, like Mr. Gisborne, was to have been made a Legislative Councillor, but a vacancy fortunately occurring in the representation of Kaiapoi, the necessity for a sham compliance with constitutional rules was saved, as Mr. Bowen succeeded in securing the empty seat in the Lower House. A still further inroad upon sound principles was effectually ventilated by Sir George Grey a few months ago. The dependence of the Ministers upon Parliament has been greatly impaired by their connection with the Civil Service. Mr. Gisborne had become entitled to a pension, but, in order that it might be larger, he was made Commissioner of Annuities while a member of the Cabinet, and permitted to retire into that office upon leaving the Ministry, so as to be able to complete the requisite term. Dr. Pollen and Sir Donald McLean are likewise on the pension list. Then there is the case of Mr. Bathgate, who, unlike Mr. Bowen, was not promoted from a Resident Magistracy to be Minister of Justice, but resigned that portfolio in order to become a Resident Magistrate and District Judge. It is a noticeable feature of these proceedings, that they render the subordinate Ministers mere dependents of the Premier.

The Civil Service of New Zealand is peculiarly fitted to lend political support to any Ministry which happens to be in office, and so to obstruct the free working of Responsible Government, which requires the possession of office by the Ministry to hinge solely upon political reasons—the outcome of public opinion. A large and compact body of the Civil Service resides permanently at Wellington, where it exercises an immense social influence over both the Ministry and Parliament, while from its isolation there, it is practically exempt from the criticisms of, the bulk of the inhabitants of the Colony, who may feel that wrong is being done, but are quite unable to see for themselves the exact mode in which the mischief is being perpetrated, and so are powerless to check it. Wellington is swiftly degenerating into the Washington of New Zealand, but it will become, if left alone, a Washington of a very low kind, because of the impossibility of bringing it under the constant light of public opinion. Its very smallness renders it the more dangerous, because in a large city the Civil Service would be one of many social influences, while here it is all in all; and a town which, from its geographical situation, ought to attain commercial importance, will be converted into an official barracks and the haunt of political jobbers. The Government servants residing at Wellington form, however but a detachment of the glorious army of persons required to administer the affairs of a community four hundred thousand strong. The Civil Roll is of appalling length, but contains the names of but a portion of the army, many clerks in Government employ not ranking nominally as members of the Civil Service. The Government of New Zealand too has permanently increased its need for a larger staff than is requisite to conduct the ordinary business of Government, by taking upon itself the management of telegraphs and railways and creating an insurance department. The railways, as they develop, will remove from civil avocations, and convert into Government officers a large number of men, while the insurance department, whose business is being pushed in the manner usually adopted by a private trading concern, is drawing within its grasp persons who, in most British communities, are free from the contamination of Government money. A bureaucracy is being spread around the country, and the inhabitants are being proportionately enervated in spirit, and rendered unable to bear the healthy breezes of political freedom; while the application of these facts to the text is, that the Ministry in power and in a position to offer increase of pay to its officers is, by the undue extension of the Civil Service, sheltered from that full play of public and Parliamentary criticism which is essential to the proper working of the system of Responsible Government. The Acts relating to the abolition of the Provinces have augmented the previously excessive power of the Ministry through the medium of the Civil Service, by placing in its hands the control of the police throughout the Colony. I look upon this measure with considerable alarm. It is entirely opposed to the Constitutional policy which has been hitherto followed by our nation. The Imperial Parliament has always regarded with excessive jealousy the military strength of the Government. To this day it will not renew the Mutiny Act for a longer period than a year. The police in England are all under the control of the local authorities, with the exception of the metropolitan force, which, for obvious reasons, is at the disposal of the Government. The same policy has hitherto been pursued here; but the effect of the recent changes is, that the Government has now, roundly speaking, a body of one thousand drilled and armed men ready to obey its nod, without asking questions, while the local bodies have not a man at their command.

When we reflect upon the manner in which responsibility to Parliament has been evaded for several years past; the composition of the various Ministries; the peculiar influence which certain individuals seem to exercise over the administration of public affairs; the sway of the Civil Service, and its fortification of the power of the Ministry of the day, we shall perceive that the Government of New Zealand has imperceptibly got a long way on the road to an oligarchy.

To the General Assembly the Colony naturally looks as the guardian of its political liberties; but the Assembly, like the Ministry, is grown corrupt. Much as the Ministry deserves censure for its successful efforts to escape due responsibility to the Assembly, the latter is equally to blame; and the Assembly, in endorsing the constitutional irregularities committed by Sir Julius Vogel, did a bitter wrong to the country. Constitutional forms are not idle ceremonies, and no country ever disregarded them without ultimately bewailing the loss of the whole or a part of its liberty. They are like the etiquette which surrounds a woman: possessing little or no abstract merit, but forming an outwork to the citadel of virtue. The Assembly has violated the fundamental principles of justice. It is the boast of our jurists that the English law draws no distinction between rich and poor; but the Assembly has deliberately made one law for the governors and another for the governed. The affair is of so recent a date that it would be superfluous to repeat in detail the circumstances attendant upon the passage of the Indemnity Bill (the Civil List Act Amendment Bill) last Session, although every patriotic man should ponder upon them and ask himself what the administration of justice would become if such things were done frequently, and that is the real test to be applied. The leading features of the case are clear enough. Sir Julius Vogel having resigned the Premiership, the Ministry was reformed under the presidency of Major Atkinson. It contained nine European members, including a political Attorney-General. Now, the Civil List Act of 1873 expressly declares that the Cabinet shall contain but seven Europeans, while the Attorney-General's Act of 1866, with equal explicitness, forbids the Attorney-General to hold a seat in either House of Assembly. This is the commonsense meaning of the language of the Acts, and all the lawyers whose opinions were asked, except Mr. Whitaker, said it was likewise their legal interpretation, although with regard to the Attorney-General's Act it must be confessed that a little doubt existed whether by dint of legal ingenuity its provisions might not be twisted so as to sanction the appointment of a political Attorney-General. The Civil List Act too had been passed so recently that its object was familiar to politicians; and moreover, three of the members of the Atkinson-Ministry had likewise been members of the Ministry which fathered the Act. To fit the cap of knowledge still tighter upon the heads of the offenders, Major Atkinson and his colleagues had excluded two of their number from receipt of salaries, one of the two being the Commissioner of Customs, to whose portfolio a salary is invariably attached. The Ministry had thus deliberately violated the law and brought itself within reach of the Disqualification Act. The leader of the Opposition, being challenged to do so, thereupon issued writs in the Supreme Court for the recovery of penalties, and the House, being called upon by the Ministry, actually intervened to stay the process of the Court, and passed a retrospective Act to protect the Ministers from the legal consequences of their own misdeeds. So disregardful was the House of Representatives of the first principles of justice that it refused to insert a clause exempting Sir George Grey from payment of costs, which, by the ordinary rules of law, he would incur on the Indemnity Act being pleaded; but the Legislative Council fortunately, declined to assist in such a monstrous outrage upon right. The heinousness of the crime against order committed by the Assembly cannot be overrated. If a private individual had broken a penal law, even inadvertently, would the Assembly have stopped the action of the Court in his favour? Undoubtedly it would not. There is, of course, a further consideration involved in the fact that by breaking the Disqualification Act, the Ministers holding Seats in the Lower House thereby forfeited them, but that is a political matter; and I wish to concentrate attention upon the disregard shown by the Assembly to the law of the land. It was not the first occasion of its trespassing. In the session of 1875, certain members of the Legislature having broken the Disqualification Act by entering into contracts with the Government, and it being doubtful whether others were not implicated, a general Indemnity Act was passed to save them all from the penalties. It is needless to discuss the degree of moral guilt attached to any of these transactions. That might be a question for a Judge to consider in meting out the punishment, or for the Assembly after the penalty had been imposed, but could not justify the latter in interfering with the Court in the discharge of its duty. If, for example, it was thought that Major Atkinson and his colleagues should be exempted from payment of money penalties, the proper course would have been to wait until the decision of the Court had been pronounced, and then, if that had been adverse to Ministers, to vote them a sum of money to cover the penalties imposed; but to stay the action of the Court and to pass retrospective laws in favor of men in high places, is subversive of all justice.

It is an essential function of a representative house to control the finances, but the House of Representatives has for years past abandoned this duty, and simply voted the sums of money which the Government has asked it to vote, notwithstanding the fact that a wide divergence of opinion existed in the community respecting the wisdom of the financial policy that was being pursued. The new House seems little better disposed to perform its duty. It is acknowledged on all sides that the finances of the country are in a critical condition. The Press last session was clamoring for an exhaustive criticism in the House; and it was even made a matter of reproach to the Opposition that, by their insisting upon a full discussion of the Constitutional question, they were preventing a financial debate. At last the great day arrived, and what happened This was the intelligence communicated to the country: "Finance was discussed this afternoon to empty benches. Most of the members were playing lawn tennis." The House has in just the same manner abandoned its functions in native affairs. Sir

Donald M'Lean has just resigned the post of Native Minister, but for nearly seven years the entire management of Native affairs was vested in his hands, and until last Session, when a little independence of spirit was manifested, the House, to whom he was supposed to be responsible, bowed before him when he spoke, and voted whatever money he asked it to vote, and did not presume to enquire how it was spent.

The utter inability of the Assembly to perform the functions appertaining to a Parliament is further illustrated by the manner in which it worships the Ministry of the day. The personal rudeness of the Government towards the leaders of the Opposition was a marked feature of the proceedings of last Session. Now, it can scarcely be said to be the duty of the leader of a Parliamentary Opposition to make himself agreeable to the Ministry; nor is he guilty of impropriety, or displaying unfitness for his post if, when vast constitutional issues are at stake, he exhibits great pertinacity in endeavoring to carry the views of his party into effect. Yet the House of Representatives seems to regard such conduct in that light. The majority acts as though it occupied the position of a military conqueror of the vanquished minority. Opposition to the Government measures is treated as a crime; and this feeling has prevailed in the House for years. If a member has presumed to criticise the Colonial Treasurer's Budget, he has been dubbed "a traducer of the Colony," and told that he is "endeavoring to injure the public credit." If anybody has ventured to say that the Native Department is not properly conducted, he has been immediately silenced with the accusation that he is striving to bring about war between the two races. The demoralisation of the House in this respect was manifested in 1873, when the Legislative Council, acting within the strict limits of its authority, and in a perfectly fair and reasonable manner, engaged in a discussion upon the financial state of the Colony, and as a sequence, passed a resolution hostile to the Government's policy, whereupon Mr. Vogel got up from his place in the Lower House, where he was sitting as Premier, and vehemently denounced, in unbecoming language, the members of the Council for so doing; while the House, instead of resenting such a gross breach of constitutional usage, actually applauded the Premier for his conduct.

The Assembly, too, permits the Ministry to break solemn pledges, upon the most important subjects, with impunity; and to such a pitch has this got, that there is probably not an intelligent man in the country who expects the Ministry, when great political issues are at stake, to observe a pledge longer than is convenient; and certainly the public is not astonished when a Ministry, in order to retain office, brings down measures in violation of all its former promises. No one thinks that moral turpitude of this kind will affect the voting in the Assembly.

As has been frequently said of late, the House of Representatives has degenerated into a huge Board of Works; and a very corrupt Board too. It has corrupted the whole Colony until the constituencies have learnt to believe that the prime test of a candidate's fitness to represent them in the Assembly is his probable capacity of bowing and scraping before Ministers in their private rooms, with the view of persuading them to spend public money in his district. Sir George Grey has often been censured by his opponents for his frequent reiteration of general principles; but it seems to me that it was just such a lesson as this that the Colony wanted. It had altogether forgotten what the real functions of government were; and the epithets of "wild," "fanatical," "absurd," "insane," and so forth, which have greeted Sir George upon his enunciating elementary principles lying at the root of all government, shew how far the Colony had strayed from the true path. Nor is it apparent how the Assembly can be purified, since its purification or further corruption rests with itself. Towards the close of the last Parliament the whole country was crying out for a readjustment of the representation, which, by the unequal growth of different parts of the Colony, had become urgently needed. It was a season when, if at any time, the House might have been expected to cast aside selfish motives, and display patriotism; but what did it do? The majority, with the Ministry at its head, created ten fresh seats, and distributed them, not with a regard to a proper representation of population and interests, but mainly with a view to secure an Abolitionist majority at the elections. The fact was glaring and undeniable. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

The pith of Abolition, so far as the Government is concerned, is its finance. What the Government has accomplished up to the present time, is the getting control of the Provincial revenues; so that henceforth when it runs short of funds, it can take what it wants from this source. Doubtless, it returns the bulk of these revenues to the different Provincial Districts for the present. The cake is now being distributed; the birch will come afterwards. Had the Government not secured the Provincial revenues in this fashion, it must next year at the latest have imposed revenue and property taxes; while now, the burden of taxation will be thrown upon the local bodies. This is a singularly objectionable feature in the Abolitionist programme. It raises a screen between the taxpayer and the hand which imposes the taxes. The taxpayers are sure to blame the local bodies, because the latter will have to perform the unpleasant task of levying the taxes, whereas the real culprit will be the General Government, whose monstrous extravagance necessitated the proceeding. Then, too, it seems but fair that those persons who have benefitted the most by the heavy loan expenditure which has taken place should pay a proportionate share of the taxation resulting from that expenditure; but, by the abolition of the Provinces, they have been enabled to partly avoid this responsibility, because although the large landholders may suffer a

little from the taxation of the County Councils (which is a point that can only be determined by experience), it will not be to the extent which is their due, while the importers, and persons of a similar class, will escape altogether. The proper means of reaching all these persons is through income and property taxes.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the financial state of the Colony in its entirety; but it will be profitable to review the leading items of the departmental expenditure of the Government. The abstract of the Public Accounts for the financial year ending 30th June, 1876, appended to the Colonial Treasurer's statement, discloses the following outlay in this direction, omitting fractions:—

The above sum does not include a penny for police, gaols, ordinary surveys, or education, the responsibility of maintaining which services devolved upon the Provincial Governments. The management of the railways will, in the future, be an important part of the duties of the Government; but the outlay under this head is excluded from the account, because it gives no clue to what the permanent expenditure will be when the lines in course of construction are completed. The cost of the Public Works and Immigration Departments will doubtless be reduced as soon as the loans are expended, but the head office of the former is sure to be a standing charge; and it is to be presumed that some sort of Immigration staff will be kept up for several years to come, at all events. The expenditure on the Insurance Department is also omitted. The items mentioned, indeed, have been chosen merely to give a general idea of the cost of the permanent departmental machinery of the General Government—the machinery by which it discharges its ordinary functions, and which cost will, of course, be greatly augmented by the abolition of Provincial Institutions. It is admitted that the cost of the General Government is beyond the means of the Colony. The Press says it is monstrous; and the public declares that it can no longer be endured. Now and then the House (just at present it is the Government) is seized with a spasmodic fit of economy, but permanent retrenchment is never made; and for years the cost of the General Government has been growing in a much greater ratio than the increase in the population warrants. It seems impossible to stop it. The vice is in the system, and until that is radically changed the departmental expenditure will continue to grow. Let the reader ask any old member of the House what he thinks on this point.

II.

The forcible overthrow of Provincial Institutions has left great spots of burning wrong throughout the country. But, indeed, for the country having become debauched by the enormous public loan expenditure of the past few years, accompanied by its correlative private borrowing, that large section of the community which opposed the Abolition measures would never have submitted to the action of the General Assembly. The Abolitionists traded upon this demoralization. One of the representatives of the party in the Lower House accurately expressed its notion by saying, in reply to the assertion that an insurrection might happen in Otago: "Is any one the worse in Otago from the abolition of the Provinces? Does any one make less money? Does any one sleep less at night? Has any one less food to eat in the day, or less raiment to cover him? There is nothing of the sort;" and deduced the conclusion that an outbreak would not occur. The people at large did not, and do not yet, perceive the vast issues at stake; but those issues will gradually unfold themselves to the popular apprehension, while the people will also learn that services which have hitherto been performed for them by the Provincial Governments free of charge will henceforth have to be paid for out of their own pockets by means of local taxation. Thus, animosity will continue, and base, indeed, would be a people which tamely surrendered full rights of local government without a corresponding equivalent, and further permitted a large transfer of political power to the wealthy, already unfairly favoured in this respect. I will not discuss the vexed question of the legal power of the General Assembly to pass the Abolition Act; but I take up this ground: Assuming the contention of the Ministerialists to be correct, and that the Act 31 & 32 Vic. c. 92 can be construed so as to give the Assembly such a power; still, it is perfectly certain—a pure matter of fact—that the Colony, when applying to the Home Government for the Act, never contemplated its being used for the purpose of abolishing the Provinces generally, but only supposed it was asking for an Act to validate the proceedings in connection with the creation of the County of Westland. Indeed, the official edition of the Statute contains a footnote to the effect that "This Act was rendered necessary by doubts as to the validity of the County of Westland Act 1867." Now, it is always reprehensible for a Ministry to take advantage of the slip of a bill-drafter in order to promote its own views. It is bound to observe the spirit of the law, irrespective of its wording; whereas the Ministry, in the present instance, has done precisely the reverse, and that, too, when a fundamental change in the Constitution was at stake.

The manner in which these measures have been forced through the Assembly is likewise objectionable to the last degree. It has been assumed, as an axiom, that it is lawful for a Parliamentary majority to do whatever it pleases. But a majority has no Divine right to rule. As a pure matter of convenience, it has been agreed, in countries possessing Parliamentary institutions, that the majority shall rule the minority; but it is merely a rough-and-ready contrivance to save endless disputes, and "the representation of minorities" is one of the

political questions of the day. The present system implies the exercise of moderation on the part of the majority, and just concessions to the minority. If the position taken up by the Abolitionists were sound, the majority in the Assembly would be entitled to deprive the people represented by the minority of all Civil rights. Obviously, the majority is morally bound to act with a due regard to the views and interests of the minority; and more especially so when Constitutional changes are at issue. It is an inherent right of every free man to choose under what system of government he will live; and no Parliament—no ruling body whatever—can lawfully impose a form of Constitution upon a community which is repugnant to its wishes. Hence, it follows as a sequence, that the inhabitants of every Province should have been consulted, through the medium of their Provincial Council, before the latter was abolished. That argument has never been refuted, nor can it be refuted; and when the dust of the conflict has cleared away, all parties will recognise what a violent outrage upon constitutional liberty has been perpetrated. It must be remembered that when the Assembly approached this subject, it did so, not as "the Parliament of the country,"—in the sense, for instance, in which one would speak of the Parliament of Victoria in relation to that Colony,—but as the chief of a confederation of Legislatures, of which it stood *primus inter pares*. The Provinces were created distinct entities by the Constitution Act, and, although great encroachments had been made upon their revenues, and their legislation been overridden by the Assembly, their legal powers and privileges remained intact.

Owing to the peculiar nature of the Constitution originally bestowed upon New Zealand, precedents are not easily obtained; and, in considering this matter, we are forced, to a great extent, to fall back upon first principles, but still illustrations of my argument may be found. The mode of making amendments to the Constitution of the United States is one. There, a bare majority of Congress is not gifted with the power of amending the Constitution in however trifling a degree. Before an amendment can be proposed, a two-thirds majority of each House must concur, and the decision of Congress must be ratified by the Legislatures or Conventions of three-fourths of the States; or the amendment may be initiated by the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States calling a Convention, in which case Congress acts as the ratifying body. In the Swiss Federation, too, when a few years ago a change in the Constitution was determined upon, it did not acquire the force of law until ratified by a popular vote. Looking at these circumstances, and at general principles, it seems to me morally certain that had the Imperial Parliament been formally and plainly asked to confer power upon the General Assembly to abolish the Provinces, it would have stipulated that it should be done by a substantial vote of the Assembly, ratified either by the Provincial Councils or by a popular vote; and I maintain that the proper course for the Ministry to have pursued at the beginning was to bring down a new Constitution Act, which, while sweeping away the old institutions, would immediately establish new in their place, and permissive in its operation, so that the people might have seen the precise nature of the exchange offered to them, and been enabled to say Yea or Nay to it. That is, of course, assuming it to have been within the jurisdiction of the Assembly to abolish the Provinces.

Throughout the political struggle the Abolitionists have displayed a singular lack of noble principle and comprehensive statesmanship. Their ideas are antiquated. They travel along the old ruts. They fail to appreciate the strength of the new philosophy which is permeating men's minds. They are unable to discern that our nation is casting its eyes around in order to discover new paths by which to achieve fresh triumphs in the art of government. They did, indeed, at the outset, propound the idea of "the unity of the Colony;" but it soon fell dead. It was a sham. The Colony was united in all things where unity was really needful, but preserved a healthy rivalry in minor matters between its different parts—a rivalry which has been the mainspring of its prosperity. What is its condition now? The Abolitionists have set all New Zealand by the ears. Before the Abolition resolutions were produced, in 1874, Canterbury and Otago were the best friends in the word; now, a huge political chasm parts them in sunder. Wellington stands isolated—a political Ishmael, ready to be attacked and slain as soon as her brethren have done quarrelling amongst themselves. For the first time in the political history of New Zealand the lurid light of class warfare flickers on the horizon. Surely it is the rudest of statesmanship which entails consequences like these.

The Counties Act furnishes the name of local government only. All the staunchest Ministerialists can find to say in its behalf is that it may be licked into shape by and bye. In point of fact, the Colony for the time being is bereft of real local government; and it can never be governed satisfactorily from Wellington alone. Even the bulk of the Abolitionists make that admission. Few, if any, of the Abolitionist candidates went to the constituencies at the general election with such a proposal. An independent Press and full publicity are essentials to the proper working of the Parliamentary system. Neither can be gained if the whole business of the country is confided to the General Assembly seated at Wellington. A few years ago, there was a certain independence of spirit in the Wellington journals, but all three supported the Ministry last session, and differed only in the virulence of their abuse of any member of the Assembly who was bold enough to criticise the actions of the Government; and it is reasonable to suppose that the Wellington Press will yearly become more official in tone. Nor can the mass of the population of the Colony obtain reliable information of the proceedings

of the Assembly. The Wellington papers practically do not penetrate beyond the boundaries of their own Province; and, moreover, the brief abstracts of the debates of the Assembly which they furnish are, for the most part, not "reports" at all, but partisan summaries. The newspapers in the other Provinces confine themselves to publishing telegraphic abstracts of the debates, which are always imperfect, and often do the grossest injustice to the speakers, as any one will discover by comparing the summaries of the principal debates of last session with the extended reports in 'Hansard.' All the general news which comes from Wellington, during the session, is strongly tinged with partizanship, the official colour predominating; and, as a further means of misleading the public mind, the Ministry is in the habit of using the Government printing, telegraph, and post offices for the purpose of disseminating its views on any important question throughout the country at the public expense, while the same facilities are not afforded to its opponents. Of course, 'Hansard' contains a corrective; but who reads 'Hansard?' So far as the inhabitants of Auckland and Otago are concerned, the Assembly might almost as well sit in Sydney or Melbourne as in Wellington. All they see is the dust and smoke of the conflict; all they hear is a confused shouting; but of the merits of the dispute, and of the respective behaviour of the combatants, they can form no just conception. Session after session, bills of the most important character are passed without the Press of the Colony having even an opportunity of criticising them.

Abolition will not diminish these evils, but will make their consequences more serious. It will not bridge Cook's Straits, nor level the Kaikoura Mountains, nor cause an extra steamboat to ply between Dunedin and Wellington. New Zealand is a country of peculiar physical configuration; its mode of settlement has been peculiar; and he is the true statesman who, while preserving general principles, knows how to apply them to the particular circumstances of the community whose destiny he sways. It is of the utmost importance to maintain the individuality of the different parts of the Colony. It is the individuality of our race which has made England great; it is the same quality developed in communities which has enabled New Zealand to overcome the vast difficulties which have beset her progress, and to attain her present proud position. I look upon the half-a-dozen towns, with their surroundings, which are scattered from one end of New Zealand to the other, all keenly bidding for supremacy, as one of the most promising features in the New Zealand economy. Instead of a single overgrown and vicious capital, there are several centres of nervous energy, diffusing vigour through the whole body politic. It would be a fatal mistake to destroy this autonomy of parts. Let each carve out its own career as it best may. Auckland and Otago are opening up separate spheres of action for themselves, why debar them from doing so for the sake of a spurious unity? Look at the proceedings in the Assembly last session in connection with the Canterbury runs. The attempt which was made to renew the leases of the present holders, without public competition, was regarded by the bulk of the inhabitants of Otago as an attempt to commit a fraud upon the public revenue; whereas, in Canterbury, to most people, it seemed a justifiable and proper thing to do. This divergence of opinion is attributable to the different views on the land question which are commonly held in Canterbury and Otago respectively. Why should not each community be permitted to work out its own land system for the mutual edification of itself and its neighbours?

The position of affairs when a Constitution was given to New Zealand rendered it expedient to unite the two islands under one Government, but, as an abstract proposition, it was an error to do so. The only bond they required was a Customs' Union. The presence of a large Maori population in the North Island, and its absence from the South, alone pointed to a fundamental difference of political interest; and the physical characteristics of the two islands tended to separate their commercial spheres of action. They have as little in common as England and France. The result of their union, however, has been the creation of an enormous public debt, whose existence prohibits an absolute political separation. There must be some Government exercising common jurisdiction over both islands, but its functions need not travel beyond the elementary duties of a Government. It would be sufficient if it provided for the administration of justice throughout the Colony, and its safety against foreign aggression; the management of the Customs and Postal Departments; and the raising of funds for the payment of the interest upon the public debt. Its legislative functions would be proportionately restricted and confined to matters of general interest. The administration of the waste lands, the conduct of public works, including the construction and management of railways, and the enactment of laws for the regulation of local matters might, on the other hand, be wisely left to each island; and, in order to get rid of a running sore, the management of the Natives could be entrusted to the North, which would cheerfully undertake it. A practical difficulty would, nevertheless, arise in each island, because Wellington and Auckland in the North, and Christchurch and Dunedin in the South, would never agree about where the seat of Government should be, and the choice of an insignificant town, in a central locality, seems an awkward expedient. The natural way out of the difficulty is the division of each island into two provinces—or, if the name were hateful, they could be called "departments," "divisions," or "cantons,"—each with its own Legislature, and the whole federated under a General Government. In the North Island, the amalgamation of Wellington and Taranaki would enable a splendid Province to be formed, with Wanganui as its capital, leaving the rest of the island for the second. In the South Island, Otago and Westland would be a good combination.

The General Government would thus be confined to the prime functions of a Government, and the principal cause of corruption in the Assembly removed, because the patronage of the Ministry being reduced to the smallest dimensions, it would have fewer baits to dangle before the eyes of office-seekers and their relatives, while the constituencies would no longer gauge the merits of the Government by its capability of bestowing good things, in the shape of public works; and their honest representatives in the Assembly would be relieved from the unpleasant dilemma of having to choose between duty and the desire of securing an undue expenditure of public money in their respective districts. The purification of the Assembly would be accompanied by a marked reduction in the cost of administration. The Assembly itself would not be one-quarter of the expense to the Colony that it is now. The number of members of the Lower House could be reduced to 25 or 30; and it need not meet more frequently than every second year, because, as the General Government would only raise revenue for certain purposes, and any surplus would be divisible amongst the Provinces on fixed principles, it would not be requisite to vote annual supplies. The present staff of seven Ministers, with a threatened increase to eight or nine, might also be reduced to three or four. If an Upper House were required at all, it could be made elective by the Provincial Legislatures, and the number of its members, like that of the Lower House, could be much curtailed. Fifteen or twenty ought to be sufficient.

The form of the Constitution would be an effective guarantee of economy, for it would be the direct interest of the Provinces to keep the expenditure of the General Government within the narrowest limits. When the Separation resolutions were before the House last session, it was said by their opponents, "Oh, you propose to reduce the cost of one Government by creating three." The reply was epigrammatic, but nonsensical as an argument. There are Governments and Governments. There is a certain quantity of actual work to be performed in administering the affairs of the country; and the question is, What is the cheapest way of doing it? I contend that to maintain and extend the powers of the General Government is a monstrously extravagant way of doing it, and that the only means of conducting the public business cheaply is by keeping the Government constantly under the eyes of the people; whereas, by the system just inaugurated, it will be sedulously hidden from them. The argument of economy, indeed, which figured so prominently in the Government programme at the general election, has since been quietly dropped; and it must be plain to every intelligent man, who has taken the trouble to study the figures, that the cost of several County staffs will exceed the cost of a Provincial Government. But that is not the danger to be dreaded. The outlay in this direction is patent enough; but not one elector in five hundred is aware of the large additional expense caused by the protracted sittings of the Assembly last session and the increase in the members' honorarium, which, moreover, is likely to be further augmented, solely by reason of the whole burthen of legislation being thrown upon the shoulders of the Assembly. The public is equally ignorant of the fact that the departmental estimates showed serious increases upon those of the preceding year, and when the Ministers were asked why, they explained that it was on account of the abolition of the Provinces. They begged the House to give them another colleague, Mr. Whitaker pleading that the constitutional changes had increased their work by one-third. The House refused; but the gods are sure to be propitious on another occasion. Now, a fresh Minister means a fresh department, and a fresh department always adds to the work of those pre-existing; and so the ball goes rolling on. Spasmodic efforts at retrenchment, made when the country is in a highly-strung state of political tension, and the Ministry on its good behaviour, cannot be taken into account: we must consider what is likely to happen in ordinary times, when the Ministry is left to its own devices; and if anybody had wished to devise a system eminently calculated to breed extravagance in the Government of this Colony, it would have been difficult for him to have framed one better suited for the purpose than that which has just been initiated.

An immense benefit in the shape of better legislation would accrue from the federalization of the Government. During last session 183 Bills were laid before the General Assembly, of which 104 became law. Now, it is physically impossible that the General Assembly, in the space of four months and a half, could have properly considered 183 Bills, many of them being of a most important and elaborate nature, in addition to performing its other work. The same mischief has been going on for years, with the result of loading the statute book with Amendment Acts upon Amendment Acts. Then, too, look at the subject matter of these Bills. Amongst those passed were seven reserving pieces of land for Athenaeums, and there were several others of an equally local character, like "The Taranaki Botanic Gardens Act." As a matter of economy, it is preposterous to use such expensive machinery to perform such trivial work. Moreover, the work is very badly done, because the House is compelled to take such Bills on trust, and all kinds of dirty little jobs may be perpetrated without anybody but the jobbers being aware of it. Local Legislatures can alone weigh the merits of local Bills; and, in this respect, the Provincial Councils were extremely useful.

Such are the outlines of the Four Provinces Scheme, first pro-pounded to the Colony twelve months ago, and the adoption of which seems to be the true method of healing the prevailing discord; restoring unity to the Colony; and enabling it to continue on its career of prosperity. It is a common ground upon which all parties can meet; and the Abolitionists, triumphant now, must remember that, when in the ordinary course of things,

the Parliamentary majority becomes the minority, the same hard measure which they have meted out to their opponents will, in all probability, be meted out to them. The Provincialists, too, are pretty sure to come into power again before long, unless some such radical alteration of the Constitution as that suggested be made, and their views met to that extent. They form the only party in the Assembly which has fixed principles, and thus possess an immense advantage over the Abolitionists, who are united solely to destroy, and many of whom openly express their contempt for the Ministry which they temporarily support. Nor have the Provincialists, to all appearances, lost ground in the country, although their real strength there could only be ascertained by a plebiscitum. The defection of Mr. Reid does not appear to have done any material injury to the Otago section of the party; and, in Canterbury, the Provincialists seem to be waxing in strength. They will gather all the discontented around their standard; and, if kept well drilled and wisely led, have little reason to doubt of ultimate success. When the people of the South perceive that they have been virtually deprived of their Land Fund by the charges heaped upon it, and the North discovers that while the Compact of 1856 has been scattered to the four winds, it is none the better off; when the outlying settlers learn, as they speedily will, that instead of getting more Government money to spend, as they had been promised, they are getting less; when patriots see that all the real powers of administration are centred in a beaureaucracy at Wellington, while to the people is left but the empty name; when all those petty discontents which have hitherto vented themselves upon the heads of the Provincial Governments are concentrated upon the General Government—then Provincialism will rise again with renewed strength, and re-establish itself in the Colony, not probably in its old form, but still essentially as Provincialism.

The effect of the Abolition measures is different in different parts of the Colony; but to Otago, at all events, the change is a dead loss. She loses the control both of the administration of her waste lands and of education—two privileges which her people have always dearly prized. It is not sufficient to reply that the Waste Lands Administration Act and the Education Boards Act are merely temporary measures, and that the old powers may hereafter be restored. Reasons have already been given why it will be very hard to secure a liberal administration of the waste lands in the future; and, as to education, a powerful party exists in the country, and is ably represented in the Assembly, whose aim is to establish a common system of education throughout the Colony, without regard to local feelings, and to throw all the education reserves into hotchpot. Moreover, even if there were a reasonable chance of getting these powers and privileges back again, it is surely pure insanity to surrender the citadel to the enemy, when you desire to retain it in your own possession. Then Otago loses a portion of her revenue immediately, and is likely to lose far more in the future. Take the constructed railways for an example. The interest charges on this account will remain stationary, whereas the traffic receipts will grow year by year. Under the old system the Province would have got the benefit of the increase, while now it will not. It also possessed a pastoral estate, which in a few years would, under judicious stewardship, have produced a noble income for the exclusive enjoyment of its people; but under the most favorable circumstances—making the incredible assumption that the present financial arrangements will not be altered to the disadvantage of the Province—it would be absurd to imagine that a squatting Ministry, with full control over the administration of the waste lands, and the Legislative Council at its back, will husband the landed estate of the Province with the view of providing it with a future revenue. Even were it actuate! by the best of sentiments, the Ministry would find it practically impossible to accomplish such an end, because it could not, like the Provincial Government, keep a single eye upon the interests of the inhabitants of Otago, but must consider the wishes of its Parliamentary majority; and, if they were antagonistic to the interests of Otago, the latter would, in the ordinary course of things, go to the wall. Otago has also been deprived of the control of her Land Fund, which she had enjoyed undisturbed for twenty years; and it is a singular proof of the influence of names that even the Provincialists as a body have not yet clearly recognised the fact. The Land Fund has been "localised," as it is called, and most persons, deceived by the term, have supposed that, whatever dangers may threaten the Land Fund, it at present belongs to Otago just as much as it did before the passage of the Abolition of Provinces Act. Nevertheless a vital change has been effected. The essence of the Compact of 1856 was that each Province should do what it liked with its own Land Fund, and that the General Assembly should not touch it. The new arrangement is just the reverse. It is the Assembly that does what it pleases with the Land Fund. I am not disputing the fairness of the allocation that has been made, although that might reasonably be challenged. The point is that it is the General Assembly which has made the allocation, and not the Provincial Council, or any other local body; and the right of the Assembly to allocate the Land Fund being once admitted, the Fund is to all intents and purposes converted into colonial property. Next session will probably witness a bold attempt to effect a formal conversion. Mr. Stafford has publicly announced his intention to support the proposal when again brought forward; and the only measure, indeed, which can baulk the attempt is the political separation of the two islands, subject to the modifications necessitated by the existence of the colonial debt.

Otago has thus lost heavily, and I defy the most ardent Abolitionist within her borders to put his finger on a

single substantial advantage which she has gained by the destruction of Provincial Institutions. He could not even cite the Counties Act in support of his position, because, as has been shown time and again, she possessed a Counties Ordinance of her own, conferring as full powers as, and more certain endowments than, the Colonial Statute, which was available for any district whose inhabitants desired to have a County Council. The figures in the balance-sheet are all on one side. Her people are entitled to consider these things, and would be extremely foolish to surrender important rights of self-government and local revenues for the sake of idle theories about "the good of the Colony," and so forth, which may possibly be put forward as a mask upon other designs. It is a significant circumstance that those parts of the Colony where the greatest clamour has been raised for the destruction of Provincial Institutions are exactly those places where public spirit is usually the least manifested, and where the demands for Government money are the most servile and pressing. I confess it is utterly beyond my comprehension how "the good of the Colony" can be promoted by fostering its least important districts at the expense of the more flourishing. The true policy would appear to lie in just the opposite direction. And if I refer to the losses of Otago particularly, I do so simply because I happen to be residing in that Province, and the limits of this treatise forbid my discussing the effects of the Abolition Act upon each Province separately; otherwise, it might easily be shown that Auckland has equal reason with Otago to regret the passing of that Act, although from different causes.

On abstract principles, too, a federalisation of the Government is advisable. The civilized world is marching swiftly towards democracy; and one of the novel problems presented to modern statesmen is how to keep large democracies under control. The federal principle is commending itself to the minds of many as that on which the affairs of great empires must in future be administered. "Home Rule" would receive far more support in England than it does but for its real, or supposed, connection with Fenianism. The Colonies are growing so quickly in population and resources that it may not be very long before New Zealand is required to take her place and her duties in an Imperial Federation, with a career before it whose splendour will surpass even the glory which illumines the past achievements of our nation. It is well to prepare ourselves for that high destiny, by sharing in the practical working of a Federal form of Government in these islands. And when Great Britain and her Colonies form parts of a common Federation, they will not be less but more united than before. So, the establishment of Federalism in New Zealand would not imply disunion, but rather a firmer connection between the different parts of the Colony, derived from each being left full liberty of action in things peculiarly appertaining to itself, while all could move together where a common course was desirable. The fruit of a barbaric uniformity would be a debased people servilely obeying a corrupt Government; whereas a wholesome vigour in commercial enterprise, and a sturdy spirit of political freedom, would emanate from The New Zealand Confederation.

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Specimens of Fossilised Words;

Or, Obsolete Roots Embedded in Modern Compounds; with Some Old Words With New Meanings.

By H. S. Chapman.

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Advertisement.

A FEW years ago, I delivered a lecture entitled "Fossilised Words," which was well received by the audience. It was printed in the newspapers at the time, without any alteration in the form in which it was delivered. I have now, without materially altering the structure, made a few changes appropriate to matter addressed to readers instead of hearers. I have also made a few corrections where I thought I could render the subject clearer; and in the case of "Lichfield," I have departed from the etymology given by the author then and now quoted. But the great difference between this publication and the original lecture is, that I have more than doubled the number of examples.

I am inclined to hope that, trifling as this short publication is, it will serve to stimulate students of their own language to push their enquiries, a little further back than usual, into the sources of their own everyday speech.

Woodside, Dunedin,

August, 1876.

Introduction.

I DERIVE the title which I have chosen from a casual expression used by one of the best writers on the origin and history of the English language—Mr. George P. Marsh, a learned American. What he means by a fossilised word is analogous to what geologists mean by a fossilised plant or animal. The word is no longer living in its original sense and shape, though it may still be found in some altered form, just as there are living types of extinct species. A germ of the old form may sometimes be found embedded, as it were, in a modern compound; in which we can still discover a trace (as chemists say) of the original word, and of the idea which it expresses. The parallel, like most figurative expressions, is not quite perfect throughout; but I think the reader will find, as we go on, that the analogy is quite close enough for the purpose contemplated.

That great master of French comedy, Molière, in one of the best and wittiest of his plays, the "*Bourgeois gentilhomme*," or citizen turned gentleman, makes his hero, after taking lessons from a score of masters in various branches of supposed gentility, discover, to his great astonishment, that he has been speaking prose all his life without knowing it. As we proceed with the subject before us, some of my readers may perhaps be surprised to learn that they have been speaking German all their lives without knowing it. Of course I do not mean the language of Goethe or Schiller, of Schlegel or Lessing; but the common speech in which we address our children—the language in which we pray, quarrel, and make love—is still, to a great extent, a Low-German form of speech, founded on the common speech of England in the time of King Alfred.

The Anglo-Saxon language, as we now call it, though our ancestors themselves called it *Englisc-spraec*, which was used in England, and in a great part of Scotland, until the Norman Conquest introduced a new element, has been a dead language for about six centuries, and was a dying language for two centuries earlier. Its grammatical structure remains no longer in its full integrity, but a large proportion of its vocabulary still survives in our every-day speech. No Englishman of the present day can, without a previous course of study, understand the Saxon Chronicle, the Saxon Scriptures, or the writings of King Alfred. But the living language of King Alfred's time, though dead to us, can be acquired by an Englishman with as little difficulty as a modern Italian encounters in mastering the language of Cicero.

Although, as I have said, the Anglo-Saxon remains to this day the foundation of our language, English has become a very mixed or composite speech. There is scarcely a language, dead or living, which has not been drawn upon—I had almost said ransacked—to amplify and enrich our modern vocabulary. In its general characteristics, the English language is still mainly Teutonic—akin to the Low-German forms of speech, with an extensive Romance vocabulary derived from the Latin, chiefly, but not exclusively, through the French, with a very inconsiderable number of British words. A Dutch historian (Emanuel Von Meteren, quoted by Motley, *Hist. of the Netherlands*, Vol. I., p. 291, post 8vo. Ed.), who wrote about three centuries ago (1583), thus characterises the English of Queen Elizabeth's time: "The English language is broken Dutch, mixed with French and British terms, but with a lighter pronunciation. They do not speak from the chest like the Germans, but prattle only with the tongue."

In order partly to account for the mixed and composite nature of our tongue, it may be well to take a glance at the various peoples that have successively occupied the British Isles, and the different languages spoken by them at different periods, from the dawn of history.

The earliest known language spoken in Britain was the Celtic or Keltic, of which the Welsh is the surviving descendant in England, the Gaelic in Scotland, and the Erse in Ireland. Dialects of this family of languages were spoken over the whole of Britain until the complete establishment of the Roman power at the end of the first century. The Latin language then marched side by side with the British. The Roman language was the speech of the Court, the Camp, and afterwards of the Church. The British chiefs readily adopted the Roman civilisation, with its virtues and its vices, the Roman language, together with the Roman dress and manners. In the year 211, and possibly before, the Roman law was administered in the forum of York, in sentences which may still be heard in our courts of law, especially in those of Scotland. It was the policy of the Imperial Government to admit the Romanised British chiefs to a subordinate share in government under the Empire; and so widely had the Latin language spread in the course of four centuries, that a Celtic British writer in the sixth century calls Latin "our language" (*nostra lingua*), to distinguish it from the intruding Saxon speech; and the Saxon chronicle mentions *boc leden* (book speech), meaning thereby Latin, as one of the languages spoken in Britain. Latin, however, never supplanted the Celtic, though it may have modified it.

The great inroad of the Saxons, Angles, and other Teutonic tribes, is commonly placed in the middle of the fifth century (449), but there is little doubt that people speaking various Germanic dialects had seated themselves in Britain long before. During the third and fourth centuries the foreign legions quartered in Britain numbered many soldiers of German speech. Many of these had lands assigned to them, and "settled" as we

should now say in the island, marrying British wives. We first hear of a people called Saxons as early as A.D. 141. Afterwards they made their appearance on the coasts of Gaul and Britain as sea-rovers. It is conjectured, with great probability, that many of these found peaceable homes in Britain, also marrying British wives. Nearly a century before the date fixed as the commencement of the Saxon invasion, namely in 369, the Romans, then in the height of their power, had an officer called the "Count of the Saxon Shore" (*Comes Littoris Saxonici*.) This Saxon shore extended from near Southampton Water to the Wash on the East Coast. There was a similar officer, and also a "Saxon shore," on the coast of Gaul. Was this officer so called because his jurisdiction was along a shore already peopled by Saxons, or merely because his duty was to protect that shore from Saxon marauders? I answer, both. The Saxon shore had certainly Teutonic inhabitants. The Romans called them all Saxons. That shore was, no doubt, open to the adventurers; but one of their objects was to settle, and settle they did. There the *Comes* was stationed, and his duty was also to prevent hostile intrusion. This has been the subject of much controversy, but there can be no doubt that people speaking various Low German dialects were living in Britain long before the supposed era of the Saxon Conquest, and it is reasonable to suppose that they facilitated that great conquest, just as the early Christianity of the British may have contributed to the success of St. Augustine's mission to the Kentish Saxons, and as the Norman favourites and priests of Edward the Confessor paved the way to the Norman Conquest. From about the year 500, the so-called Saxon language was spoken over a considerable portion of Britain. In the next century it spread rapidly and extensively, and it became the prevailing speech until about a generation after the Norman Conquest, or until A. D. 1100. Thus, for about 600 years it was the speech of the fairest portion of Britain; split up, no doubt into several dialects, but with one predominant book language, based on the West Saxon dialect, which was in its highest perfection in the time of King Alfred. Intruding upon this, however, and modifying it considerably, especially on the East Coast and north of the Humber, came the speech of the Northmen or Danes. This tongue was akin to the German, and readily amalgamated with it. Traces of it are to be found in the names of places and in the provincial speech north of Humber to this day.

Then came the Norman Conquest in 1066, which introduced a new element, and ultimately effected the greatest change which our language has undergone. The Normans were originally from the Scandinavian peninsula, speaking a language of which the Icelandic, the Danish, and the Swedish are the descendants. They conquered that part of Gaul now called Normandy, and being few as compared with the conquered people, they, like the Franks, soon adopted the Roman tongue and forgot their own. Their civilisation was most rapid. From a band of ferocious pirates, they became, in 150 years, the most polished people in Europe. Their speech gradually mingled with the Saxon, modifying it, but never usurping its place, until the mixed jargon—for it was at first no better—gradually shaped itself into the cultivated language of Shakespeare and of Milton.

In such changes as I have sketched, it is impossible to draw well-defined lines, as the boundaries of the several epochs. What so different as light and darkness, and yet who can say when day-light ends and darkness begins? And yet it is convenient to make some such attempt. French was the language of the Court and of the great Barons, but they would soon feel the necessity for some acquaintance with the native speech. Numbers of the conquered would also attempt the speech of their rulers. The Saxon tongue would remain pure for about a generation, and then the work of corruption would commence. The Saxon inflections or case endings of nouns began to drop off. Auxiliaries, that is, literally, *helpers*, were introduced to express the tenses of verbs. As the case endings fell away, a change in the order of words in a sentence became necessary, and this went on until we discern a language which begins to look very like our modern English. The old literature was lost, and the old language was no more, and as yet no new literature had grown up. I call this the period of transition, and it lasted about two centuries. There are a few poems of Edward the First's time, which we can read with very little difficulty, and indeed there is extant a proclamation of the 42nd Henry the Third (1259), which may fairly be classed as old English.

The language of this period of transition is by some called semi-Saxon, but it is really much more English than Saxon. It was towards the end of the century under notice that race ceased to be continually arrayed against race, and to fuse into one people. Though French remained the Court language, those of Norman descent and those of Saxon descent began to use a common speech. It was also about that time, that the House of Commons acquired substantially its present constitution by the return of burgesses in 1264—5. Thus some writers (notably, Creasy and Macaulay) do not hesitate to fix upon the middle of the thirteenth century as the commencement alike of our language, our nationality, and our constitution. The *Times* newspaper must have had Simon de Montfort's writs (December, 1264), summoning the burgesses, in view when it said, in 1864:—"The House of Commons is just 600 years old, and Palmerston has had one-twelfth of it to himself." So far as the language is concerned, I venture to characterise the two centuries from 1100 to 1300 as the period of transition. Then came the period of growth and development. In the following century a healthy literature grew up. In 1389, Wyclif and his companions translated the Scriptures. The author of *Piers Plowman*, Chaucer, and Gower, wrote about the same time. Their language is more Saxon in its structure than that of the present day:

many inflections or case endings are preserved; the prosody is different; and although Spencer called Chaucer's language "the well of English undefiled," his works cannot be read with facility without some little previous study and the help of Glossaries. In the following century works in the vulgar tongue became numerous; but it was not until the reign of Elizabeth that the language became developed into nearly its present condition. The writings of Shakespeare are intelligible to all; those of Chaucer and Wyclif are so to those who have some knowledge of our old speech; and so large a proportion of our vocabulary is, as I have said, still Anglo-Saxon, that I doubt if our modern English can be nicely and critically appreciated without some insight into the old speech. To those who have the inclination and leisure to resort to the study, their labour will be repaid.

I therefore sum up my division of the languages spoken in Britain as follows:—

The reader must take these lines as arbitrary and approximate only. Growth and development were not wanting in the transition period, nor is transition absent from what I call growth and development. Indeed, both are observable even at the present day.

The proportion of words of Saxon origin relatively to words from other sources employed by our best English writers, has been often investigated. Mr. Sharon Turner, the historian, in his *History of England during the Anglo-Saxon period*, was, I believe, the first to direct attention to the subject; and Mr. Marsh has followed it up upon a more extensive examination. I will give a portion of his list, and it will be seen that even those writers who most affect a Latin phraseology employ a very large proportion of Saxon words.

The authorised version of the Bible, out of every 100 words contains 97 words of Saxon origin, leaving only 3 per cent, derived from other sources. *Piers Plowman's Vision* has 88 percent.; Chaucer's Prologue, 88; New Testament (St. John), 96; Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*, 91; Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 80; do, *L'Allegro*, 90; Pope's *Essay on Man*, 80; Addison, some Nos. of the *Spectator*, 82; Swift's *John Bull*, 85; Swift's *Political Lying*, 68; Johnson's preface to *Dictionary*, 72; Junius's *Letters* 12 and 23, 76; Hume's *History*, chap. 60, 73; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. 7, 70; Webster, one of his speeches, 75; Irving's *Stout Gentleman*, 85; Macaulay's *Lord Bacon*, 75; Cobbett on *Indian Corn*, 80; Mrs. Browning's *Cry of the Children*, 92; Robert Browning, 84; Tennyson's *Lotus Eaters*, 87; Longfellow's *Miles Standish*, 87.

It will be observed from the above list, which is arranged in the order of time, that modern writers use a larger proportion of Saxon words than the best writers of the last century were wont to do. Johnson, Junius, Hume, and Gibbon used from 70 to 76 per cent, of Saxon words. Macaulay, Washington Irving, Robert Browning, Tennyson, and Longfellow use from 75 to 87 per cent., and Mrs. Browning rises to 92. The mean proportion is 84 to 73 in favour of the modern writers. This is the more remarkable when we consider that our stock of words has greatly increased within the last century, and the increase consists almost entirely of words of science derived from the Latin or Greek.

The colloquial language, which we use in our families and at our firesides, is essentially Saxon in its vocabulary. It is only when we take up the pen that we resort to words of Latin origin. This is especially the case with the lowland Scotch. It is a great mistake to suppose that the language of the lowlands of Scotland is a corruption of English. It is as distinct and independent a dialect as that of the South of England. It has grown up from the Saxon, just as English has so grown up. It has no doubt been subjected to other influences, which have made it differ from the language of the South; and it has not been cultivated into a literary language; but it has quite as high a claim to independence. The writers of Scotland, however, do not write in the language in which they speak. The instant they take up the pen, they make use of the book-language of the South; and, what is more, they write it with great force and purity. Who can read the writings of Robertson and Hume without being charmed with the crystal clearness of their expressions and the choice adaptation of their language to their thoughts? and yet, as compared with the language in which they habitually addressed their wives and their children, the book-language was to them almost a foreign tongue. There is reason to believe that the pronunciation of English in the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts approached much more nearly to that of the Scotch than it now does. It was what we should call broader. *Crown* was undoubted "croon," for Shakespeare makes it rhyme with loon; and *cow* was "coo." We still retain this pronunciation in the proper name Cowper (though it is dying out). The poet makes his own name rhyme with words in "oo." Lord Cowper is still called *Cooper*, and one family of the name has changed the spelling to *Cou*, to preserve the sound. In England, too, although our book-language and our speech-language are more alike than those of Scotland, we do unconsciously use two languages. Macaulay gives an amusing instance of this in his review of *Boswell's Life of Johnson*—with samples of the two languages which Johnson employed—the one in speaking, the other in writing; and I cannot resist the temptation of citing the whole passage:—"Johnson's conversation," Macaulay says, "appears to have been quite equal to his writings in matter, and far superior to them in manner. When he talked, he clothed his wit and his sense in forcible and natural expressions. As soon as he took his pen in his hand to write for the public, his style became systematically vicious. All his books are written in a learned language; in a language which nobody hears from his mother or his nurse; in a language in which nobody ever quarrels, or drives a bargain, or makes love; in a language in which nobody ever thinks. It is clear that Johnson

himself did not think in the language in which he wrote. The expressions which came first to his tongue were simple, energetic, and picturesque. When he wrote for publication he did his sentences out of English into Johnsonese. His letters from the Hebrides to Mrs. Thrale are the original of that work of which the 'Journey to the Hebrides' is the translation, and it is amusing to compare the two versions. 'When we were taken up-stairs,' says he, in one of his letters, 'a dirty fellow bounced out of the bed in which one of us was to lie.' This incident is recorded in the Journey as follows :—'Out of one of the beds in which we were to repose, started up at our entrance a man, black as a Cyclops from a forge.' Sometimes Johnson translated aloud. 'The Rehearsal,' he said, very unjustly, 'has not wit enough to keep it sweet;' then, after a pause, 'it has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction.'"

What Macaulay calls Johnson's natural language is, for the most part, Saxon in its vocabulary. What he calls Johnsonese is not only composed of more words of Latin origin, but is quite unidiomatic in its inverted structure.

Mr. Marsh points out that "our best proverbs and proverbial phrases, especially our alliterative and rhyming ones, our pithy saws, our most striking similes and descriptive expressions, and our favourite quotations, are in general wholly, or in a very large proportion, made up of native English words." Take, for example, these sentences from Scripture :—

Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.

His hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand shall be against him.

I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.

Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.

Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days.

For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind.

And they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks.

Therefore, whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

These sentences contain 158 words, all of which are Saxon, except the word *pruning*, which is doubtful, and except, of course, the proper name Jerusalem. Our nursery tales, our proverbs, and our ballad poetry are almost entirely Saxon. Little Jack Horner praises himself in excellent Saxon, and Little Bo-peep is consoled for her loss in the same mother tongue.

There is one peculiarity in the Saxon language, which distinguishes it from its modern descendant, but which it shares in common with the German and other Teutonic tongues. Its compound words, like Greek compounds, are constructed from roots and particles to be found in the language itself, and they are therefore understood by the unlearned and by children as soon as they are uttered; whereas, in our mixed language, the root is often lost by the adoption of the Latin equivalent in the compound, which has consequently to be separately learned. I will first give an example from the modern German, as compared with the English.

The Germans have one word for a medical practitioner generally. It is *arzt*, and *arzen* is to cure. *Arzt*, therefore, means curer. We have no such general word, so we are driven to use the vulgar word doctor. For the different descriptions of medical practitioners we have separate words, but they do not express, or even suggest, the general idea of a curer. Our words are from the Latin or Greek, and mostly from the former through the French. The doctor who cures our wounds we call a surgeon; the doctor who attends to our eyes we call an oculist (from *oculus*, an eye); the man who beautifies, or it may be ruins, our teeth we call a dentist (from *dens*, a tooth); and we have the dreadful word chiropodist (from two Greek words signifying hands

and feet) to designate the man who cuts our corns.

Now the Germans preserve throughout the generic word *arzt*—the curer, and by adding the differential word, wound tooth, eye, or ear, they at once designate the species or kind of curer, in language comprehended by all. Thus, we have :—

I do not know whether they have any corn-cutters, and if they have, I am not aware of the name by which that artist is called. Probably they do not dignify him into an *arzt*.

There is a word in Saxon-English for a general practitioner of medicine, namely, *laecce*, which survived up to the end of the last century as leech. "The Leech of Folkestone," is the title of one of the Ingoldsby Legends, and cow-leech is still used in the Southern counties. Now, it is clear that if we had retained the word leech, we could have constructed purely English compounds for every species of curer; and such compounds would have been in strict conformity with the genius of all the Teutonic languages, and perfectly analogous to the words compounded from *arzt*. Thus:—

The restoration of other roots would furnish numerous compounds similarly constructed, and if the reader will take the trouble of turning to any good English dictionary (Latham's, for instance), and look over the

numerous compounds of head, foot, eye, ear, &c., he will at once perceive how easy a very extensive restoration would be.

Again, we have the Saxon word *to write*, but when we come to compounds we banish the Saxon root, and make use of its Latin equivalent, scribe (from *scribo*); for example, inscribe, prescribe, describe. Such compounds as day-light, death-bed, (which, by the way, is Saxon letter for letter), play-house, pocket-book, poor-house, thorough-fare, follow the genius of the Saxon language, and are intelligible to all; but what Englishman, ignorant of Greek, could guess even, at first sight, the meaning of such words as philanthropist, misanthropist, and anthropophagi. The German equivalents are *menschen freund*, man's friend; *menschen hasser*, man-hater; and *menschen fresser*, man-eater. The German words are understood as soon as uttered, whereas the English words require to be explained and separately learned.

The German purists have carried their love of native compounds, perhaps, a little too far. There is some convenience in constructing words of technical science from Greek or Latin roots. We cannot understand such words without understanding the things which they name; thus, as we learn the thing expressed, we cannot avoid learning the name at the same time. *Hydrogen*, for example, is from two Greek words, signifying water and to produce or generate. It stands for the name of that inflammable gas of which water is in part composed. If we desire to understand the properties of the thing, the technical meaning of the name comes to us by the same effort. The German purists call it *wasser-stoff* water-stuff or the matter of water; but although *wasser* and *stoff* are intelligible to every German, that affords but little help to the perfect understanding of hydrogen. Again, the word *fossil* comes from a Latin word which means to dig—*fodere*, which in the past participle is *fossus*. The Germans call a fossil *aufgegraben*, which means nearly the same thing; but still the nature of fossils has to be specially learned, and then, but not till then, the meaning of the word becomes clear. Whether we speak of hydrogen or water-stuff, of oxygen or sour-stuff, they are equally unintelligible until we have acquired a knowledge of the properties of the things named; and when we have accomplished that, the scientific name becomes as significant to our minds as the homely name. Water-stuff and sour-stuff, in fact, mislead by their very homeliness.

With common language, however, intended to be addressed to the unlearned, the case is otherwise. Native compounds have a great advantage over their foreign equivalents. The Saxon version of the New Testament, accordingly, makes use of Saxon compounds where our modern version has words from the Latin and Greek, and in some cases from the Hebrew. In its general phraseology, as I have already remarked, our version is essentially Saxon. I will give a few examples of the names to which I allude. For centurion (Latin, *centurio*, an officer commanding 100 men), the Saxon version has *hundredes man*, and in some places *hundredes ealdor*; a disciple is *leorning-cniht*, learning youth; the Sabbath is *reste-daeg*, day of rest; a scribe is *boc-ere*, or *boc-wer*, book man; and in some places, *writer a*, writer; parable is *big-spell* (in modern German, *bei-spiel*, example), literally near-word; resurrection is *aerisi*, rising up; synagogue is *gesammung*, a collection or gathering together, or, as we say, a congregation. The application of the word to the building is secondary, just as church (old English, *chirche*), kirk, have similar double meanings. Pharisees are called *sunder-hálgena*, separate saints or worshippers.

Specimens of Fossilised Words.

I.—WAL, WALL; WEL, WELL.

In a considerable number of local names in England—as in Wallingford, Wallbrook, Welling, Wellington—and in some names of things—as in walnut, wallflower—the syllable *wal* or *wel* will be found. In some few cases, which will be referred to hereafter, they bear the modern meaning of wall and well. But, as a general rule, they have no etymological connection with the last-named words, but are the Saxon-English equivalent of the Romance word *galles*; Latin, *galli*.

The Teutonic W is often the equivalent of the Romance (Latin and French) G; as—

The Saxon-English name for a Celtic Briton was Wealh or Walh; plural Wealhas, Walhas, the original of our modern Wales, Welshman.

In the Saxon chronicle, A.D. 465, we read: "Her Hengest and Esc gefuhten with *Walas*." In modern English: Here (*i.e.*, at this date) Hengist and Esc fought against the Britons.

The Saxon and Angles who came into contact with the people of Britain, found them speaking the same language as the Gauls of the Continent, and naturally called them by the same name. Hence the syllable Wal = Gal.

The Germans to this day call Italy, or at least the northern portion thereof, Welschland. The Italians are

their Welshmen. The people of "the Principality," however, never called them-selves by that name. This practice by an intruding or conquering race of giving to a people a name differing from that by which they designate themselves, has prevailed in all ages. The Romans called Hellas, Grecia, Greece, and the people are Greeks to this day. The people whom we call Germans call themselves Deutsch, and their country, which we call Germany, Deutschland; and those whom we call Dutch, call themselves Neiderduitsche, or Hollanders. We call the Maoris New Zealanders, and they call us Pakeha. The name Anglo-Saxon is of modern growth. King Alfred called the country Ængla-land—the land of the Angles; and what we now call the Anglo-Saxon tongue, Ænglisc-spraec.

One of the most conspicuous of the local names alluded to is Wallingford, and it is the one which is the most easily decomposed. Its oldest form was Weal-inga-ford. The middle syllable, inga, is the patronymic, and the full import of the compound word is the ford of the sons of the Welshmen or Britons, or the ford of the tribe of the Britons. There may have been some tradition that an army of British men forded the river there; Welling and Wellington, with some others, have been assigned to the same origin.

In London, there is a street called Walbrook. It runs from the back of the Mansion-house towards the river Thames, as far as East Cheap and Watling street. It takes its name from an old brook or rivulet which descended from the northern fields to the Thames, but it has long, like many other similar streams, been covered in to serve the purpose of a sewer. As it passed by the old London Wall, it was only natural to conclude that it took its name therefrom; but we have very ancient authority (*circ.* A.D. 1205) for saying that the name has no connection with Roman bricks and mortar. It is, in fact, the old English or Saxon form of Gal = Wal. In Layamon's poem of the early traditions of Britain, founded on the Brut of the Norman poet Wace or Gasse (another instance, by the way, of the interchangeable W and G), there is a passage which gives the mythical origin of the name Wal-brook. After alluding to the brook, the passage may be thus translated, and I translate it word for word, in order to convey some notion of the structure of the original:—

"There Gallus in that brook at (the) bottom was buried. Then was this nation cleansed of Rome-folk. And the Britons to the brook gave a name. For that (i.e., because) Gallus was slain thereby (or near), they bade it be called Galli, and in the English books it is called Wal-brook."

In the original—

"Ther Gallus i than broke at grunde was biburied. Tha was thas theode i-clansed of Rom leode, and Bruttes than broke nome bi-tæhte. For Gallus was if lagen ther bi, hæete hine nemni Galli, and a there Euglisc boc he is i-hate Wale-broc. (Layamn, Vol. II., p. 27.)"

Here it will be observed that Wal, "in the English books," is treated as the equivalent, of Gal in the name Gallus. Now this slaying of Livius Gallus hard by may be mythical, but, like many similar myths, it is resorted to in order to account for the name; so that the very structure of the myth, not by Layamon himself, but by his undisclosed authority, "in the English books," shows that the syllable Wal could only suggest some story in which the Romance equivalent figured. Neither the poet nor his authority dreamed of the old Roman Wall, though much of it was then standing, and many vestiges have been disclosed by excavation even in the present century.

It is beyond any doubt that the first syllable of the word walnut is of similar import, and has the same origin. Everyone knows that the walnut, in its maturity, is a gigantic tree. One species furnishes the beautiful wood of which furniture is made. It is never, like our wall fruit, trained to walls, and its name has no connection with a wall. The walnut was known in England in Saxon times, and possibly earlier, and our ancestors called it wealh-hnut (or hnyt)—that is, Gallic nut. The Germans of this day call it walnuss, and sometimes Welsche-nuss, which has the same meaning as the Saxon-English word. I learn from a note in Mr. Earle's excellent edition of two of the Saxon chronicles, that in Somersetshire walnuts are called Welsh nuts, and in Devonshire the country people call them French nuts. These names must embody a very ancient tradition.

In such compounds as wall fruit, wall creeper, wall cress, usually written as two words, their connection with a wall of brick or stone is obvious; but in the case of wallflower it is doubtful. The name is, in fact, applied to two distinct plants of different habits: 1. To a cruciferous evergreen plant which grows on old walls, and therefore clearly takes its name from its dwelling place. 2. To the sweet-scented flower of the Stock family so common in our gardens, from that of the prince to that of the peasant, and which would not live a day upon a dry wall. I cannot help suspecting that the first syllable of this latter wallflower has the same origin as the first syllable of walnut—that is, not being indigenous, it was the Welsh flower, or foreign flower, of our ancestors. This, however, must be taken as a mere conjecture, which I am not able to verify. We know that it has no sympathy with bricks or mortar, and the suggested derivation, founded on the analogous case of walnut, seems the only alternative.

II.—BODA, BOD, FOREBODINGS.

In Saxon, *bod* is a command, *boda* is a messenger. These words no longer exist in the English language as nouns, and as they are not to be found in the *Vision of Piers Plowman* or in the writings of Chaucer, it may be concluded that they had dropped out of the language before the end of the fourteenth century. But we retain traces of them in other shapes. Lord Lytton, in his historical novel of "Harold" has attempted to regenerate the word *bode* in its original sense. He constantly speaks of Harold's messenger as the *bode*. It is quite admissible to employ the word as he has done, when describing Saxon times and events, and a Saxon state of society; but when he came to write another historical novel—"The Last of the Barons"—in the time of Henry VI. and Edward IV., he very properly abstained from using a word which had been long obsolete, and which no one who figured in the Battle of Barnet would have used or understood. Words half forgotten may occasionally be brought back into our language by a popular writer; but to succeed in reanimating half-dead words, they must be such as supply a want, and must seem better calculated to express the meaning which they bear than the word in previous use, which they are designed to supplant.

Though we have irrecoverably lost the words *bod*, a command, and *boda*, a messenger, and have got quite accustomed to their French equivalents, we have a trace of them in the expression, "It bodes no good." Here it is an impersonal verb. We cannot say "I bode" or "you bode." The poet Drayton uses it as a participle:—

*"The shrieking lich-owl that doth never cry
But boding death."*

We have the word embedded as it were in the word foreboding. These words are now used only where disaster or misfortune is anticipated. "Forebodings of evil," "it bodes no good," "I had melancholy forebodings."

As *bod* is a command, and also a message, so the verb *bodian* is to deliver a message, as well as to command. When Christianity was introduced among the Saxons, by far the most important messages of that day was the message of the Gospel. It would have been contrary to the genius of the Saxon language, as I have shown in the Introduction, to adopt a word from the Greek or Latin, though it was sometimes done in the case of ecclesiastical words; accordingly *bodian* came to mean to preach. It is so used in the Saxon Gospels.

In Mr. Laing's "Travels in Norway," he describes how the people of the country were called together in case of any sudden alarm. A stick, or baton, was placed in the hands of a runner, who ran at speed for a few miles and then handed the stick to another, who at once took up the running. This stick was called the *bud-stik*, which is no doubt another form of the same word, for the languages spoken in the Scandinavian Peninsula are allied to the Teutonic dialects. The vowels *u* and *o* are not radical. The bud-stick is therefore the message-stick, or the command-stick, for it conveyed a message from authority, which includes a command.

A few words in explanation of this vowel change may not be deemed out of place here, as we shall find many instances of it as we proceed. Not only do the vowels freely change from one Teutonic language to another, but there are certain normal vowel changes in the same language, especially from a hard to a soft vowel, or diphthong, in forming plurals and diminutives. This is what the Germans call *umlaut*. Generally speaking, in modern English we form the plural of nouns by the addition of the letter *s*—horse, horses; cow, cows; brother, brothers; tree, trees; and so on. In Saxon, there are various plural endings, but besides this, the principal vowel is sometimes changed. This is also common in modern German. We retain a few instances in modern English. Thus, the plural of man is not mans, but *men*, and the plural of woman in sound changes both vowels, for women is pronounced wimmen, and Chaucer writes wymmen. In the translation of the Bible we have some examples of letter-change no longer in common use, except among those who affect a Scriptural language. We have kyne as the plural of cow, brethren instead of brothers—this last, perhaps, in rather a collective sense, *i. e.*, brotherhood. Other instances may be given—foot, feet; mouse, mice; tooth, teeth; goose, geese. In the irregular conjugations of verbs, now generally called the strong conjugations, we have the perfect tense and the past-participle produced, not by adding *-ed*, as in the regular, or weak verbs, but by changing the vowel. Thus we have sink, sank, sunk; drink, drank, drunk; swim, swam, swum; sing, sang, sung. Formerly, holpen and molten were common, but we now use helped and melted, though molten is not quite out of use. We still see in books the Saxon *delxe*—dig, but I do not remember to have met with its proper past-participle, *dolfen*. Other instances of strong preterites will occur to the reader, and I need not push the subject further.

III.—DAEL, DEAL, DEALINGS.

The Saxon word for a part is *dael*, which is also a share; and *daelan* is to divide or distribute—(In modern German, *theil*—*thielen*.) In English, the word *deal* is no longer used for a part or portion; we use the word *part*, which we obtain from the Latin, through the French. But still we have the word *deal* in many senses in which its primary meaning, although veiled and often lost sight of, is nevertheless implied. The nearest approach which we have to the original meaning is in the expressions "a great deal" and "a good deal;" these really mean a large or considerable portion, but to most persons who use them they merely suggest the idea of quantity,

absolutely, and not a part of some whole; for, "a little deal" would not now be understood as a small part. The uneducated say, "I'd a deal rather," &c., for "I would much rather," in which the conception of a part is either quite lost or reduced to the faintest trace. In Chaucer's time it was otherwise. In his prologue to the Canterbury Tales he describes the Wife of Bath as "some del deaf;" and he has also *halvendele* for the half part; and the author of Piers Plowman, who wrote about twenty years earlier, has *tithe-dele* for the tenth part. As *dael* is part, the verb to partition, divide, or distribute is *daelan*. The verbal form we retain in the special sense of dealing cards—to deal cards is to distribute them to the several players. He who deals blows *imparts* blows. Piers Plowman has "whan ye dele doles." Here *dole*, a portion of food given out to the poor, is the same word, with the letter change. Again, Piers Plowman says:—"Thelke that God giveth most, leest good they *deeleth*." Those to whom God hath given most deal out the least good to others. Here, by the way, is a grammatical form now lost. The plural in *eth*, which is the Saxon plural in *ath*. At the present day *eth* is exclusively the termination of the third person singular—he loveth, he hateth. But plurals in *eth* were common in Chaucer's time, and especially just before his time. In the English Prayer Book, which retains many old forms, we have "those evils which the craft and subtilty of the devil or man work *eth* against us."

To return to our word *dael*. In the North of Europe, in Canada, and in other timber-producing countries, pine and spruce logs are cut into parts, generally twelve feet long, nine inches wide, and three inches thick. These are called deals, that is parts of the log. By a not unusual process, the word deal has been transferred from the form to the substance, and has become synonymous with pine. But this is a secondary sense quite unknown to the word originally. Thus we speak of a deal board or a deal packing-case, to indicate that it is made of pine or fir. In the same way we speak of wainscot as a name for the straight-grained white oak, from its use in constructing the wainscot of rooms.

To deal with a tradesman, and the *dealings* of merchants, have the same origin. The idea of a partition or distribution lurks in both cases. The buyer parts with his money, the seller parts with his goods, and the dealing is the distribution which takes place between the two. I cannot help thinking that those who have not as yet turned their attention to the subject, will, after reading these explanations, have a much clearer appreciation of the English words which we have just been considering, now that this primary sense of deal, as a part, will be ever present to their minds, when they hear them, or make use of them. It is quite possible that I may have overlooked some compound in which deal lies embedded, though I do not now recollect any.

IV.—DEOR, DEER.

Deór is the Saxon word for a wild beast; in German it is *thier*. Thus, what we call a zoological garden, from the Greek, the Germans call a *thier-garten*, which every German understands at once. In England we have lost the word deer in its primary signification, and only retain it in its secondary meaning—an animal of the stag kind, the huntsman's animal *par excellence*.

This limitation of a word from a generic to a special sense is noticed by Marsh (Lec., 1st Series, p. 248), and, among others, in the case of *meat*. "The Anglo-Saxon and oldest English meaning of *meat* is food, and I believe it is always used in that sense in our English translation of the Bible. In England, and especially in the United States, animal food is now the most prominent article of diet, and *meat* has come to signify almost exclusively the flesh of land animals." In the couplet from Sir Bevis, a few lines further on *mate* is used for food, and Shakespeare in his version has translated it into *food*. Marsh also gives instances of the converse process of change.

In Old English, and down even to Shakspeare's time, the word deer, though perhaps no longer commonly used in the old sense, was at least so understood. Edgar, in King Lear, when simulating madness, says:—

"But mice and rats, and such small deer,
Have been Tom's food for seven long year."

This, however, is only a quotation from an older metrical romance called Sir Bevis of Southampton—popular before Shake-speare's time—popular in my young days, and read, in a prose version, by my children born in this colony. It has, in fact, kept its hold on the public mind for upwards of four centuries. The original couplet is:—

"Rattes and Myce and such small dere
Were his mete for seven year."

In this passage *dere* clearly retains the old generic meaning, though it may have been slipping out of use in Shakespeare's time; and Schlegel, in his admirable translation of Shakespeare, in which he was assisted by Ludwig Tieck, thus renders it:—"Doch Mäus and Ratten, and solch *Gethier*," where the word *Gethier* stands for wild animals generally. The change of meaning of the word from wild beast generally to the particular animal of the hunter, may be readily understood from what is passing under our own eyes. Beast is properly only used in a general sense. It is, in fact, the French for animal, *bete*, in which the original *s* is dropped out, as

marked by the circumflex accent. But when the butcher speaks of a beast, he means an ox. He never applies the word to a sheep or a pig, or even to a calf. An ox to the butcher is what a deer is to the hunter. Now, if butchers' language were to prevail (which, although not probable, is not quite impossible), beast, like *deór*, might become obsolete as a generic word, and then, by usurping the place of, it might exclude from use, the word ox, with its pure Saxon plural *OX-en*. Again, when the English sportsman speaks of "birds," he means partridges, and not other sporting birds—not even pheasants.

It may be amusing to read a French translation of the couplet quoted by Shakespeare in *King Lear*. In La Roche's prose translation we read :—*Des souris et des rats et semblable frélin, de Tom depuis sept ans ont été le festin*. Here the word *frélin* is the exact equivalent of our "small fry," applied both in French and English primarily to fish; but, secondarily, in both languages, used as an expression of contempt, or, at least, applied to something insignificant. I may mention that *thier* is one of the words in which the Gothic coincides with the Greek, but it must not be concluded that the Gothic is derived from the Greek. They are only remotely related, springing from a common ancestor of Asiatic birth.

V.—LIC, LICH, LICHFIELD, LICHGATE.

The Saxon word for a dead body is *lic*. In later Saxon times the sound of the final *c* was probably softened to *ch* in order to distinguish it from *lic* = like, for the word for the living body is *lichoma*. The word *lic* (or lich) is entirely lost in modern English, having been superseded by the Romance word *corpse*. The word is found in the Gothic Gospels of Ulphilas, date 360, or about three centuries older than our oldest specimens of Saxon. Its form is there *leik*, and it has descended to the modern Germans in the word *leiche*, which is more Gothic in form than the Saxon. But although this word has entirely dropped out of the common English tongue, and indeed had disappeared before the time of Chaucer, it is still found embedded in a few compound words and names.

There is still a superstition among the peasantry of England that when the screech-owl is heard, death is foreshadowed. I believe the screech-owl is called the lich-owl in some parts of England to this day; and certainly, in the time of the poet Drayton, who died in 1631, the ill-omened bird was so called. I have already cited Drayton for another purpose, and I will now give the whole passage, which I then quoted only in part:—

*The shrieking lich-owl, that doth never cry
But boding death, and quick herself inters
In darksome graves and hollow [unclear: supulchres]."*

The poet suggests that the name of the city of Lichfield is so called from a traditional massacre or battle upon the spot; but I shall presently suggest another and, I think, a more probable etymology.

Thus Drayton writes:—

*A thousand other saints, whom Amphibal had taught,
Flying the pagan foe, their lives that strictly sought,
Were slain where Lichfield is, whose name doth rightly sound,
There of those Christians slain, dead-field, or burying-ground.*

However plausible this etymology may appear, I have reason to doubt whether Lichfield has any connection with *lic*—a corpse. In Lye's Saxon and Gothic Dictionary, I find an explanation, of which the following is a translation, under the word Licedfeld:—

"The name of a city and Episcopal See in Staffordshire. Licetfeld, Sax. Chron., A.D. 716, 731. Liccet-feld, Beda, 523. At the present day, Lichfield. Some derive the name from *lic*—a dead body; *q.d.*, the field of corpses (*Lambard Die*). Others from *leccan*, to irrigate; *q.d.*, the irrigated field. Others, lastly, would call it Laecet-feld—*i.e.*, the field of the Leeches, or medical men, from Laece—leech or curer."

In the original:—Licedfeld, nomen urbis et sedes episcopalis in agro Staffordiensi. Licetfeld, Sax. Chro., 716, 731, Liccetfeld, Beda, 523. Hodie vero Lichfield, nomen autem deducunt nonnulli a Lie = Cadaver, q. d., cadavorum campus (*Lamb. Die*) alii [unclear: a] leccian = irrigare; q. d. irriguus campus. Alii denique, Laecet-feld appellavi volunt—*i.e.*, Sanatorum campus a Laece = Sanitor, medicus, Lidg. Mon, in Vita, S. Alb.

In Benjamin Thorpe's edition of "Six of the Saxon Chronicles," the name occurs five times as Licetfeld, and once as Licced-feld. Licetfeld may, therefore, be accepted as the oldest form of the name. In the "Chronicle" A.D. 710, the entry stands thus : "In this year Ceolred, the King of Mercia, died, and his body resteth in Licetfeld."

In 731, we have a reference to "Aldaine, the Bishop of Licetfeld."

Now the difficulty in adopting *Lic* as the etymology of Lichfield arises from the presence of the letter *t* or *d*, which seem to indicate the participial form of a verb used adjectively, and not a noun. If Lichfield be compounded of two nouns (like day-light), there are two modes of compounding the word in Saxon—one is by putting the first word in the genitive, like *reste-daeg*—day of rest = Sabbath; *Ængla-land*—land of the Angles =

England. In this case the word would have stood Lice-feld. The other is by dropping the genitive inflection, as we do in day-light, in which case the word would have been Lic-feld. All the compounds of Lic are thus constructed :—Lic-burh, a sepulchre; Lic-man, a man who conducts funerals; Lic-leodth,

The soft *th*, as in those, and the sharp *th*, as in *think*, were marked by two distinct letters in Saxon-English, which, I believe, are not to be had here.

a funeral song or elegy. Thus the presence of the *t* or *d* seems to drive us farther a-field for an etymology.

A similar difficulty besets us in the case of Laece, a curer or leech. We have Laece-hus—Leech-house = hospital; Laece-craft—Leech-craft = the art of the curer; Laece-sealfe—Leech-salve = Ointment; Laece-seax—Leech-knife = a lancet.

But if we adopt the second of Lye's derivations from leccan, to water or irrigate, the difficulty vanishes; the *t* is the termination of the past participle, and in Licet-feld is used adjectively for the watered field, or as we should now say, the water meadow. This, moreover, well agrees with the character of the country close round Lichfield, at least in the winter season. In the Saxon version of the Psalms, vi. 6—"I water my couch with my tears," the verb leccan is employed; and in King Æfred's translation of "Boethius, xxxix. 13), the verb leccan is used to express that "hail and snows and frequent rain water the earth in winter—*lec-ath* tha earthan on wintra."

It seems to me, therefore, that the conclusion is irresistible—that Lichfield is neither Drayton's dead field or field of corpses, nor the Leech-field or hospital close, but is simply the water (ed) field or water meadow—a solution which accords with the aspect of the country, and probably did so in a much greater degree 1000 years ago. Thus, it needs no myth to account for it.

In the County of Kent, certainly, and possibly in some other parts of England, the principal entrance to many of the churchyards is ornamented by a very picturesque roofed gate. Two of these, at least, are standing to this day—one at Bromley and the other at Beckenham. They consist of a sloping or pent-house roof, tiled with red pantiles, the framework massive and supported with strong posts. It is underneath these gates that the corpse is halted to enable the funeral procession to collect, and wait for the clergyman. These gates were called *lich-gates*, and I am by no means certain that the name is yet lost to the local dialect of that county. Some of the village churches lie at a little distance from the main road, with a vacant spot in front usually called "the green." The lich-gate in such cases is reached by a short-cut from the main road. This was called a *lick-way*, because of its most prominent use. A road to the church of greater length, and hedged on both sides, was called a *lich-lane*. Waking or watching the corpse was not confined to the Celtic people. The word wake is Saxon, and the watch over the corpse was called *lich-wake*. *Lich-fowl* is said to be a name of the night raven, and as fowl is a generic word, lich-fowl might stand for any bird about which there was any superstition connecting it with death or the dead body. The only other word that I have found with *licit* embedded therein is *lich-wort*. Wort means root, or herb, and *lich-wort* is the name of a plant supposed to possess some poisonous quality. The eight names—lich-owl, lich-fowl, lich-field (?), lich-gate, lich-way, lich-lane, lich-wake, lich-wort—are all that I am aware of as existing still, or up to a recent period, in the English language. Such as do exist are local and provincial, and even they have long since ceased to suggest the idea of a corpse, for the very plain reason that the first syllable having slipped out of our language as a living and significant word, has also lost its significance in the compounds. It has become, in short, what Marsh calls fossilised. Lich may possibly still lurk in some other local names, but I do not happen to know of any, and the above being enough for my purpose, the chance of disinterring others was not worth the labour of the search.

VI.—SPELL, GOSPEL, SPILL, SPALL, &C.

The word "spell" signifies a word. It is also used for discourse, narration, and tidings. This word dropped out of use at a very early stage of the English language. I doubt whether it is to be found in any MS. later than the end of the 13th century, except in one sense, namely, a charm or exorcism. It appears in Layamon in the sense of a discourse or story, and in the Ormulum as a preaching and as tidings. These writers flourished until a few years after A.D. 1200. It is in the secondary sense of tidings that the word forms the last syllable of the word Gospel—anciently God-spel—that is, "good tidings"—in which case it is the equivalent of the Greek word from which evangelist is derived.

It has been suggested by some that the first syllable of God-spel is not good, but God, and therefore that Gospel—God-spel—means God's word, and not good tidings. But this, I think, cannot be supported, and there are several reasons against it. 1. If it had been meant to depart from the original Greek, and make it signify God's word, the first syllable should have been put in the genitive case—Goddes-spell; whereas in God-spell the first word is an adjective, and is not a noun in the genitive. 2. The *o* bears an accent—Gód—which would have been omitted as improper if the word had been intended to stand for God. 3. Moreover (and this seems to me to be conclusive), we find in the Saxon version the expression Goddes GódsPELL—the Gospel of God—which would have been redundant, had the first syllable of Gód-spell stood for God. Goddes GódsPELL,

therefore, is God's good tidings, and God's God's-word is quite inadmissible. I am not aware that *spell* survives as a substantive in any other compound.

The origin of this word *spell* is very curious, and will be found to bear a certain analogy to such words as *liber*, *Bible*, *book*, and *paper*, by reference to the material. Mr. Haigh, the author of a history of the Saxon Conquest of Britain, suggests the origin of the word. He says:—"Thomas of Ercildoune, in the 13th century, represents Tristram as communicating with Ysonda by writing on Spón, that is, 'chips'—

*Bi water he sent adoun
Light linden spón,
He wrote em all with roun."*

"Spell," he continues, "had and still has the same meaning as spón. It was also applied to whatever was written on it, and came to mean a message, story, or tidings."—(Vol. I., p. 85.)

Spón was undoubtedly a chip of wood. This word spón is the ancestor of our word spoon. A chip of wood, slightly hollowed, was the primitive spoon, and although the material has varied—all available metals having been adopted—the form has never been materially changed. The peasant's wooden spoon and the prince's spoon of gold are substantially similar in form.

It may be interesting to trace the word *spell* farther. The vowel is of little consequence. It is the *sp-l* which is radical. Thus we have the words *spill*, *speal*, *spawl*. Spill is a shaving of wood rolled up to serve as a match. They are now in sufficiently extensive demand to be made by machinery. A case was brought before the Supreme Court a few years ago, on appeal from an inferior court, in which the word *spall* was used as a word well known among masons. These spalls were the fragments of stone split off by the working masons.

Read *r. Crawshay*.—Macassey's Rep., 519).

We have a great number of words in which the radical letters *sp-l* occur, and they will all be found to embody the same elementary idea. They are all derived from the word *spillan*—to destroy. To split is one mode of destruction, to spill (for instance, milk) is another; and although the Saxons had another word for to split—*cleófan*, to cleave—I have no doubt as to the etymology of both spill and split. We have numerous words of kindred origin, "split, splinter, splint, spoil, spile, and perhaps splash and explode (ec-splode)" besides the words under notice, "spell, spill, spall." They all embody the idea of destruction, whether by splitting, spilling, or any other mode of spoiling.

But why should this *spell* or *spill* (a chip) be the foundation of a written word or discourse, or of tidings? The answer is not far to seek. It is precisely that suggested by Mr. Haigh. In all the languages of Europe a similar process has prevailed. *Liber*, a book, signifies the inner bark of a tree; *Biblos*, a book, derives from a word signifying the inner bark of the *papyrus*; from which, again, the word "paper" is derived. On these materials books were written, for paper from rags was not invented much before A.D. 1300. And what is our word "book?" In Saxon *bóc* is the name of the beech-tree, on spills, chips, or slices of which books were written.

VII.—SIB, GOSSIP.

The word *sib* has long since passed out of the literary language of England, as well as out of our cultivated speech; but it still lurks in the popular dialects of the northern counties, and is a household word in Scotland to the present day. The primary signification of the word in Saxon-English was peace. It then came to mean concord, alliance, companionship, and *relation*. It is in the latter sense that it is used in Scotland. The readers of the *Antiquary* may remember the interview between Elspeth and Lord Glenallen, in which she explains the fraud practised on him, in making him believe that his marriage with Miss Neville would be incestuous, as being within the prohibited degrees of relationship. Elspeth describes her conversation with Glenallen's mother, who observed: "By the religion of our holy church, they are ower sibb thegither, but I expect nothing but that both will become hereticks as well as disobedient reprobates." Whereupon Elspeth represents herself of having suggested that they might be brought to think themselves *sae sibb*, as no Christian law will permit their marriage.

Halliwell says that *sib* or *syb* is still in use in Lincolnshire and Cheshire. "He is *sib* to us"—*i.e.*, he is our cousin; "no sole sib'd"—*i.e.*, in no wise related. I have myself heard it in Yorkshire.

The word lies embedded in our word gossip, which, however, has suffered a considerable change of meaning. Gossip (originally gos-sib and god-sib) stood for sponsors, male and female—*i.e.*, god-fathers and godmothers. "There was formerly considered," says Halliwell, "a kind of relationship between a person and his sponsors expressed by the word gossip-lede."

Verstegan says : "Our Christian ancestors, understanding a spiritual affinity to grow up between the parents and such as undertook for the child at baptism, called each other by the name of God-sib, which was as much as to say that they were *sib* together—that is, of kin, through God." (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, Chap. 7.)

Gossip was also used as a familiar word to designate a person in friendly intercourse with the speaker. It has, however, in modern times entirely lost its original meanings, and is now used dyslogistically to designate a garrulous person or idle chatterer, and is more frequently applied to women than to men. Sometimes it means a familiar talk, as : "I had a long *gossip* with him."

As gossip, gos-sib, god-sib is a god-relative, so gos-son is a god-son. This is the true origin of the Anglo-Irish word gossoon—a familiar and kindly way of addressing a lad. Although Mrs. Sidney Hall chooses to spell it gor-soon, it has really no affinity to the French word *garçon*, as some have supposed, from mere resemblance in sound—a very untrustworthy test of the etymology of a word; but is really our old English word *gos-son* in a very slightly changed form.

In the "Saxon Chronicle" (A.D. 894) occurs the word *compæder*, which is the Latin word *compater*. Several of these ecclesiastical words had crept into the language long before the Norman Conquest. In French, formerly the words *compère* and *commère* meant the relationship between the natural parents and the God-parents of the child—*quasi coram Deo affinis*. But *compère* and *commère* have suffered as much change of meaning as gossip. I am indebted to Mr. Earle's note to A.D. 894 of his edition of the "Saxon Chronicle" for the following illustrations of the convertibility of gossip and *commère* (Scotch, *comer* or *cummer*) :—

"*Mary Queen of Scots, writing to the Constable Montmorenci, begins 'mon compère, in which case Miss Strickland says it was merely a term of familiarity (such as gossip became in James the First's reign.) However, we find the feminine still in use in a letter of Melville to Queen Elizabeth, asking her to be gossip at the baptism of Mary's infant son, James. 'For,' says he, 'in England they call the comers (cummers = commères) gossips.'*"

VIII.—CEAP, CHEAP, CHAP, CHAFFER, &C.

The word *ceáp* in Saxon-English means bar-gain. In an altered form—cheap, chap, chep, chip—it will be found to enter into or be embedded in many local names, all implying the place where bargaining, buying, and selling are carried on—that is, the market.

Ceápan is to bargain or agree for the purchase of a thing, and also expresses the completed act, to buy. In all the Teutonic languages, we find a similar word with certain letter changes peculiar to each particular language. In German, *kaufen* is to buy. In Dutch, the word is *koop*. In Moeso-Gothic, the root is *kaup*. I may here mention that *c*, *ch*, and *k* are interchangeable letters; so are *p* and *f*, and the vowels are deemed of no etymological importance.

About the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, we find the *c* before *e* and *i* changed in manuscripts to *ch*—probably to represent an earlier pronunciation. Before *o*, *a*, *u*, and *y*, however, the *c* retained the hard sound of *k*, and was sometimes changed to *k* in writing. Thus, *ceórl* became *churl*, *cild* became *child*, and *ceapman* *chapman*; *cyning* became at first *kyning*, and then *king*. This may have arisen from the introduction of a third sound of the letter *c* in words of French origin—that is, the *s* sound in such words as *circle*, *circumstance*. Inconvenience would be found in having three sounds expressed by one letter, and so the soft or Italian sound of *c* before *i* and *e* was expressed in writing by *ch*.

The verb *ceap-ian*, to bargain, was in the last century represented by the word *cheapen*; A man would say, I *cheapened* some goods in the market, meaning that he asked the price, or that he bargained about them, and, to this day, *chaffer* is used for a dispute about the price.

Cheap, in the sense of a market, is found in many local names. In London we have the Ward of *Cheap*, *Cheapside*, and *East-Cheap*. Manchester and Liverpool have also their *Cheapsides*.

The books which used to be hawked about the country by pedlars, and are now bought up as rareties by bibliomaniacs, were and are still called *chap-books*, and I am inclined to think that the word "chop" in the phrase "chop and change" has the same origin.

The word *cheap*, having lost its meaning as a bargain and a market in its uncombined state, has come to mean low in price. This is the fortune of many words. Having acquired a secondary meaning, and the original meaning being expressed by other words, the latter is soon lost sight of. What we now call *cheap* was formerly expressed by "good cheap," the exact equivalent of the French *à bon marché*. But the word *cheap* being no longer wanted for a market, the word *good* was dispensed with, *cheap* alone being made to answer the purpose.

I now come to proper names, in which the root *cheap*, *chap*, lies embedded. The name of *Chapman* is a familiar instance. *Ceápmán*, in our old speech, means a bargain-man—a merchant. We have in some old statutes "dealer and *chapman*," and the Scotch to this day call a pedlar a "*chapman Billy*." *Ceápmán* in Saxon had, however, a more elevated meaning. The inferior trader was *mangere*—*monger* (which see). I infer this from the word *ceáp-scip*, which means a merchant-ship.

The same root appears in the names of many English towns. Ceáp.stowe = Chepstow, means the place where a market is held; not the mere narrow locality of the market-house, but the whole market-town.

We have also several local names commencing with the word "chipping." This undoubtedly embodies the root ceáp, for the old form was cheaping. Chipping Norton and Chipping Ongar are instances. They mean Market Norton and Market Ongar. In Market Harborough and some others, we have the modern word. Ongar, in Market Ongar, has a Scandinavian (Danish) origin. Angr in Norse or old Icelandic is a village or town, and Chipping Ongar has the same meaning as the old Icelandic kaup-angr—the market town.

IX.—MONGER, FISHMONGER, &C.

The word monger—trader—no longer stands alone or uncompounded in modern English, but is, nevertheless, perfectly intelligible in its numerous compounds. Thus we have ironmonger, cheesemonger, fellmonger, fishmonger, and many others. Ben Jonson uses the word uncompounded in his "Tale of a Tub," and the verb to monger, or trade, may be found in old writers. The author of Piers Plowman's Vision has garlic-monger, and Beaumont and Fletcher muscle-monger :—

*"A string of whiting's eyes for pearls;
A muscle-monger would have made as good."*

This word is the Saxon-English mang-ere in a slightly altered form. Mang-ung is trade, mang-ung hus, house of business. In all probability, mangere always had a force expressive of some inferiority, and bore the same relation to ceápman (chapman) which monger now does to merchant. Even merchant is not the exact equivalent of the Romance word from which it is derived. Mer-chand in French means a shop-keeper or other trader who handles the goods in which he deals, instead of selling through brokers. The great merchant is represented by the French word negoçant.

All merchants in early times travelled about with their wares; and, as an encouragement to trade, the Saxon merchant who had travelled three times to foreign countries became ennobled.

Junius considers that mangere was derived from the word mangan, to mix or mingle, from the variety of the wares in which the mangere dealt. But this seems to be rather a strained etymology, founded on mere likeness. To trade or barter is in Saxon-English not mang-an but mang-ian. Mang-an is, however, allied with certain modern words, such as among (in Scotch, amang), which clearly means mingled with. Mongrel, an animal of mixed breed, is from the same source.

The idea of inferiority seems to be attached to the word monger. The great wholesale dealers in fish at Billingsgate, who monopolise the produce of the salmon and other fisheries, although they may condescend to dine at Fishmonger's Hall, escape from the idea of inferiority implied by the word monger, by calling themselves fish salesmen; and when Radical politicians first coined the word borough-monger, to designate the holders of what were called pocket-boroughs, they no doubt intended to hold up the class to public obloquy. We use the word scandal-monger in a dyslogistic sense, and even newsmonger not quite approvingly.

I knew a lady who was the daughter and granddaughter of clergymen, bred with an hereditary contempt of Dissenters, especially of those who had migrated from the church to the chapel. She called those who went about from chapel to chapel—not so much to say their prayers as to hunt after celebrated Dissenting preachers—gospel-mongers. The notion of inferiority in the word monger had clearly, but, perhaps, unconsciously, impressed itself upon her mind.

Monger was also used for a trading vessel; and Halliwell suggests, and I think with reason, that the covered trading-boat which used to ply about the ships in harbour, and which was, and perhaps still is, known as a monkey boat, should rather be called a monger-boat, of which the vulgar name is a corruption. This suggestion we may carry farther. Is not the powder-monkey in ships of war a corruption of powder monger?

There is one compound of monger to which, as it seems to me, a very doubtful etymology has been assigned—I mean coster-monger. It is suggested that coster should be costard, which meant a large kind of apple. Hence, coster-monger was originally a dealer in apples, and was then extended to all classes of traders about the streets. But first, there is no authority for changing coster—which, as I shall presently show, has a definite meaning—into the word costard, which is of very doubtful meaning; and, moreover, the authority for making costard the name of an apple is weak. Then again, assuming that costard means an apple, why should itinerant traders who deal in anything and everything be called apple-dealers? The costermongers of the London streets pile their donkey-carts with tin-ware, cheap crockery, sprats, and red herrings—in short, with anything that will sell; and there is no need to resort to so far-fetched and doubtful an etymology, when we have a plain, simple, and I think obvious one, lying, as it were, at our very feet.

My solution, I think, is a very simple one. Coster-monger is the Saxon-English ceaster-mangere, town trader, with no more than the letter change of common occurrence. The *ea* of ceaster and the *a* of mangere being both changed to *o* in order to meet a broad pronunciation. Mangere is undoubtedly monger, and if this be

so, why should not ceaster be coster? Ceaster enters into compounds in a very similar way. In the Colloquium of Ælfric, printed in Thorpe's *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, the schoolmaster questions the fisherman about the disposal of his fish. "Hwaer cypst thu fixas thine?" (Where do you sell your fish?) "On ceastre." (In the town.) "Hwa bigth hi?" (Who buys them?) "Ceaster wara." (Town dwellers.) If ceaster-wara be a valid Saxon compound, why not ceaster mangere—town traders, costermongers?

X.—BUXOM.

The English word *buxom*, like the words *lust* and *lewd*, has entirely lost its original meaning. *Búhsum* in Saxon is obedient, *búhsumnes* obedience. The letter *h* being very strongly or roughly aspirated, readily slipped into the sound *x*. We retain the word *buxom* only in one, and that an altered sense, a *buxom lass*—a stout, healthy, comely, young woman. Gray, in his "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College," applies the word to boys:—

*Theirs, buxom health and rosy face,
Wild with invention ever new,
And lively cheer, of vigour born;
The thoughtless day, the easy night,
The spirits pure, the slumbers light,
That fly th' approach of dawn."*

The *Tatler*, No. 273, uses the word in its modern signification—"buxom and bonny dames." *Búhsum* is derived from *beog-an*, or *bug-an*, to bend or bow, the attitude of obedience; and the weapon *bow* as well as the *bough* of a tree have the same etymology. In old English the word was spelled *bough-sum*. *Verstegan*, in his "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence," explains the word thus: "Plebleness or boughsumnesse to, wit humbly stooping or bowing down in sign of obedience." In its original sense we have the word both in the *Vision of Piers Plowman* and in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The former has the expression, "bux-sum to the lawe," and in the *Knight's Tale* Chaucer says:—

*And thei with humble herte, full buxumly
Kneeling upon hir (their) knees, full reverently, him thanken all—*

And nearly a century later, in the *Boke of St. Albans* (1486), it is laid down among the qualifications of a *gentilmon* that he should be "buxom to Goddis bydding," *i.e.*, obedient to God's commandments.

The following extract from Sir Francis Palgrave's *History of the English Commonwealth*, Vol. II., page 136, besides being intrinsically interesting, may help us to account for the change of meaning which the word has undergone:—

"In the older marriage forms the rythm is more strongly marked than that which is now in use. According to the usage of Salisbury, the bride answered:—'I take thee, John, to be my wedded husband, to have and to hold, fro' this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in hele, to be bonere and buxom (that is, obedient—Ger., biegsam) in bedde and at borde tile death us do part (if Holy Church it will ordain), and thereto I plight thee my troth.' This in fact is the wedding, from wed pledge, or sponsio, the civil ceremony to which the Church added its benediction. The penultimate clause is evidently a Christian insertion. The form was adopted with some very slight alterations in the other English dioceses. Thus, in the province of York, or to speak more correctly in the kingdom of Northumbria, the bridegroom's promise was to the following effect:—'I take thee, Alice, to be my wedded wife, to have and to holde, at bedde and borde, for fairer for fouler, for better for worse, in sicknesse in hele, tile death us do part.'"

We may fairly infer that a *buxom lass* was a young woman who had reached an age at which she could lawfully promise to be *búh-sum*—*buxom*—obedient; that is, a marriageable young woman, and she now enjoys the exclusive monopoly of the word, though its origin is lost sight of.

But Palgrave is incorrect in assigning the modern German word *biegsam*, as the equivalent of *buxom*—*búh-sum*—obedient. I am not aware of a single instance of its use in such a sense. Undoubtedly, it has the same etymology—German *biegan*, to bow or bend—Anglo-Saxon, *beogan*, to bow—but the German word in modern use for obedient is exclusively *gehorsam*—obedience is *gehorsamkeit*. In Anglo-Saxon also we have similar words—*gehyrsum*, obedient; *gehyrsumnes*, obedience; *gehyrsumian*, to obey. *Biegsam* is not even used for obsequiousness, or servile obedience. It is simply pliant, bending, supple, flexible, and so forth. If there be any nice distinction in Anglo-Saxon between *gehyrsum* and *búhsum*, I incline to think that the latter inclines more to obsequious submission than the former. *Gehorsam*, German; *gehoorzaam*, Dutch; *gehyrsum*, Anglo-Saxon, are all probably from the word in the respective languages for to hear or listen to; and so the three words all imply a disposition to hear or listen patiently—disposed to listen: quite as much a mark of obedience as bowing.

XI.—TIMBRIAN, TIMBER.

To build or construct, in Saxon, is *tymbrian*, or *getymbrian*; in a secondary sense, it means to instruct. We also use the word to edify in the latter sense, and this is derived from a Latin word signifying to build. We no longer use the verb "to timber."

I am indebted to my son, Mr. Ernest Chapman, of Maniatoto, for the following correction :—"The verb 'to timber' is used every day : 'timbering a well,' for instance, instead of bricking it. 'You must timber a well before you can puddle back the surplus drainage.' So a shaft is 'timbered' to prevent it from falling in, and so is the drive of a mine."

It is, nevertheless, true that we no longer use the verb "to timber" in the general sense of "to build," as "tymbrian" was used. The occasional conversion of nouns into verbs, which our language allows, is quite another thing. The verb so made is limited to the sense of the noun. Thus we say, "to brick" a portion of a building; "to man" a ship; "to horse" a coach. In the New Zealand Assembly, we hear that Mr. A. has "tabled" a motion, and the Auckland papers some years ago informed us that Sir George Grey had been "interviewed" at San Francisco.

but we retain the Saxon word timber as synonymous with wood, one of the materials used in building. But does timber come from *tymbrian*, or *tymbrian* from timber? On this point etymologists differ, as they do in some other similar cases. Dr. Bosworth, in his Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, considers that timber (wood) is the radical, and that *tymbrian* was used for "to build," because in primitive times all building was of wood. But Junius, who was the great reviver of Saxon learning in the seventeenth century, considers that *tymbrian* meant generally to build or construct, no matter of what material; and as the German tribes at first made use of wood only, the common material acquired the name of timber, just as we call white oak wainscot. Assuming that timber only obtained its name from *tymbrian*—its most conspicuous use—the word might as well have been applied to stone, clay, or brick; but probably, long before those materials came into use, the meaning of timber had become fixed. We have seen how the word *deal* (*dael*)—part—got exclusive possession of certain slabs of wood. Etymologically, the word is quite as applicable to similar slabs or cuttings of stone; but when a particular meaning fastens itself upon a word, it confers a sort of monopoly, and no effort can force the word back to its general and original sense. We have plenty of examples of the special monopoly of a word. For instance, *undertaker* means strictly one who undertakes anything; *unternehmer*, in German, and *entrepreneur* in French, still enjoy their wide signification. But in England, and in countries peopled by Englishmen, those very useful persons who "undertake" to put us into our coffins, and carry us to our graves, have somehow or other managed to get exclusive possession of the word, and although we are left at liberty to apply the verb "undertake" to any "undertaking," the word "undertaker" has become a forbidden word for all purposes but one. It is worth while to pursue this word undertaker a little farther. Addison, in the Spectator, has it in the general sense, but I am not aware that it has been so used since, without qualifying words. We may, for instance, say "he was the undertaker of the work." The French equivalents of the words to undertake, undertaking, and undertaker, are *entreprendre*, *entreprise*, and *entrepreneur*. We still retain *enterprise* as the equivalent of undertaking; but although the verb to *enterprise*, and the noun *enterpriser*, are to be found in old authors and in our dictionaries, they are now disused. It may be considered strange that we should keep *enterprise*, which we do not want, or do not much want, and yet retain no similar word for undertaker, which we do want. I say that we do not much want enterprise, and yet, as we possess it, it ought not to be parted with; for this reason: that the possession of two words, synonymous in the first instance, enables us to clothe them conventionally with two different shades of meaning. Though *enterprise* be the French equivalent of the Saxon *undertaking*, I think that most writers use the former word where they wish to imply more energy, or some greater risk or difficulty to be overcome. The word undertaking seems to offer itself to our hand when we desire to designate a somewhat tamer attempt. This is certainly an advantage in our double speech. Our phrase "the spirit of enterprise" seems to convey something of approval and something of dash about it, which the German *unternehmungs-geist* (under-taking-spirit) wants. I have heard some persons criticise French phraseology as clothing very trivial ideas in exalted language, which thus appears too theatrical. To speak of the *enterprise* of sweeping a crossing, or of selling apples at the corner of a street, would no doubt appear so in English. But there is nothing stilted in such expressions in French, and our ear soon becomes familiar to language which we are compelled to employ, rather than to shut our mouths. We soon glean from the context the shades of meaning which our more copious language so easily expresses.

XII.—HERD, SHEPHERD, HOARD, HURDLE.

I now come to a number of words familiar to everyone, but between some of which no connection will, at

first sight, be suspected, and yet it will be seen that they all include one and the same idea. Herd—in the sense of a *herdsman*, as in *shepherd*, *swineherd*, *neatherd*, *goatherd*. The word is also applied to the cattle or flock, and it is used as a verb. The other words which I shall show to be next of kin, are : hurdle, the moveable pannel of a fence; hording, the boarded fence put round a building in progress; and hoard, a treasure, with its verb, to hoard. What connection (the reader may ask) can there be between a treasure, a hurdle, and a shepherd? I answer, the single idea of safekeeping, as clearly indicated by the Saxon word from which they all spring. Horne Tooke, in his very amusing and instructive book called "The Diversions of Purley" (because it was written for his own diversion at a place called Purley), says :—"Herd is the past-participle of *hyrd-an*, *custodire* (*i.e.*, to keep safely), and is applied to that which is *guarded*, and to him by whom it is *guarded* or kept. We use it both for *grex* and *pastor*" (*i.e.*, the flock and the shepherd). Junius, the Anglo-Saxon scholar, to whom I have already referred, inclines to the same *hyrd-an*, but thinks that it may owe its origin to *hyrdel* (*crates*), *i.e.*, in English, hurdle. I believe the primitive word is *hyrde*, a guard or keeper, from which comes the verb *hyrdan*, to guard or keep.

In the fragment of the fight of Finnesburg, Hengist is designated, *folces hyrde*, the people's guardian. The thing kept, whether the dock, the herd, or the store of money, is *heord*, *hyrd*, and *hórd*—all, probably, pronounced nearly alike. These vowel changes I have already alluded to, and I will here add a few words to show how *heord* is connected with *hyrd-an*, and it will be seen that here again we are not without a similar change in English. In Saxon, work or labour is *weorc*, but the verb to work becomes *wyrc-an*. Storm or steorm is a tempest, to storm becomes *stym-an*. Gold is, in Saxon, the same word; to spread over with gold, is *gyld-an*; and in English, we preserve this precise letter change, *e.g.*, "to gild refined gold." In fact, the change from *eo* to *y* is one of the normal permutations running through the language, and before the letter *y* came into common use, the letter *e*, coming before the *o*, is supposed (and I think on good evidence) to have given it a slightly *y* sound. Thus, *ceórl* was probably pronounced nearly as we speak it, *churl*; and *ceápman*, a trader, and *ceapscip*, a trading or a merchant ship, were nearly *chapman* and *chapship*, for they acquired the latter spelling about the year 1200, or before. It has been suggested by one Anglo-Saxon scholar that the vulgar pronunciation of *ky-art* for cart, and *kee-ind* for kind, and the theatrical parent's pronunciation, "Oh, my chee-ild," have their origin in the same Saxon pronunciation. I think the reader must now be prepared to admit that in all the words which we have just had under consideration, the idea of safe-keeping lies embedded. The safe-keeper, guard, or guardian, is *hyrde*; in English, herd. The thing safely kept is *heord*, *hard*, *hyrd*; English, herd and hoard; whilst to keep safely, to guard, is *hyrd-an*, to herd. The *hyrdel*, hurdle, hording, all different forms of the same word, is the fence, which aids safe-keeping. Hoard, or treasure, is the thing safely kept. Hord, in Saxon, enters into many compounds. The king's treasurer was the *hórd-thegn*, the treasury was the *hórd-burh*, or *hórd-hús*.

XIII.—SHED, WATER-SHED.

The word water-shed is a comparatively modern compound, and is used by civil engineers and surveyors to denote any ridge of land rising higher than the surrounding country, and *dividing* the waters which flow in one direction from those which flow in the opposite direction. Why should this be called *shed*? There seems to be no ordinary use of the word *shed* which would account for its adoption in the word water-shed, to express the dividing or separating of the waters. As a provincial word, and as a word used technically by some artificers, we may find cases of its use; but in our ordinary speech it means to cast off by a natural process, as "Trees *shed* their leaves in autumn"—"the snake tribe *shed* their skin annually"—"the horse is *shedding* his coat. It generally implies a process of renewal, for although the child *sheds* its first teeth, we do not apply the word *shed* to the loss of teeth by age or disease. "Physical Geography," says Mr. Earle, in one of his notes to his edition of the Saxon Chronicles, "has lately brought this word (water-shed) forward out of its provincial obscurity," where for a while it lay as it were embedded. It is undoubtedly the modern or living form of the Anglo-Saxon *scad-an*, to divide or separate, and, etymologically considered, is quite as accurately, and perhaps rather more accurately, applied in water-shed than to the shedding of leaves, skin, or teeth. *Scadeth* is used in Anglo-Saxon Chron., A.D. 942, in the precise sense of separates, and with these explanations, water-shed is at once clothed with vitality, and becomes not only perfectly intelligible, but highly appropriate and expressive. I have before had occasion to allude to the low-land Scotch, as retaining Saxon words in their original sense which have become obsolete in the southern parts of England. In Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, to shed hair is not to cast it off, but to separate it, so that it may fall on either side. In weaving, the loom is furnished with an apparatus for elevating and depressing the alternate threads of the *warp*, so as to enable the shuttle to pass the *weft* through. This is called "shedding the warp," *i.e.*, separating it. This again coincides with water-shed. I may observe that *weft* is from Anglo-Saxon *weorf-an*, to throw; in German, *werfen*, the *weft* being thrown by the shuttle through and across the *warp*, the alternate strings of which have been *shed* to receive it. The poetical word *waft*—

"Ye zephyrs, waft her kisses to me"—
has the same origin.

XIV.—YELLOW-HAMMER (OR AMMER?).

This well-known bird of the Bunting family is commonly called and written yellow-hammer; but the German name of the Bunting is *ammer*. Schneec-ammer, the snow-bunting; gold-ammer, the yellow-bunting or yellow-hammer; rohr-ammer, the reed-bunting. On the authority of these names, Yarrel restores the spelling to yellow-ammer, rejecting the *h* as redundant. Latham suggests that the word is from the Anglo-Saxon *hama*—a skin, which we retain in hammer-cloth; and he, therefore, retains yellow-hammer; and as long custom sanctions the retention of the *h*, it ought not to be lightly discarded.

I am decidedly of opinion that Yarrel is etymologically correct. This form is not without A.S.—*i.e.*, the oldest English authority. Lye, in his Saxon Dictionary, gives *amove* as the name of a bird, on the authority of a Cotton MS. But Bosworth drops the word out of his dictionary, probably because he had failed to find it from Lye's loose reference.

I think it almost certain that we get the word, not from the real or supposed Anglo-Saxon *amore*, but from the German *ammer*. German bird-fanciers abound in England, and have long carried on a successful trade in imported birds. From them, I have no doubt, we derive the name, upon which the *h* has intruded by a very common corruption. Ammer, as we have seen, is the generic name of the Bunting, to which family the yellow-hammer of our English meadows and hedges belongs.

The bird has given its name to a little river in Bavaria, and the gan, or district through which it flows, is called the Ammergau, and that portion of the district which extends into the Bavarian Highlands is called Ober-ammergau (the Upper Ammer District), where the celebrated "Passion Play" is performed once in every ten years.

XV.—BÓT, BOOTLESS.

Bót is a remedy, compensation, advantage. As a noun, the word is no longer in use, except as a law term, to be presently explained. We have it, however, as a verb. "What *boots* it?"—*i.e.*, What avails it? Of what advantage is it? We have it, also, in the adjective *bootless*, without advantage or ineffectual. Bótleas in Anglo-Saxon, without pecuniary compounding or ransom. Where the law prescribed an afflictive punishment, incapable of being redeemed by a money payment, it was added that it should be *bótleas*.

The noun bót is still retained as a Common Law term, though fast falling into oblivion by the decay of the old tenures. Black-stone's explanation, following Lord Coke (Litt. 41), is as follows: "The Saxon word *bote* is used by us as synonymous to the French *estovers*; and, therefore, house-bote is a sufficient allowance of wood to repair or bum in the house, which latter is sometimes called fire-bote. Plough-bote and cart bote are wood to be employed in the making and repairing all instruments of husbandry; and hay-bote or hedge-bote is wood for repairing hays, hedges, or fences. These *botes* or *estovers* must be reasonable ones, and such as any tenant or lessee may take off the land let or demised to him without waiting for any leave, assignments, or appointments of the lessor, unless restrained by special covenant to the contrary." (Bl. Com., II., 35.)

XVI.—SODOR AND MAN.

This is the title of one of the English Bishoprics. This Bishop was formerly not a Lord of Parliament, but when some additional Bishoprics were created, the junior Bishops were excluded from Parliament, which gave to the Bishop of Sodor and Man a seat so soon as he ceased to be one of the junior bishops. His title of Bishop of Man is clear enough, except that, contrary to the general rule, he does not take his title from the name of any city or cathedral town. But whence Sodor? This has puzzled antiquarians and etymologists. Buchanan, the Scottish historian, states that before his time (how long?) the name of Sodor was given to a town in the Isle of Man. But no town so named is known to have existed. There is, however, a small island called by the Norsemen *Holm*, and by the people of Man, Peel; and a charter of Thomas, Earl of Derby, date 1505, has been cited, granting to the Bishop of Sodor the Cathedral in *Holm Sodor vel Pele vocatum*. But this really proves nothing. Instead of deriving the name Sodor from Holm Sodor vel Pele, the probability is that Sodor was antecedent, and that the qualifying word Sodor was introduced into the charter simply because the Bishop was "of Sodor and Man." If he had derived his title from the large Island of Man and the small off-lying island of Holm or Sodor, he should have been called Bishop of Man and Sodor, and it has been well observed that the Bishop of Durham might as well have been called the Bishop of Holy Island and Durham.

The real history of the name Sodor appears to be this: It is simply a corruption of the Norse *Sudr-eya* (Southern Islands), a name given by the Northmen of the Scandinavian Peninsula to the Hebrides or Western

Islands of Scotland.

The name Hebrides requires to be accounted for. This is a Latinised Teutonic word, and it is found in the following forms:—Hebrides, Hebudes, Ebudes. Thus, not only is the initial *h* not radical, but the *r* is an intruding sound, not unknown in other words. Taking Ebudes as the oldest form, it is the Latin form of Ey-bude, or Ey-boda, which in Saxon English means Island-dwellings or Island-abodes.

But to the Norsemen of the Scandinavian Peninsula, these Island-dwellings, Island-abodes—Ey-boda—were merely the South Islands. Hence, in their Saga they are generally, I believe always, called the Sudr-eya, and the change from Sudr-eya to Sodor is, linguistically, a very easy one. The Bishop of Sodor and Man had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole or greater part of the Sudr-eya or Ey-bude, and, I believe, has so still, and so takes the title of Sodor (Sudr-eya) and Man.

XVII.—NE.

The Saxon-English negative *ne* has disappeared, and *not* has usurped its place. But the position of the negative has been changed. *Ne* always came before the verb in the sentence (as in Latin); *not* has its place after the verb. Take as a sample the sentence, "Have you not read?" In the Saxon-English version of the Gospels it stands: "Ne redde ge?" literally, "not have read ye?" Again: "Ne oudrede ge eow" (fear ye not); literally, "not fear ye you," where *ge* = *ye* is the nominative case, and *eow* = *you*, the accusative or objective, a distinction which we have neglected and lost.

The old negative *ne* is used by Spencer in his "Faery Queene;" but Spencer affected Archaic forms, just as Sallust did in his day, and *ne* in Spencer's time was obsolescent, if not obsolete, in common speech.

Lord Byron in his poem of "Childe Harold" adopted Spencer's stanza, and used the old negative *ne* instead of *not*, and, moreover, restored its place before the verb:—

*Whilom in Albion's Isle there dwelt a youth,
Who ne in virtue's ways did take delight.*

But *ne* had become obsolete to most of his readers, as much so as *hight* for *named* :
"Childe Harold was he hight."

The newspapers have made *y-clep'd* = *called*, familiar to the ordinary reader, but they have not done as much for *hight*.

In Chaucer's time, *ne n'* was made to coalesce with many verbs, which in this respect were like the Latin verb *nolo* = *non volo*. For example :—

And many others. We have a trace of this, and that is all, in the provincial expression *will-he nil-he* (sometimes written, "wille nille) = Will he or will he not—that is, whether he will or will not; but with that faint provincial vestige, Chaucer's coalescent negative verbs have disappeared from our common speech. Possibly, the change in the place of the negative in the sentence may account for this.

We retain a few words in which the old negative *ne* is obviously embedded, and as none of these are verbs, the altered place of the negative does not interpose any difficulty :—

Chaucer, Gower, and the author of the "Vision of Piers Plowman" (1360—1400) have some other coalescent forms, such as *seestow* = *seest thou*; *wiltow* = *wilt thou*; but they, too, have disappeared, except a few which still linger in provincial speech; and we retain a few, which may be ranked as recognised words, *e.g.*—

There are two other classes of words, the results of a sort of abnormal coalescence, which, for want of an appropriate place, I may as well explain here.

We have a few words which formerly began with the letter *n*, but which now begin with a vowel; the *n*, which etymologically

belongs to the word, having detached itself therefrom, and fastened itself upon the indefinite article; whilst we have a few others which originally began with a vowel, but which have made reprisals upon the article *an*, having stolen its *n* and adopted it as an initial letter. There is some reason to believe that there are a few words which have effected a very narrow escape from a similar corruption.

Adder, a snake of the viper tribe, is an example of the first kind. The Saxon-English word is *naedde*, which, in Chaucer's time, was written *nedder*, *neddir*. The modern German word is *natter*. There can be no doubt that, etymologically, *adder* ought to be *nadder*; but the word has lost its initial *n*, which has transferred itself to the indefinite article, and a *nedder* has become an *adder*.

All the languages belonging to the Teutonic family (in which I include the Scandinavian) are in the older form :—

We can actually see the process of change commencing, and almost mark its date.

It is not until a few years after A.D. 1200 that we find the indefinite article *an* well established—*e.g.*, in the Ormulum and Layamon's Brut. The definite article *the* had become common nearly half a century earlier.

Before the former date, therefore, there was no indefinite article to rob, or be robbed, or to confuse the ear by a coalescent sound. In the MS. of "Piers Plowman's Vision," used by Mr. Thomas Wright in his edition of 1856, the old form appears; but in the MS. used by Mr. Skeat, in his edition of 1869, we find "addris;" but the date of the MS. is not given, and probably is not known. In the Wicliffite versions of the Bible, edited by Sir F. Madden and the Rev. Mr. Forshall, from the earliest MSS., we find "eddre," singular; and "eddris," plural. Wicliffe's date is about 1389, so that the new form began to creep in before A.D. 1400. How much later the older form "nedder" held concurrent sway, I have no means of tracing. The folio editions of Chaucer are no authority. Caxton and his followers altered the reading and spelling to the English of their own day. It has been left to modern scholars to restore the text of Chaucer and other writers of his age.

Another word which has shared the same fate, is the name of the well-known shipwright's and wheelwright's tool, an auger. Look at this word auger, and who would suppose that the *nave* of a wheel lies embedded or fossilised therein? Yet so it is. The Saxon-English word is Naue-gar, sometimes found in the form Nafe-gar. Hence, Naue-gar, Nafe-gar, has been referred to Nafu, the nave of a wheel—the *f* and *u* (or *w*) being inter-changeable letters. The last syllable, gar, is, primarily, a dart or javelin, and, secondarily, any pointed instrument or tool capable of boring a hole. Naue-gar is therefore a nave-borer. Ladies will not object to this secondary meaning of gar

This same word gar appears in gar-fish, from the dart-like form of its snout. It is sometimes erroneously called guard fish, but it was gar-fish in King Alfred's time, and is still so called in the North of England. The gar-fish is abundant in Victoria and New Zealand.

when I remind them that they employ the name of a murderous weapon for one of the implements of the work-table—stiletto.

Naue-gar has lost its initial *n*, which has attached itself to the article, and that which ought to have been a nauger has become an auger.

I am strongly induced to think that the word apron—an article of dress—has suffered a similar change, being probably derived from *napperon*—a small linen cloth. This word *nap-peron*, it is true, is never, like *Nadder* and *Naue-gar*, found in the earliest English, and therefore, if derived as I suggest, it must have parted with its initial *n* at the moment of its adoption. The French, too, have another word for an apron—*tablier*. Some etymologists derive the word from the Saxon *a-foren*—something worn before the person, as in pin-a-fore; but this seems to me to be less probable than the suggested French origin, inasmuch as the French language has been a fertile source of our English names of dress. The thing itself may have been introduced by some enterprising trader, who had heard the word *napperon* for a fragment of linen cloth, but whose ear was deceived by the word. Perhaps, like Chaucer's prioress, he spoke French,

*"After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For French of Parys was to him unknowe;"*

and *napperon* would become first an *aperon*, and would soon be shortened to an apron.

Nappe—*nap* means linen cloth, just as *Drap* means woollen cloth. We have the first in *nap-kin*. As *drap-ier* (now contracted to *draper*) is a dealer in woollen cloth, so *nap-ier* is a dealer in linen. I have heard a fanciful attempt to derive the proper name Napier from *Ne-pier* or *Ne-peer*—no equal, peerless. But this is not tenable.

Among the words which have made reprisals in the article, *Newt*, a small water-reptile is the most conspicuous. Perhaps it is the only one which is entirely free from doubt. Shakespeare has "eye of *newt*, and toe of frog," among the ingredients of the witch's cauldron, and he has the word in other places. The oldest form of the word is *efet*, or *eft*, which our language still retains. I have already mentioned that the change from *f* to *w* is a common permutation, and *eft* and *ewt* are the same word, which has become *newt* by the process to which I have referred—an *ewt* = a *newt*.

According to Latham, the word *nag*, for a small horse, belongs to the same class, the initial *n*, as he contends, not being radical. He considers that the radical word is the old Norse, or old Icelandic word, *ög*, and was probably transplanted to Northumbria where many Danish forms prevail. The Saxon form of the word would be *ág*. It has, if Latham be right, stripped the article of its final *n*, which has fastened itself on the radical, and *nag* is now a well-established word. Notwithstanding Latham's high authority, however, which in Teutonic learning is very great, it is proper to point out that his explanation of *nag* is not supported by such conclusive evidence as the derivation of the word *newt*. We have the word *eft* or *ewt* from the very earliest times down to our own day, whereas the word *ög* or *ág* does not appear upon English soil, that I am aware of, before the article *an* made its appearance to lend its aid to such transformations. In addition to this negative reason for doubt, we have in Saxon a word which may have given birth to *nag*, namely the verb *hnaeg-an*, to neigh, in which the *n* is radical.

There is another word, not recognised by Latham as belonging to this class, but which Skinner places therein, and, I think, with good reason—I mean the word *nook*, a corner. Home Tooke, who saw past participles in a vast number of nouns, thinks that *nook* is the past participle of the word *nick*. Why, it is not easy to

conceive.

The Dutch and Belgic *een hoek* is a corner. I do not find that the Saxon word *hóc*—hook—bears the meaning of a corner or an angle, in any glossary to which I have access. But it may have had that meaning. Without relying upon a supposed Saxon origin, we undoubtedly derive many words from the Dutch, and this may be one. *Een hoek*, dropping the aspirate, would be sounded very like "a nook," the article parting with its initial *n* to the noun, as already explained.

Latham, in his new Dictionary of the English Language, makes the word *neddy*, the familiar name of a donkey, a word of the same class as *newt* and *nag*. He considers that the word was *heady*, from the headstrong character of the animal, and that by dropping the aspirate, and robbing the article of the *n*, it has become *neaddy*, *neddy*. In spite of the great respect which is due to Latham, I cannot but regard this as an ingenious freak of etymology. In the first place, *neddy* is sometimes applied to a pony as well as to an ass, and I suspect that *neddy* is only one out of many instances in which men apply human names to animals. Asses are commonly called *Jack* and *Jenny*; goats, *Billy* and *Nanny*. We have *Jack daws*, *Jenny wrens*, and *Poll parrots*. Why seek a more recondite origin for a *Neddy*? Still, there is another aspect of the word which shadows forth a possibility, but no more than a possibility, that the initial *n* may have the origin imputed to it, without resorting to the headstrong or heady donkey. We have several Christian names commencing with a vowel, which, in a familiar form, have the letter *n* prefixed. For instance, *Ann*, *Nan*, *Nanny*, *Nancy*; *Ellen*, *Nell*, *Nelly*; *Oliver*, *Noll*; *Edward*, *Ned*, *Neddy*.

The article was sometimes used before names. In a battle cry, the combatants would thus use the name of their chief:—"A Percy," "a Percy;" "a Douglas," "a Douglas;" "an Oliver," "a Roland," and so forth. This appears from many of our old romances and ballads. Several of our Edwards have been great in battle as in council. Thus, "an Edward," "an Oliver," rapidly repeated, may have given rise to *Ned*, *Neddy*, and *Noll*. But it seems to me more probable that *Nan*, *Nell*, *Ned*, and names of a like nature, are mere phonetic tricks of the vulgar, for the sake of ease of utterance. "Ann, Ann, Ann," repeated by a child would become *Nan*.

There are a few other words to be found, perhaps, in a single old manuscript, which show that some words commencing with a vowel have had a narrow escape from having the *n* of the article fastened upon them.

Halliwell, in his Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial Words, has several of these. A *nail*, for an *awl*, is one of these, and it is found in two printed books, "Tusser's Hundred Points of Good Husbandry" and "Tipsell's Beasts," ed. 1605, p. 183. A *nage*, for an *egg*, is also mentioned, but no authority is cited. A *nye*, for an *eye*, occurs in a MS. in the Cambridge University Library:

*"Fro nyce japis and ribaldry
Away thou must turne thi nye,
Turne thi nye that thou not see
This wicoud worldis vanyté."*

Thi nye, instead of thine eye, is probably due to the carelessness of the scribe. The two forms are what lawyers call *idem sonans*; but *thi nye* never seems to have got farther. Error must, however, have a beginning. It had a beginning in *newt*, *auger*, and *adder*, and got perpetuated. Eye has been more fortunate in its escape.

I now take leave of the reader. The examples which I have given are not very numerous; but I have endeavoured so to shape my explanations as to set the student upon the proper track of investigation—namely, the reading of our English authors who lived before the reign of Elizabeth. If the reader once dives into Chaucer, he will be very likely to be tempted farther back.

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Testimonials.

I.—From Professor Pillans, University of Edinburgh.

I HEREBY certify that Mr. Macgregor, during the course of this session, attended the Senior Humanity Class without having been absent or late, that his conduct was uniformly correct, that he acquitted himself very creditably in the public examinations in the class, and that he performed the whole of the prescribed exercises.

(Signed) J. PILLANS.

COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH,

9th April, 1849.

II.—From Professor Dunbar, University of Edinburgh.

I CERTIFY that Mr. A. Macgregor attended the Second Greek Class during session 1848—49 very regularly, that his conduct was correct, that in his examinations he acquitted himself very satisfactorily, that he performed very carefully the exercises prescribed, and that his proficiency was such as merited praise.

(Signed) GEORGE DUNBAR.

COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH,

9th April, 1849.

III.—From Professor Kirk Patrick, University of Edinburgh.

I CERTIFY that Mr. Macgregor's attendance upon the Third Greek Class during session 1851—52 was very regular, that he conducted himself with very great propriety, that he prepared the lessons and exercises with great diligence and care, and that his proficiency as shewn by his examinations was highly satisfactory.

(Signed) EDWARD KIRK PATRICK.

COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH,

9th April, 1852.

IV.—From Sir WM. Hamilton, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, University of Edinburgh.

I CERTIFY that Mr. Macgregor was enrolled a public student in the Junior Class of Logic and Metaphysics on the 7th November, 1849, that he continued to attend the prelections and examinations until the 11th April, 1850, with very great regularity, that he performed the written exercises prescribed all and with great credit, and that his general conduct was unexceptionable.

(Signed) W. HAMILTON.

V.—From Professor John Wilson, University of Edinburgh.

MR. ANGUS MACGREGOR was an excellent student, and most regular,—diligent and successful in his attainment of knowledge, and his various essays shewed uncommon talents.

(Signed) JOHN WILSON.

COLLEGE, EDINBURGH,

9th April, 1851.

VI.—From Rev. Philip Kelland, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh.

I CERTIFY that Mr. Macgregor attended the First Class of Mathematics during the session 1849—50 with

the greatest regularity, that he took an active part in the oral examinations, that he acquitted himself very creditably in the written examinations, that his general proficiency was great and his conduct in the class excellent. He obtained a Prize.

(Signed) P. KELLAND.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

16th April, 1850.

VII.—From Professor Kelland, Edinburgh.

I CERTIFY that Mr. Macgregor attended the Second Mathematical Class during the session 1850—51 with the utmost regularity, that he took an active part in the oral examinations, that he acquitted himself very creditably in the written examinations, that he performed a very large number of the prescribed weekly exercises, that his general proficiency was great and his conduct in the class excellent. *He obtained a high Prize.*

(Signed) P. KELLAND.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

April 10th, 1851

VIII.—From Professor Forbes, University of Edinburgh.

I CERTIFY that Mr. Macgregor attended the Class of Natural Philosophy during session 1851—52 with great regularity, that he acquitted himself most satisfactorily in the examinations, that he performed a very large number of the prescribed exercises, and behaved himself in the class with the utmost propriety, *He obtained a high Prize.*

(Signed) P. KELLAND.

pro J. FORBES.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

6th April, 1852.

IX.—From R. Hislop, Esq., Rector of Blairlodge Academy.

BLAIRLODGE ACADEMY, FALKIRK,

August 19th, 1854.

MR. MACGREGOR has been employed in this Academy during the last session as Classical Master. His attainments in the Greek and Latin languages are of a very superior order, and his style of communication is characterised by clearness and simplicity. Mr. Macgregor also taught the Senior Mathematical Class with great ability, and on Sabbaths cordially took part in the Religious instruction of the pupils.

I have much pleasure in adding, that his habitual good nature made him a favourite with the boys, both in the school and in the play-ground.

(Signed) ROBT. HISLOP.

X.—From John Macrae, Esq., A.M., Edin. and Melb., Classical Master, Scotch College, Geelong.

I HAVE much pleasure in testifying that I have known Mr. A. Macgregor for many years. He has had a full University Education in Edinburgh, where I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance. He ranked in point of ability among the first. He is an excellent Classical and Mathematical scholar, and his general acquirements are varied and extensive. He has been eminently successful as a teacher in connection with some of the leading Institutions in Edinburgh, and I have no doubt that the same talents now transferred to another scene, will give the same satisfaction that has always attended his scholastic labours.

Mr. Macgregor will be found to be a valuable acquisition in any community where teachers of the higher order are understood and appreciated.

(Signed) JOHN MACRAE, A.M., &c.

GEELONG COLLEGE,

18th December, 1867.

XI.—From John Carmichael, Esq., A.M., Professor of Classics and Mathematics, Congregational College of Victoria.

MELBOURNE,

1st February, 1868.

I HAVE known Mr. Macgregor for several years in Melbourne, and knew the reputation of his family at home as distinguished students of the University of Edinburgh, and among their number was ranked Mr. Angus Macgregor. I know Mr. Macgregor for a *nice* Classical scholar, using that term in its academic sense. As a Mathematician, I consider that he has considerable natural aptitude for that science, and that he has knowledge amply sufficient to qualify him for conducting the Mathematical department of any Upper School. A kindly manner and strong common sense, both of which Mr. Macgregor possesses, ought to render him a favourite teacher.

(Signed) JOHN CARMIGHAEL, A.M.,

PROFESSOR OF CLASSICS AND MATHEMATICS, MELBOURNE.,

XII.—From David Ross, Esq., Rector of the Grammar School, Tokomairiro.

I BEG hereby to certify, that Mr. Macgregor has been known to me for several years back, since first he entered College in the University of Edinburgh. Mr. Macgregor is a member of a family, each and all of whom have distinguished themselves as pre-eminent students,—his brother (now Dr. Macgregor of Dundee) carrying off the highest honours in the gift of the Edinburgh University.

Mr. Macgregor, as a student of very high attainments, particularly in Classics and Mathematics, was for many years engaged in Edinburgh in private tuition, preparing the sons of the richer classes for entering upon and aiding and guiding them while in their College course. Afterwards he was elected as Classical and Mathematical Master in Blairlodge Academy,—an appointment which he filled with great credit to himself and to the entire satisfaction of his employers. Nor are his attainments the only excellent qualifications he as a teacher possesses; he is particularly patient, good-natured and humorous, but firm withal,—elements in themselves very essential in a teacher, whether public or private.

He is recently come to Otago, to devote his talents and energies to scholastic labour, wherever a suitable sphere may present itself.

From his very high attainments and clear sound scholarship, I have every confidence in recommending him as a teacher fit to undertake any department in any Institution in New Zealand.

(Signed) DAVID ROSS.

TOKO. SCHOOL,

14th July, 1868.

XIII.—From Rev. D. Macrae, A.M., Kilmore, Victoria.

KILMORE,

23rd December, 1867.

MR. MACGREGOR has to my knowledge been very successful as a teacher in and near Edinburgh. He is a capital scholar, and has had considerable experience in teaching. He possesses in a high degree those qualifications required in an instructor of youth,—a liberal education, the art of communicating knowledge, and a good temper combined with firmness of purpose. I feel certain that he will always give satisfaction as a teacher.

(Signed) DONALD MACRAE.

PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER

XIV.—From the Rev. R. Scrimgeour, St. Andrew's Church, Dunedin.

I HEREBY certify with much pleasure that Mr. Macgregor is well known to me, and that I am well aware of his distinguished attainments as a Classical and Mathematical scholar.

I know also of his great success as a tutor in connection with the two leading Institutions in Edinburgh, and as a teacher in one of the principal Boarding Schools in Scotland. He is acquainted with the most approved methods of carrying out the higher education of the young, and I can therefore most cordially recommend him to any situation which in providence may occur, in the full assurance that he will discharge the duties thereof with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of his patrons and friends.

(Signed) ROBT. SCRIMGEOUR.

ST. ANDREW'S MANSE,
DUNEDIN,

27th June, 1868.

XV.—From Rev. D. M. Stuart, Knox Church, Dunedin.

DUNEDIN,

6th January, 1869.

MR. MACGREGOR has resided in Dunedin for about a year, and by his kindness has greatly endeared himself to all who have made his acquaintance. He has conducted classes for Mathematics and Greek and Latin, which have been attended by many of our young men. From his excellent disposition, his sound scholarship, and his professional experience acquired in some of the best schools in the Home country, I am sure he will be

an acquisition to any Institution requiring an able teacher.

(Signed) D. M. STUART.

**XVI.—From John Hislop, Esq., Secretary of Education Board,
and Inspector of Schools for Otago.**

EDUCATION OFFICE, DUNEDIN,

5th January, 1869.

I HAVE been acquainted with Mr. Angus Macgregor ever since his arrival in Dunedin about a year ago. During the greater portion of the past year he has conducted a Select Private Classical and Commercial Academy, and he has also taught Evening Classes for the instruction of young gentlemen in the higher branches of education.

I know that Mr. Macgregor has given very great satisfaction in connection both with his Day and Evening Classes. From the circumstance that one of my sons has studied under him for some months, I am able to state very confidently that, in my opinion, Mr. Macgregor is a most admirable and successful teacher of the Classics and Mathematics.

Mr. Macgregor's conduct during his residence in Dunedin has been most correct and exemplary. I am confident he will prove a most successful and acceptable teacher in any Grammar or other Superior School in which he may be employed.

(Signed) JOHN HISLOP.

SECRETARY AND INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS FOR OTAGO.

**XVII.—From Thomas Halliwell, Esq., Head Master of the Middle
District School, Dunedin.**

DUNEDIN,

5th July, 1869.

MR., MACGREGOR having just intimated to me that it is his intention to offer himself as a candidate for the vacant Rectorship of the "Oamaru Grammar School," I beg respectfully to state that I regard his qualifications as being so very high, that I am decidedly of opinion that the Education Board and the School Committee would be most fortunate in securing the services of so distinguished a preceptor. At the present time Mr. Macgregor is ably filling a Private Professorial Chair, almost as successfully, I think, as would be done had we the proposed University already established. Students in the Law, &c., are most earnestly prosecuting their studies in Classics and Mathematics under his direction, and I can most unhesitatingly state that there is only one opinion of him in Dunedin, namely,—"*an able scholar.*"

My own son has been attending his Evening Classical and Mathematical Classes, and it has always been most gratifying to hear his report of Mr. Macgregor's winning and efficient manner of carrying his students through their studies.

Mr. Macgregor is certainly a thorough disciplinarian, and he is, I believe, in advance of many in the profession in his happy mode of leading his pupils to feel an interest in what they undertake, and in stimulating them to self-culture.

Had the salary offered been about treble the amount, I could more cordially say to Mr. Macgregor- "offer yourself." However, should the Committee elect him, I have no doubt he will soon make his worth known and duly appreciated.

THOS. HALLIWELL,

decorative feature

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Sanctioned by the Queen and yet not Valid!

"An old question is coming up, with rather a new and interesting face, in the House of Commons. Several of our colonies, including almost all the larger ones, have passed Acts legalising—that is, leaving free—

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister

And the present Government, as also we think the late one, advised Her Majesty to give the Royal assent to these enactments. Such marriages are now therefore as legal in our Australian and other colonies as they have always been in almost all other Protestant countries but this; and it is but too easy to see the difficulties that may or must arise when a transaction involving so many interests, present and prospective, moral and material, is legal in some and illegal in other parts of the Queen's dominions.

The amount of those difficulties and even dangers must now be held as more apparent than ever, at least by the present Government and all its supporters, after the recent declaration of Mr. Disraeli to the effect that the colonists do not really form separate communities, but are members of the British community, indulging in short absences, only to come back here to spend their fortunes, become high sheriffs of counties, and otherwise take up high places in British society.

In these circumstances, it has obviously become doubly impossible that the law in this country should continue to hold as morally dishonourable and legally ineffective what both law and society in what the Premier describes as a virtually inseparable section of the same community hold to be honourable in all men.

The present Bill, however, deals only with the matter of property in this country belonging or that may come to belong to the children of such marriages performed in the colonies. There is something more than a doubt that the law here might be so interpreted as to refuse recognition of the colonial law and the marriages under it, and to treat colonial children as not legitimate in England, and so not entitled to succeed to any but colonial property.

It is difficult to imagine on what plea a remedy for a wrong so monstrous and ridiculous can be refused.

The only imaginable argument is the very old and rotten one that this is "the thin end of the wedge." No doubt it is; but the wedge is in already without our help, or our being able to prevent it. The colonists have driven it in to the thick end, and we have not a shadow of moral right to prevent them taking their own way in the matter, nor to deny them here, at least as to property, what by the assent of the Crown they possess at home.

It is true also that when these colonial marriages are made effective here as to property, it would be absurd and indeed impossible to prevent them being made effective as to everything else. Any support that the existing law of this country receives from social ideas and customs is fast dying away, and even the most ignorant or priest-ridden persons will scarcely now refuse social recognition to men and women married according to the laws of their own country, which country is a part of the British Empire, and which law has been sanctioned by the British Government. The wedge already in will thus undoubtedly be driven home—but that only proves that the system into which it is being driven was not worthy of preservation."—*Scotsman*, 3rd April, 1876.

Deputation To the Earl of Carnarvon

(April 3rd, 1876.)

On the Subject of

Acts Passed in the Colonies of South Australia, Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, and Queensland, for Legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister.

Report of Proceedings.

AMONGST those present were ALDERMAN W. MCARTHUR, M.P., LORD HOUGHTON, RT. HON. ROBERT LOWE, M.P., A. W. YOUNG, ESQ., M.P., ALEXANDER MCARTHUR, ESQ., M.P., GEORGE LEEMAN, ESQ., M.P., MAURICE BROOKS, ESQ. M.P., H. W. FREELAND, ESQ., late M.P. for Chichester; SIR R. R. TORRENS, G C.M.G., The HON. ARCHIBALD MICHIE, ESQ. Q C., Agent Genrl. for Victoria; F. S. DUTTON, ESQ., C.M.G., Agent General for South Australia; J. B. DARVILL, ESQ., late Attorney General for New South Wales; several Ex-members of the various Australian and New Zealand Legislatures, and many other influential gentlemen

interested in Colonial affairs—William Farmer, Esq., Christopher Wyly, Esq., T. H. Sharwood, Esq., Sloper Cox, Esq., A. Triggs, Esq., W. Eykyns, Esq., George Wills, Esq., Henry Wellings, Esq., James Farmer, Esq., Geo. M. Story, Esq., Captain Thos. B. Hanham, R.N., Thomas Eykyn, Esq., C. H. Goode, Esq., (South Australia), H. J. Richman, Esq., T. F. Gillett, Esq., Edwin May, Esq., J. Wilson Holme, Esq., H. S. Thornton, Esq., Jas. Spicer, Esq., W. Fickus, Esq., W. Westgarth, Esq., (Victoria), Dr Milligan, (Tasmania) &c., &c., &c.

ALDERMAN WILLIAM MCARTHUR, M.P. for Lambeth, said—"I have the honour to introduce to your Lordship a Deputation consisting of gentlemen connected with the Australian Colonies, who wait upon you with respect to a Bill now before Parliament, and in the charge of SIR THOMAS CHAMBERS, who would have been here to-day to have replied to any questions from your Lordship, but for an official engagement rendering it impossible for him to come. Your Lordship is aware that in all the Australian Colonies, except Western Australia, Acts have been passed legalising Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. Those Acts, with the exception of that of Queensland which now awaits the Royal Assent, have from time to time received the sanction of Her Majesty; and the Colonists feel that they are suffering under a considerable grievance from the fact that there have been conflicting opinions expressed in this country with regard to the legitimacy of such marriages. They feel it to be indefensible, enjoying as they do all the rights of British subjects, that they should be subject to the unpleasant position they are now placed in,—by reason of their having married their Deceased Wives' Sisters in the Colonies, though under laws sanctioning such marriages,—of finding their offspring declared legitimate in one part of the Empire and illegitimate in England. I am assured you feel that with regard to the inhabitants of Australia, that there are no subjects more loyal or more attached to the British Crown than they are; and in any case, my Lord, they think they ought to have the same right that other British subjects have, to enjoy the advantage of their marriages being regarded as universally and in all respects valid."

LORD HOUGHTON.—"My Lord, this is essentially a Colonial question, and we wish it to be considered as such, and totally apart from any political consideration; we wish it to be argued solely as it affects the rights of property of the Colonists, the validity of their marriages and the legitimacy of their offspring. There will be gentlemen here to explain to your Lordship the uncomfortable and false position in which they are placed by reason of any doubts existing in these matters. They will tell you that when they contracted these marriages no doubt suggested itself, and that, the Colonial Legislatures when they passed these Acts, and those who married under them, believed that they carried the validity of such marriages all over the world; and they feel much aggrieved that any doubts respecting them should have arisen in England or elsewhere. Your Lordship is aware that there have been numerous authorities quoted upon this matter, some of them being the highest legal functionaries of this country. The Bill now before the House of Commons was brought in purely as a Declaratory Act for the purpose of declaring these marriages valid all over the world, as the marriages of honest Englishmen, marrying according to the laws of the country under which they live, and who claim their rights both as inhabitants of the Colonies and as subjects of the British Crown. (Hear, hear.) We note that your Lordship knows what the value of those Colonies is to the British Crown; your administration has been one that has known how to reconcile the independence of the Colonies with their rights as communities subject to the British Crown, and we trust you will increase, if possible, their confidence and their allegiance by affirming this Bill which has now been brought under your Lordship's notice."

The Hon. A. MICHIE. Q.C., Agent General for Victoria.—"My Lord, when I entered this room I did not expect to be called upon to take part in this discussion, but feeling as I do some interest in this matter, [with which I may be permitted to say your Lordship is as familiar as any one present and more familiar than many of us] I will just say a few words. I have really very little to add to what Lord Houghton has just addressed to you, beyond affording you an illustration within my own experience. There are many gentlemen in this room who are very well aware that there are extremely practical as well as sentimental difficulties connected with this subject as regards real and personal property in the mother country, and that the Colonists have been extremely disconcerted in finding themselves under different aspects of the law. It is almost unnecessary to mention the name of one gentleman who has suffered from this defect in the law, all present know to whom I am alluding without giving a nearer reference to his name. I may say, however, that he was a gentleman who occupied a very high official position, and who had property at the time of his death both in the mother country and in New South Wales. Well, of course different states of the law would be applicable to his children according as they were residing in the colony or here. Here under Lord Lyndhurst's Act they would be bastards, and in the Colony in the present state of the law the eldest son would succeed to his father's property; and I can conceive nothing more inconvenient, in the event of an appeal coming before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in having to deal with different classes of property, than to have to apply one state of the law to one class of property, which would necessarily be the case, and the other state of the law to the other class of property; in other words, the heir at law to property on the other side of the world would be a man who could be put out of his late father's property in this country, and be subjected to an act of injustice which any wrong-doer might accomplish if he felt so disposed. That would be the evil result of the state of the law in the two countries

Of course it may be said that to some extent any such practical difficulties can easily be got rid of by the parent making whatever testamentary disposition of his property he may choose. But that, after all, only half meets the difficulty; because the people in the Colony are in the habit day by day of purchasing property in the mother country; and the mere fact of a man having to take property under such a testamentary disposition as I have indicated is a had go upon him which he would not have dreamed of, and would prevent many a rich man, I believe, from coming to the mother country at all. It may be said that that is no great evil, that they might do as well if they remained in the Colony; but still these are practical difficulties with which the Legislature will have to deal. I am aware that it is said the Colonists are not entitled to be in a better position than those of the mother country. Well, for what it is worth that argument is of some significance. Here, however, is a difficulty into which we are plunged by what has become an accomplished fact. Successively the different Colonies have obtained this alteration of the law; for some time, indeed, there was some inconvenience by reason of there being one state of the law on one side of a river and another state of the law on the other. The South Australians obtained an alteration of the law some time before Victoria. Under the law of the latter Colony these marriages were mere forms and of no validity whatsoever; at the same time marriages were taking place on the other side of the River Murray which were perfectly valid and binding. I refer to these instances as some of the practical consequences, leaving all the other considerations of a much more important character to be dealt with by those who are more peculiarly interested in such considerations. I thank your Lordship for listening to such observations as I have had to deliver; and I trust that the very few illustrations I have given will not be taken as at all more than a sample of the mass of cases which I could have brought under your lordship's attention, and which I have no doubt, from their importance, would have received due weight at your Lordship's hands."

J. B. DARVILL, ESQ., late Attorney General of New South Wales. "I feel, as a Colonist, deeply interested in what will be a great grievance, and I think justly a great grievance to Colonists if it should not be the pleasure of Her Majesty's Ministers to relieve them from it. I should have thought but for the doubts expressed in the various judgments we have heard of, that there could be no question that a marriage solemnized between English men and English women under laws providing for and sanctioning those marriages among Colonists upon whom the right of legislating for themselves has not only been conferred by Her Majesty's Government but has been further affirmed by the Royal Assent given from time to time, was indisputably valid everywhere. If anything could put a Colonist upon demanding his rights it is that he should be told he is not upon clear and unassailable ground in carrying out marriages of this kind permitted in his Colony although not permitted in England. Her Majesty's Government must have been quite aware that this matter was agitated very much in the Colonies. So long as I had the honor of interfering with the legislation upon the subject in the Colony of New South Wales, no act legalizing such marriages was passed; an Act however has now been passed, and has received the Royal Assent, and the grievance will be felt by every man, woman, and child in the Colony, if children of English parents thus lawfully married could be subject to the indignity of repudiation on coming home, and be taunted with the indignity of being called bastards although the law has received the Royal assent in England. I should have hoped that no legislation on this subject would have been necessary. I should have hoped that the Law Officers of the British Government would have advised that no disability could be imposed, as the difficulties would be countless in which these people would be involved in obtaining their rights of property if the Law be not at once made clear. I can see no hardship in a Declaratory Act being introduced declaring after all that what you have done with your Sovereign's consent has been lawfully done. We only ask that what has been done by Her Majesty's sanction shall be declared to have been done legally, and that you should not impose a disgrace where honor ought to be conferred."

LORD CARNARVON.—"I beg pardon for interrupting you, your Bill goes beyond the present, it is more than retrospective, it is prospective. Your Bill says, 'The issue of all such Marriages as have been contracted or shall be hereafter.'"

MR. DARVILL.—"Of course those future Marriages must be solemnized within the limits of such Law as the Queen has approved. We will not ask that Marriages should be legalized there that have not received the assent of Her Majesty; but that the Marriages contracted in that Country under the Royal Sanction shall be valid all over the world. We contend that it is a serious hardship that real and personal property should be burdened with the grievous duty of ten per cent, when the property is inherited by or willed to a Son. Now it never can be the desire of Her Majesty's Government I am sure under your Lordship's advice, to do anything which should diminish that deep feeling of loyalty which is maintained throughout the Colonies; and it would be an unprovoked assault if we were to be told that what we had done was wrong and could not be recognized in this country. I am earnestly desirous as a Colonist, that the deep feeling of loyalty, which no one has been so prominent in maintaining as your Lordship, should be continued between Her Majesty's Government and the people in the various Colonies, but disregard of the present appeal will I feel sure shake that confidence which everybody must hope to see maintained between the different parts of the British Kingdom."

THE RIGHT HON. ROBERT LOWE, M.P.—"I wish, in the first instance, so to limit what I have to say that I

may not be accused of taking up any extravagant position. I don't think that any Enabling Act ought to extend to persons who have gone to the Colonies for the purpose of evading the English Law; nor do I think it ought to extend to any case where the marriage may be considered in the general view of Parliament an incestuous marriage, but nothing of the kind can be urged here, because the Law as your Lordship knows well, as it has been passed, sanctioned the Marriages that have already taken place, which the Colonial Parliaments never would have voted for I am certain if they had looked upon these marriages as incestuous. I have had the good fortune for twenty-five years to listen to arguments on this matter in the House of Commons, and the arguments in many instances always were that these Marriages were forbidden by the Law of God, and in support of the assertion they quoted a certain chapter in Leviticus, but it occurred to some bright genius that so far from that chapter being prohibitive it permitted such Marriages. (Laughter.) So now the question is argued entirely on the ground of expediency, and without any reference to those considerations which I have no doubt would and ought to weigh with your Lordship if you thought we were going to sanction something imperially wrong, and which it was better for the sake of the community should not take place. But your Lordship is asked to do nothing wrong. It is clear that the Queen would never have given her Assent to this Act had she believed, or if her Ministers had believed that she had been asked to do that, which was to legalize anything intrinsically wrong. If the Colonial Legislature had proposed a Law which was wrong no Secretary of State would have dreamed of doing such a thing as allowing it to receive the sanction of Her Majesty; but the fact is, the view of expediency on this matter entertained in the Colonies differs from the view taken of it in this country. The one Parliament think it wise under considerations for the welfare of the country, and for other considerations to take one view of the subject, and the other think it wise to take another view of the subject. But as it is merely a question of expediency I put it to your Lordship in this way, I say it is A matter where the comity of nations ought to apply where it is not applied, and that in a case like this, which is a case on which opinion is divided where the Colonists take one line of view, and the British Government take another, I think it due to them that you should recognize what they have done as being within the legitimate scope of their power and jurisdiction, and that you ought to allow it to be binding for all intents and purposes. Of course as to the policy of such a thing, that is a matter I need not press upon your Lordship, for nothing can be more undesirable than that we should have between the Mother Country and the Colony in any way invidious distinctions. (Hear, hear.) Nothing has been more insisted upon by the Prime Minister and Members of the House of Commons, than the identification of the Colonies with the Mother Country. One Speaker has already said that they are merely Englishmen residing in another place, and in all respects the same; if they are not altogether the same constitutionally speaking, they are the same in feeling, in sensibility and, I think, in morality, and I do not believe that the Colonial Legislatures are a bit more likely than the English Government to sanction any flagrant violation of the moral law. (Hear, hear.) Putting it in this way, and admitting for the sake of argument that the Law of England is against the Enactments in this matter, I cannot imagine a more gracious or more reasonable act on the part of your Lordship than would be done if you could see your way to introduce a Bill declaratory for recognizing these Marriages. I fear if this is not done now the time will come when we shall have to regret it." (Hear, hear.)

SIR ROBERT R. TORRENS, G.C.M.G., late M.P. for Cambridge.—"We are not here to advocate the policy of legalizing Marriages with a Deceased Wife's Sister; if that were so I could not honestly join in this Deputation, for in my place in the Legislature of the Colony of South Australia and Minister of the Crown there, I opposed the passing of that Measure. But that is not the question which we are to consider now. We are here simply to pray on the part of the Colonists for the redress of a very serious grievance indeed, to which we are subjected by very defective legislation on the part of the mother country. The case is so clear to my mind that I think it needs only to be stated plainly to carry absolute conviction home to everybody as to the necessity for relief in this matter. I will put it in this way, a lady and gentleman in South Australia holding a high position, esteemed by every person of importance, associating with Judges and Bishops are married, standing previously to each other in the relation of Brother-in-law and Sister-in-law, they have married under the sanction of an Act of the Local Parliament, but which I would beg your Lordship to note is of a peculiar character. This case is one of a class which cannot be made legal in the Colonies by any acts coming into force and operation upon the signature of the Government of the Colonies in the name of Her Majesty, but is of a special class, reserved for the express Assent of Her Majesty, and that Assent from the Queen was given under the sanction of repeated administrations as regards different Colonies, and with the concurrence of both great Parties existing in this Country. That is the position that those parties stand in, they have contracted marriage not only according to the law and usage of the Colony, but under a Law to which Her Majesty was in an express manner a party. (Hear, hear.) They arrive in England, having enjoyed full respect and esteem, and the moment they put foot on English ground they are declared to be living in adultery, and their children are proclaimed bastards. That is the state of things—not arrived at by any omission on the part of the Colonial Legislature, but by defective legislation in this country. The thing should have been foreseen, and the law should have been assented to there and here at

the same time, and the legislation with respect to it ought to have been carried out simultaneously. (Hear, hear.) It is not possible to have two laws, there cannot be one Marriage Law in England and another Marriage Law in the Colonies; the effect of which would be to illegitimize the children of such marriages. I will not take up more of your Lordship's time, but will state that having lived for nearly a quarter of century in these Colonies, I can convey to you what I am satisfied would be the feeling of the Colonies, that the respect for the Crown as concerned in this legislation would be seriously diminished, and the Ministers of the mother country regarded with great disfavour unless redress of this grievance be promptly given. The only objection I have heard raised against giving this relief is, that parties may go from this country to contract a marriage of that description in the Colonies. But that is a possibility which may be easily guarded against; a proviso might be introduced requiring a residence for two years or more as might be deemed sufficient. That, I believe, would prevent the anticipated abuse and remove the only valid argument of any weight against the step we ask you to take. If, my Lord, we put on the one side the possibility of inconvenience of that kind arising in this country, and on the other the monstrous grievance to which the Colonists are subjected, I think your Lordship will see that it is necessary to apply an immediate remedy to the evil of which we complain."

EDWIN MAY, Esq.—"If Government opposes this Bill, will Government bring in or support a Bill declaring what the status of the parents and children of these marriages respectively is? because Government has in some measure been the cause of placing these parties in a position of uncertainty which cannot be justified. It is incorrect to talk of 'putting the Colonists in a better position than the people at home.' You find them in a better position, and you seek to make it a worse one, by depriving it of its natural, and what should be its inseparable rights and consequences, on the ground that you are not prepared to extend the Colonists' privileges to others. Now the Bill only proposes to legalize those marriages which by the advice of a Conservative as well as a Liberal Ministry have received the Royal sanction, or which may hereafter be similarly confirmed. The Colonist wants to know what he is to be punished for? His marriage was sanctioned unconditionally. You joined his hands with the solemn words 'whom God hath joined together let not man put asunder,' and since then he has only changed his house. But if you recognize his marriage, what gain or justice is there in disinheriting his child? This trifling with marriage—declaring a man married at certain points of the compass, and unmarried at others—attaching to this solemn ordinance strange and unnatural conditions, for reasons which, in their direct bearing, ordinary persons cannot appreciate or comprehend, must tend to make marriage become lightly regarded, as being a mere variable arrangement of law and convenience. What compensation can be offered to a country for degrading marriage below the level of a common contract, by making its subsequent validity depend upon the shifting abode of the parties themselves? You go beyond the moral right of human legislation in asserting that any such condition can be attached. The marriage service will become a mockery of God as well as of man, and the ceremony would be absolutely stripped of the sacred character which it has hitherto obtained in the hearts and beliefs of Christians. And for what? Possibly this Bill would tend to the passing of a Bill legalizing these marriages generally in England, but under any circumstances, sentiment must yield to justice, and, surely, it is *unjust* to postpone that event by means which bear even the semblance of caprice and injustice. This reason can be no answer to the claim of the Colonist."

LORD CARNARVON.—"I am of course very glad to have had the opportunity of hearing the opinions of so numerous and influential a Deputation as that which is now collected in this room. At the same time I cannot help thinking that in some respects you have come rather to the wrong quarter in coming to the Colonial Office. Lord Houghton said that this was purely a Colonial question, but the conversation which has taken place here shews how completely the question runs up into many legal doubts and difficulties. The very first words of this Bill raise the whole of the legal questions, because it affirms that doubts exist as to the legal status of persons who are the issue of these marriages now in question. I must own that it strikes one that the person who could most readily solve these doubts (and to whom such a question as this might perhaps be most properly brought in the first instance) would be either the Lord Chancellor, or my Eight Hon. friend and colleague, my next neighbour over the way, Mr. Cross. In either of those quarters, that of the Home Secretary or of the Law Officers of the Crown, many of the questions raised here would have been I will not say more familiar, but more suitably urged than upon me. Of course, looking at it from a broad point of view generally, I am met by one great difficulty. First of all I would say that I disagree with those gentlemen who have spoken this afternoon, and who have replied that retention of the present state of things implies anything like a slight upon the Colonies. I can hardly form my mind quite to accept that argument, or to see the reason of it; and still less, with great deference, can I agree with Sir Robert Torrens, when he said that if the present state of things was to be allowed to exist, the unity with the mother country would be regarded with great disfavour. I hope that unity stands upon more solid foundations than that, and that no questions of this kind can shake the feelings of loyalty or attachment to the mother country. As I said before, it is a legal difficulty, one that has to be faced with forbearance on both sides, and to be dealt with and solved in a way that legal difficulties can alone be dealt with. I quite admit that it is to be regretted—no one knows that more than I do, that there should be a difference

in the Marriage Laws in different parts of the Empire; but it must be remembered how that difference has come about. For a succession of years Parliament has taken up this question of Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister constantly. It has not been a question on which necessarily there has been a very clear division of both parties, for men on each side of the House have voted in cross divisions, and the matter has been discussed in every way, and well ventilated over and over again throughout every part of the argument. But nevertheless there can be no doubt that the expression of that opinion of Parliament has been distinctly and uniformly in favour of retaining the present Law in England.

This conveys an erroneous impression. The House of Commons has repeatedly passed the Bill for altering the Law by large majorities—in 1869 by a majority of 99, and in 1870 by a majority of 70, when it was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of only 4, there being 73 Contents against 77 Non-Contents, of which Non-Contents 1 were Bishops.

On the other hand a given number of the Australian Colonies have passed Laws legalizing such marriages. If I remember rightly my predecessor in office recommended the Crown to refuse its sanction to these Acts, and I think two, if not three Acts in South Australia were disallowed, and ultimately on re-consideration of the matter it was decided by Her Majesty's Government of the day that it was not the policy of this country to interfere any further in the matter, that it was one of those questions that on the whole were supposed to be brought within the province of internal Domestic Legislation, and that, as such, the disallowance which had been previously affirmed ought to be withdrawn. That I think briefly is a fair statement of the case; but then are you justified in so putting your arguments that because the Crown has not endorsed its former disallowance of these Acts, therefore Parliament, which has steadily up to this time at all events maintained a particular policy in respect of these Marriages, should now in consequence of certain Colonial Statutes, which have been passed by servants of the Crown, be required to rescind its opinion and adopt a policy which up to this time it has refused.

This also conveys an erroneous impression. These Colonial Acts have not only been passed by Ministers but they have actually received the Queen's Assent.

It seems to me a strong position to take up; and may it not amount to this if followed out, that a Colonial Parliament has nothing to do but to pass Acts within a certain province of the Legislature, and then that the mother country, in order to avoid a discrepancy on these subjects, should also conform its Legislation to that of the Colonial Parliament? I think that would hardly bear arguing, and there is a fairness in Parliament legislating for this country just as much as there is in the Local Parliaments legislating for the respective Colonies. I am bound to say that that is how it strikes me so far as the Colonial question goes.

"On the latter part of the matter I pronounce no sort of opinion; it is one on which I am quite aware considerable doubt has been expressed. Whether there be a doubt in point of law I don't think I can affirm; but unquestionably considerable doubt has been expressed on the subject by legal authorities; and if a clear case of hardship could be made out, it might be for the consideration of the Lord Chancellor or the Law Officers of the Crown to say how far there really was any question attaching to this matter, and how far there are really any doubts as to status or legitimacy. I am quite aware of the importance of the subject. I cannot enter upon the Legal question, I feel I should not be doing justice to it in any way; and I only demur to the arguments which have been used here to-day, that because these laws have been passed by the Colonial Parliament, by a Parliament of a different construction perhaps, therefore it becomes the duty of the Parliament of this country to conform its legislation to those laws."

MR. ALDERMAN MCARTHUR.—"We are very much obliged to your Lordship."

THE DEPUTATION THEN RETIRED.

Notes on Maori Matters.

"Si Quid Novisti Rectius Istis

"Candidus Imperti; Si Non, His Utere Mecum."

Auckland July, 1860

The following notes were hastily put together before the meeting of the Assembly and the publication of the papers laid before it respecting the war and the land question.

They were not compiled, originally, for the purpose of publication; but the writer has consented to their being published—although he has not had an opportunity of revising them or correcting the press—as it has been represented to him that they may in some (though, he fears, not very significant) degree, contribute to the formation of a sound judgment on matters of the gravest importance to the Colony at an eminently critical point in its history.

Notes for the Formation of an Opinion on

Maori Matters.

Introductory.

SUPPOSE a man of average intelligence, desirous of forming an opinion for himself upon the present and future relations between the Colonial Government and the Colonists of New Zealand on the one side, and the Aboriginal Inhabitants on the other.

Let him be a humane and just man—calm in temper and judgment, and free from prejudices arising from personal interest, or official position;—from deeming himself "in honour" bound to the support and advocacy of particular views;—from the habit of viewing the question from one point of view only;—from feeling, the consequence of personal sympathies or antipathies;—from merely professional treatment of the question;—from dogmatism, as being anxious to establish a theory;—and, lastly, from the dilettanteism of philanthropy. Suppose such a man looking at the subject with the single purpose and desire of forming a temperate judicial opinion for his own satisfaction.

In order to feel his way to get a sound foundation on which to base his judgment, and sound materials for its construction, he would probably adopt some such course as the following:—

1. First of all he would look back and see how much, and what, is known with any precision and certainty of the origin of the Maori population of New Zealand; of the mode of their settlement in these Islands; of the nature of their social ties and government; of their notions of right, justice and property; of their customs and observances as regards the interior economy of each several tribe, and of the connexion and intercourse among different tribes; and of the general character of the people.

2. He would next look back to the circumstances of their intercourse with Europeans before the establishment of the Colony by the British Government.

3. Keeping these things in mind, he might now consider what would be the course most proper to be adopted by a wise, far-sighted, just and humane Sovereign in colonizing a country so circumstanced as New Zealand was at the time when the Colony was actually established.

4. He would then look at the Treaty of Waitangi. And he would, first, have to make up his mind what each party, to it probably meant in executing it, and also what each party must be taken to have known that the other parties meant,—so as to see what it was that all parties in common must have intended to agree to. He would thus discover what was really ceded by the Natives, and what was guaranteed or granted to them in return.

5. He would now be in a position to judge whether the treaty corresponded in spirit and letter with his *â priori* judgment of what was just and proper.

6. The inquirer might now consider the general course of policy which ought to be followed by the Government in the practical application of the treaty, upon the principles and in the spirit before indicated; and especially with respect to the acquisition of land by the Crown.

7. Having formed his opinion on these matters, he would be able—as soon as he had procured authentic information as to the facts connected with the anti-land-selling league and the King movement—to determine whether either or both amounted to a violation, by those engaged in them, of the letter or spirit of the treaty.

8. So likewise, when the conflict of testimony and allegation as to William King's case had been determined, the conduct of the Government and of King could be tested in the same manner.

9. And now at length, on a full consideration of all these various topics, the impartial inquirer might be able to suggest how the policy at which he had before arrived *â priori* could be carried out hereafter,—how a final settlement of all matters now at issue is likely to be effected. And, more especially, he might be able to determine how the alienation of land by the Natives might hereafter be regulated in such a manner as to satisfy the requirements of such a policy and the feelings of the Maories themselves, and to secure to both races the greatest common benefits with the fewest and smallest incidental mischiefs.

The inquirer will find several serious obstacles in his way towards a decision on most of these matters. He will find that those who are most conversant with Native habits and customs and character have become,—either, on the one side, from the purest and best of motives, advocates—or, on the other, from selfish and unworthy causes, detractors—of the Natives, rather than mere witnesses or judges. Such persons, as well as most writers on the Colony, he will also find very apt to theorize with respect to Maori laws and institutions, and to create systems probably undreamed of by the people themselves,—often suggested by apparent, but fallacious, similarities and analogies between the rude and traditional customs of a barbarous race and the constitutions and laws of fully civilized nations.

The writer of these notes speaks of all matters of fact with extreme diffidence, having derived his information at second hand, from books, documents and conversation with Europeans; and does not presume to make any special application of his general observations to those immediate topics of the day respecting which there can be any controversy of fact.

Chapter I.

Retrospect.—Settlement of the Maories in New Zealand.—Occupation of Land.—Tribes and Hapus.—External Relations.—Internal Economy.—Property.—Sovereignty.—Chieftainship.—Position and Rights of Chiefs.

It would appear that some 400 years since a considerable body of barbarians, originally derived from the Malay race, found their way from the Islands of Polynesia, where they had been temporary sojourners, to the shores of New Zealand,—a country then probably void of inhabitants,—established themselves there, and received accessions to their numbers by fresh immigration from the same source.

They arrived here in canoes,—the pilgrims occupying each canoe being associated by the ties of kindred, forming a number of families with a common name and common ancestry. On landing, they took possession of the unoccupied soil, not in mass, nor in the name of one people or nation, nor individually, but in small aggregations of kindred families, clans, or tribes, some of which, either at the outset, or in process of time, were subdivided again into *hapus* or *septs*.

The tribes, not being united together under common head or sovereign, but being socially and politically—as far as they had any polity—independent of, and often hostile to, one another, each tribe would have, *de facto*, in a rude way, within the limits of the territory occupied by them, the same sovereignty, substantially, which a civilized nation acquires, according to the law of nations, over an unoccupied country of which it has taken possession; that is to say they would not admit the right of any other tribe or individual, as long as they were in possession, to interfere with their enjoyment of the land or to meddle with their internal economy; but they would regulate the domestic affairs of the tribe, and their relations with other tribes, according to the will of their own sovereign or *quasi* sovereign power.

That sovereign power, though vague and undefined, seems to have been vested in the whole body of the freemen of the tribe; for, although various classes of persons were recognised, and much stress laid, socially, on the dignity of birth, there does not seem to have been any distinct subordination of rights and duties or privileges of freemen, *inter se*. (Slaves were the personal property of their captors; that is, their owners could give them away or take their lives without being subject to punishment or censure, and slaves had no kind of civil *rights*, although they often lived with their captors on a footing almost of apparent equality.)

It would appear that of the attributes of sovereignty, the administration of justice, (as far as there was any beyond mere reprisals,) and the right of declaring war, as well as the power of temporary alienation of land belonging to the tribe, were all vested in the tribe generally, and, although often exercised by chiefs or *tohungas*, were so exercised with the consent, either express or tacit, of the whole tribe.

But the original tenure, by occupation, was one which could be maintained by a tribe only so long as they were strong enough to prevent another tribe from depriving them of it; for there was no tribunal, external or common to all the tribes, to which appeal could be made; nor does there seem to have been any compact or understanding, express or implied, that if one tribe should disturb another in its occupation the general body of the tribes should protect the occupier or punish the assailant.

Therefore, the right of occupation was always liable to be superseded by force, and acquisition of territory by conquest was recognised by all the tribes as rightful; possession, (other than by sufferance,) being the evidence of the right.

In speaking, therefore, of the right of a tribe to land, it seems plain that, for all purposes external to the tribe itself, it means its power of keeping possession; and the "interest" of the tribe in the land is neither more nor less than its aggregate possession, through families or individuals, of the lands which they were allowed to enjoy, and, by the whole tribe, of those lands; forests, fisheries, &c., which they all enjoyed in common, such possession not being merely by the sufferance of a conqueror, and having been acquired by occupation or conquest. There seems to have been no recognition of a power of alienation *in perpetuum* by one tribe, or individual of a tribe, to another tribe, or individual of another tribe; though land seems to have been lent or exchanged for a time by one tribe to another. And when a man of one tribe married a woman of another, he was generally allowed to enjoy the land in which she had an individual interest, within her tribe, during her lifetime.

There does not appear to have been any mode of making or enforcing contracts or obtaining justice as between different tribes. In short, as between tribes, or individuals of different tribes, *might* seems to have constituted the only right known to the Maori people.

On looking into the internal economy of the tribe, we find that there were some rights pretty definitely

ascertained, while others were very vague. As before noticed, the distinction between the classes of free men do not seem to have been well defined, nor do their distinctive functions.

Much misconception and many fallacious reasonings on this subject, which seem to have been prevalent, may be fairly attributed to mistaken assumptions with respect to the rights, privileges and powers of the persons called "Chiefs." The word "Chief" has been used in a very vague and ambiguous manner. Chieftainship seems, in truth, to have amounted to little more than a *prestige* accorded by a tribe to individuals, which gave to its possessors an influence and control over the tribe in proportion to the personal respect which they could command. Great stress was laid on birth, and the *Ariki*, the lord, or head Chief of a tribe, was the person of highest birth, and was estimated accordingly; the *Rangatiras* following him, according to the distinction of their descent. These were naturally looked to as leaders in war or in council; but, apart from the deference paid to their position, there does not seem, except in time of war, to have been any definite authority, privilege or duty, assigned to them, except that of a species of vaticination and oracular uttering of traditional lore by the *Ariki* and the *Tohunga*, accompanied in the case of the *Ariki* with the painful isolation of the *Tapu*. Not birth only, but personal superiority also, their physical or oratorical, seems to have been enough to induce a tribe to treat the possessor as a Chief; but the low-born Chief held his honor only for his life, and did not necessarily transmit chieftainship to his posterity. If the man of highest birth proved unequal to his work in time of war, men of lower birth acquired the influence and ascendancy of a Chief, and were acknowledged as such.

A Chief of great influence, and confident of the power he had over his tribe, would often act for it almost without consulting the general body; and if a principal and influential Chief was sure of the assent of the men of the highest birth and character, he might count upon that of the mass of the people. Chiefs were, then, simply the chief men of a tribe or *hapu*, and their functions in time of peace were few and unimportant. When war began, they naturally became more important, and the Chief had more power. An unpopular Chief of great birth would not be a representative man; and tribes often repudiated the acts of such Chiefs; and, conversely, when a man of no birth or position proposed or did an act for the tribe, they would adopt and ratify it, if it suited their views. In time of peace the relations of the principal, or any other, Chief to the tribe was not in any way like that of a Sovereign to his subjects or a feudal lord to his vassals; but in war time, the head Chief—whether he was the hereditary head or a successful adventurer who had gained *prestige*,—would necessarily have much of the authority of the *Imperator*.

The lord Chief, "*Ariki*,"—who combined the functions of priest and chief,—seems generally to have been allowed by the tribe on acquisition of territory by conquest to take the first choice of land for usufructuary possession; and after him, the *Rangatiras*, according to their rank by birth; the *tutuas*, or general body of freemen, getting what they could in the scramble, for their own usufructuary occupation. As families increased and cultivations were exhausted, fresh appropriations of this kind would take place within the general territory of the tribe. The portions of land so adopted and appropriated, at all events after they had been cultivated by the possessors, became the property of the individual occupier as against all other persons of the tribe, whether Chiefs or commoners. This usufructuary right, though not alienable to strangers or to other persons of the tribe, descended by inheritance, as of right, to the children or other kindred of the occupier; and in case of a woman marrying into another tribe, her husband, as has been before remarked, often enjoyed her right for his life.

It has been recently stated that a kind of fiduciary interest in land was sometimes vested in a Chief for the benefit of others, such as widows and orphans belonging to the tribe. But such a practice looks very much like the result of European suggestions and is scarcely consistent with the older habits of the people. If any such custom was generally recognised by the Maories, it probably amounted to no more than this that some Chief was entrusted with the duty of seeing that land which had been appropriated with the consent of the tribe for the purpose of allowing certain persons to occupy it by the sufferance of the tribe, was used for that purpose; in which case, the occupation of such persons would really be the occupation of the tribe, and no title or right would devolve, by inheritance, on the heirs or kindred of the persons so permitted to occupy.

No accumulation of personal property by a man, beyond the produce of his cultivation and his own handiwork, ever took place, and there was no contract of sale; even barter was carried on by the clumsy mode of reciprocal presents.

Violations of any right of property, or of any right known to the Maories, were punished or remedied either by reprisals or by an award of compensation, enforced either by appeals to superstitious fears, or persuasion, or force.

There seems to have been no specific tribunal, but the general body of the tribe concurred in an award made by the *tohungas*, the priestly depositories of the oral traditions of the tribe, or by the *Ariki*, and enforced by threats of punishment by evil spirits and the tyrannical and embarrassing process of the *tapu*. The *Rangatiras*, too, sometimes persuaded the offender to submission by oratorical appeals to the examples of bygone times.

What special authority, if any, the head Chief possessed in a civil capacity, as distinguished from the *Rangatiras*, does not seem clear; and it is doubtful whether any privilege or right was awarded to him, except

the concession in many cases of the first choice of land, and the deference paid to his position, supported by the tapu.

There was a vague idea of power, influence, right, *quasi* sovereignty or lordship, derived from the tribal acquisition of the land, called the "mana" of the land,—the shadow as distinguished from the substance;—but even if this "mana" was vested in the head Chief, or in other Chiefs, which is improbable, it does not seem to have given them any beneficial rights, or any power of disposal or control over the property in the land without, or contrary to, the assent, express or implied, of the body of the tribe. The customs about this, and many other of the matters referred to, were by no means uniformly the same in all tribes. When a Chief gave *slaves*, whom he had taken, leave to hold land, he expected from them, and they brought to him, certain produce, or work, as tribute, in respect of the "mana"; but though *freemen* also used to make presents to the Chiefs, these were merely complimentary, were not demandable of right, and were almost always returned.

To sum up, then :—There was no general government or general intertribal polity among the Maori tribes of New Zealand. They had no common head, no common tribunal, no common interests. The government of tribes,—if their customs can be called by such a name—corresponded with no known type among civilized peoples. There were some features of monarchy, more of aristocracy, and many of republicanism; but the combination was not definite, nor capable of assimilation to any known constitution of civilized society: nor was the government merely patriarchal. Their notions of property of any kind were the vaguest; nothing approaching to regular commerce existed. The origin of the interest of tribes and individuals in land was communistic, and the enjoyment of it in some degree communistic;—the one acquired by force, the other at the mercy of external force. There was no practice of alienation of land by *individuals* at all—except, indeed, the indirect alienation for a life, of the usufruct of a portion of land belonging to a woman who married into another tribe—and no "out-and-out" alienation, even by a tribe; but slaves and others were allowed to hold lands by the sufferance of conquerors who retained in themselves the *mana* of the land, while the usufruct was in the occupier. The customs and practices, the acknowledged rights and duties, were by no means uniform or definitely settled; they differed or were modified by circumstances at different times in different tribes. The existence of customs which were common to all the tribes, and the absence of other customs, such as the ordinary modes of alienation of property in civilized communities, before Europeans came to the country, are to be accounted for by the consideration that the circumstances of the people made the customs they possessed convenient, advantageous, or necessary, according to their narrow views and limited knowledge; while they had never theretofore felt the want, the importance, or the convenience, of those which they lacked.

The character of the people it is not very easy to delineate, both justly and completely, composed as it is of elements so diverse. Brutal and savage to excess during the excitement of war, they were yet capable of actions which would not have disgraced the chivalry of Europe. Grossly immoral with respect to the intercourse of the sexes before marriage, they yet treated the marriage tie with much respect, and its violation with severity. Quick in apprehension and of lively wit, they could yet hardly master the first elements of arithmetic. They were both generous and treacherous, good natured and vindictive. They were very superstitious, and yet had but little imagination. They had little or no fear of death, and yet they seemed to need physical excitement to stimulate their courage to action. Their arts were few and rude. They were not nomadic, but much attached to the soil which they or their fathers had occupied or conquered; and all their differences, according to their own proverb, were about women and land.

Chapter II.

Intercourse of the Maories with strangers before the treaty of Waitangi—and its effects.

From the first discovery of New Zealand by Tasman, some 200 years after the settlement of the Maori immigrants, down to the later visits of Captain Cook a century after, the amount and nature of the intercourse between the New Zealanders and strangers does not seem to have been such as to cause much modification of their habits; although the first ideas of external commerce must have been suggested to their minds, and the probability of their deriving substantial benefits from the repeated visits and the settling of Pakehas in the country may have occurred to them.

The introduction of fresh varieties of animal and vegetable food, superior to the ordinary provisions to which they had been accustomed, was probably the first great step towards material civilization; and the increasing acquaintance of the Maories with white men, proving that the latter were not only not necessarily hostile to them, but were able and willing to teach them many useful and pleasant arts and to give them command of many previously undreamed of comforts and luxuries, and mechanical and warlike contrivances, induced them at first to tolerate, and then to encourage, the regular intercourse, and, afterwards, the permanent settlement, of whalers and others who visited the coasts.

They seem to have evinced no jealousy or predisposition against an amalgamation of races, on the

formation of temporary or permanent connexions between the Pakehas and the women of their own race and tribes, but, on the contrary, to have encouraged such unions. As Europeans began to settle in the country, and naturally desired to acquire land for occupation and cultivation, the Maories discovered that they might now use their land in a way to which they had hitherto been unaccustomed, by exchanging parts of it for the now much coveted blankets, axes, tobacco and, above all, fire-arms and gunpowder of the stranger.

Thus, a new kind of transaction, not formerly recognized by the general customs of the Maori race, sprung up, and alienation of land was introduced *de facto*.

About the character of the earliest land sales probably but little trustworthy evidence is attainable. Whether individuals of a tribe practically arrogated to themselves the right of disposing of the portion of land which they occupied with the consent of their tribe, and which if not alienated would have descended to their kindred, I am not aware; but it seems probable that the common men did not do so. Chiefs, or persons calling themselves Chiefs, seem to have engaged in such transactions; but whether they claimed or assumed a right to sell the portions which they individually occupied, or more than they occupied for their own benefit, without the consent of the tribe, or acted in the name or in the interest of the whole tribe, with its express assent, or an implied assent, on which they counted in respect of their personal influence, does not seem very clear. In many cases, it is likely that they assumed to act for the tribe or *hapu*, and gave up to the persons entitled to occupy the lands portions of the goods received for it. Indeed it is probable that there was very little principle or system in these transactions.

Sometimes the Maori would try to cheat the Pakeha by pretending to sell land to which he had no title; sometimes, and perhaps more often, the European would try to cheat the Maori by giving him comparatively worthless articles for large tracts of land; sometimes there was a common intention of each to take advantage of the other; and often, no doubt, unprincipled Europeans obtained, for ulterior fraudulent purposes, what they knew to be sham titles, with the signatures or rather marks of Chiefs,—sometimes filling in the boundaries of the land supposed to be sold according to their fancy, after the so called execution of the conveyance. It is believed that the principal disposers of land in those days were persons who had no titles, or only defective ones; and persons with only an ostensible but no real title were the most forward to enter into negotiations with the Europeans.

The alienation of land to strangers being thing quite new to the Maories, it is probable that many of the tribes or Chiefs who parted with it really believed that they were giving the purchasers only a temporary usufructuary interest,—either a life interest, or some other estate such as lawyers call a particular estate,—leaving the reversion of the fee, as it were, and the *mana* or ultimate *quasi* seigniorial right over the land, in the tribe.

But whatever right the one party may have intended to grant and the other to acquire, undisturbed possession by the party purchasing gave a sort of title by acquiescence; and if the purchaser alienated to others in his life time, or on his death devised the land to another, and the second purchaser or devisee took possession, and his possession was not at once disturbed, when it came to the knowledge of the Natives formerly interested, that would seem strong evidence that the person in possession had a right to the land recognized by such Natives. The enclosing of land by a purchaser, too, seems to have been always taken as such an assertion of a right to it, that Maori proprietors formerly interested in it were deemed, by acquiescing in it, to have acknowledged that all their title was gone.

The practice of disposing of the possession and enjoyment of land, if not of the whole property and title to it, became thus established, not according to any fixed specific principle, but simply according to the dictates of convenience on the part of the seller, regard being had to the probability of the alienee not being disturbed in the possession.

The more regular sales, however, were probably conducted in such a way as to recognize the communistic principle,—the Chiefs who personally engaged in the transaction acting for themselves and the tribe, or for persons of the tribe who claimed a share of the produce of any given sale.

While these rude beginnings of commerce were taking place, a mightier instrument of civilization was in the course of introduction,—the one best fitted to throw down the strongholds of barbarism and superstition, to establish the intercourse of widely differing races upon a safe basis, to prepare the way for their amalgamation and ultimate fusion, and for securing the highest blessings of modern civilization.

Through the labours of devoted Missionaries belonging to various Christian bodies, the Maories, in an almost incredibly short space of time, learned the folly and wickedness of many of their old superstitions and the habits connected with them, and accepted with avidity the promises made to them by their new spiritual advisers and guides, of better things for the present life as well as for the future. Although it may be true that many of the new professors of Christianity among the Natives were mere professors, and that with others their new religion was only a newly adopted superstition, there were, doubtless, many who became as sincere believers and acted as sincerely on their belief as the majority of professing Christians in civilized countries j

and, whatever may have been the amount of sincere faith among the new converts, the doctrines and practices of Christianity had, at all even's, made very large numbers ashamed of some of their former customs (cannibalism, among the number), had given them new notions of morality and justice, and suggested to them the blessings and advantages of peace. The introduction of Christianity paved the way for the abolition of slavery. The Missionaries often made the manumission of slaves a condition precedent to baptism, and the converts gave conclusive evidence of their sincerity by voluntarily depriving themselves of one of the principal evidences of rank and personal distinction among their people. The old cumbrous and superstitious practices of the *tapu*, which had been the chief means of holding their rude society together, were necessarily modified, where not entirely superseded, on the introduction of Christianity. The spiritual prestige, and, consequently, a great portion of the influence of the *Arikis* and *Tohungas* was necessarily destroyed and, as yet, nothing else in the shape of internal government was substituted for it.

The introduction of fire-arms naturally tended to make the Maories even more quarrelsome than formerly, for a time, and their wars, for a time, more sanguinary than before; but as the spirit of Christianity was developed, and individual movable property was acquired by industry, and by commerce in land and its fruits and in other products of labour, the importance of peace became more manifest. Large quantities of land came into the possession—the undisturbed possession—of Europeans. Many Englishmen, some of them men of character, some of no character at all, were settling on the shores of New Zealand.

Meanwhile the Maories who had much communication with the English settlers began to desire to put themselves under the protection of the British Crown, while unprincipled land purchasers were naturally opposed to such a course, (and some honest ones also) and the Missionaries, probably jealous lest their good work should be interfered with by a concourse of English adventurers, were generally hostile to colonization, and apparently desirous of keeping up a marked distinction between the races.

Ministers of the English Crown, having before them the reports of sad results of the extension of English dominion in other quarters of the world, and fearful lest they might become accessories to the extermination of the Maori race by establishing an English Colony among them, and failing to perceive that English subjects would settle in the country, in numbers, without the leave of the Government, and would merely be likely to do much more mischief to the aboriginal inhabitants than if their settling was recognized and regulated by the Government, not only abandoned the claim to the sovereignty of New Zealand, which had on several occasions been asserted by the British Crown, but recognized the independence of certain tribes, by providing them with a common flag,—a proceeding which appears scarcely dignified unless they were prepared to guarantee the independence of such tribes, as an aggregate body or nation, against other powers. Notwithstanding the reclamations of English settlers and the expressed wishes of many of the Natives, the English Government could not, for a long time, be induced to take any steps towards adopting New Zealand as a Colony, or giving their *proteçés* the benefits of civil institutions, which might counteract the mischiefs attending the uncontrolled intercourse between them and English subjects—many of questionable character,—and might aid in developing and rendering permanent the good work of the Missionaries, and in educing the civil and social advantages for which that work was the best preparative.

The so-called Confederation of a few Northern tribes or Chiefs, apparently arranged by a British Resident, who was the Agent of the British Government in the business of the flag, never acquired any consistency or constitution which could support the suggestion that any delegation of sovereign authority, or of interest of any kind, had been deliberately ceded by the component tribes to the aggregate body, or that the component tribes, by reason thereof, became less independent of each other than they were before; and, whatever may have been the intention of the British functionary, there is no pretence for saying that any national union or confederation was in fact effected by the ceremony of the flag.

The enterprises of private associations of Englishmen—(and whether they were conducted on defensible principles or not, it boots not now to enquire)—and the fear lest they should assume rights and privileges inconsistent with the prerogatives of the British Crown and public law,—and probably the apprehension that New Zealand might be colonized by some other European power if England were to refrain much longer,—at last forced the Ministers of the British Crown,—though with expressed reluctance, and in a persuasive rather than imperative manner,—to establish the Queen's authority, in the Northern Island, upon the principle of cession, in the Middle and Southern Islands, by occupation, and thus to create a British Colony throughout the territory so acquired.

Chapter III.

The characteristics of a wise, just, and humane policy for establishing an English Colony among such a people.

The candid inquirer having now arrived at as definite ideas as he could reach with regard to the origin,

customs, polity, and rights of the aboriginal race, and of the modifications thereof and the new practices introduced up to the time of the establishment of the Colony, would stop for a while to consider the leading features which ought to characterize the policy of a wise, far-sighted, just and humane Sovereign in establishing a Colony among such a people.

And surely, if extermination of the aboriginals was to be guarded against and their interests kept steadily in view, the fusion of the two races into one people, with one language, one religion, one government, one body of laws—with common rights privileges, and duties,—ought to be the great object of such a policy. The cumulative experience of other colonies and dominions of the British Crown seems to have established, beyond doubt, that coloured races kept separate and distinct from the British race in the same territory always deteriorate and diminish. But, inasmuch as an attempt to force European and English habits, laws, observances and duties, immediately and suddenly, upon such a people as the Maories, must necessarily defeat its own object, provision must be made for a transition period during which the indispensable preparatory processes for the ultimate fusion of races, and for the complete development of British Government and British institutions throughout the whole Colony and population, must be prosecuted with vigour and discretion.

To establish a Colony in New Zealand on the understanding and with the view that the two races should be prevented from fusing themselves,—by guaranteeing to the Natives the maintenance of their own old barbarous customs, which would effectually prevent the development of commerce and civilization among them, would deprive them of many of the advantages to be derived from the colonization enjoyed by the Europeans, and would arrest them in that upward career, physical, intellectual and moral, on which they had already entered, would surely have been contrary to humanity, justice and wisdom.

To deal with them as if they were, and were to remain, an independent people, on an equal footing with the English Crown, and only to be bound by treaties of alliance for mutual convenience in the joint occupation of one geographical territory, would be simply ridiculous. They were not, and could not be, in any such sense as to make such an arrangement rational or possible, an independent people. They had no common bond of union. Each tribe had such independence only as it could keep by its own tomahawks or muskets; and all that could have been meant by the recognition of the independence of the Flag-tribes, was that England did not claim a right of sovereignty over them, but abandoned all such claim as it had formerly assumed.

But now the time had come when it was manifest to Settlers and Maories and Ministers that this independence must cease; that the Maories wanted the protection of British laws and British power against British Settlers; and British Settlers wanted justice and British Government among themselves and against Maories; and a wise, humane and just policy suggested that the British Crown should make some such proposition as this to the Maori people of New Zealand :—"Englishmen are settling in great numbers among you; they are purchasing land from you; they often cheat you. As they increase more and more in numbers, you will be more and more exposed to their dishonesty, and more and more at their mercy. You know what you have already gained, and may guess how much more you may yet gain by the commerce and the arts that have been introduced by Englishmen among you: you begin to feel a want of protection for the pursuits of peace, and to be aware of the folly of constant wars. If, then, you will give up all pretence of independent sovereignty, and become subjects of the British Crown on the same footing and terms as its other subjects, you shall have substantially all the rights and privileges of British subjects, that is, protection for life, limb, liberty, property and character; and, more especially, your beneficial interest in the land to which you are so attached—your lawful possession of it—shall not be interfered with against your will, either by Europeans or by Maories not having any superior right to it. In fact, the land which you—each tribe or individual—formerly held subject to the chance of its being taken from you by a stronger tribe, you shall now hold under the protection of the British Crown. Your interest in it will now become permanent and fixed. But you shall be at liberty to dispose of what you do not want;—that is, when all persons beneficially interested in land are willing to dispose of it, they shall not be prevented from doing so by the interference of others. You are really giving up nothing except rights of sovereignty which you did not formerly possess, either aggregately or separately, in any definite form. You are only promising obedience to the laws which are to be the guarantees of all your rights, and are to give you wholesome and elevating substitutes for your old, vague, barbarous, and unsatisfactory usages."

In carrying out these principles and performing these promises in their true spirit, it would be necessary to have respect to the feelings and prejudices of the people, and not to introduce even the most important and advantageous institutions in a way to create antagonism and to excite apprehension. Thus, although the individualization of property both movable and immovable would be a necessary step in civilization, and necessary to give the Maories all the rights of British subjects; yet it might not be desirable, in the first instance, to give a private member of a tribe a right to alienate his own beneficial interest in the land which he occupied—out of the tribe, without their consent, because the tribe might, till a later stage in the process of amalgamating the races, feel vexed and jealous at seeing Europeans sitting down on land interspersed among the occupations of the tribe. By degrees, however, the Maories would practically learn that this was a real good

instead of a disadvantage.

One of the most important, perhaps the most important, feature of a wise policy would be, to educate the then rising and the succeeding generations with a special view to the fusion of races; teaching them, as the first and greatest preliminary, the language of the civilized people. The translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Maori tongue was an indispensable step towards the first Christianizing of the Natives, but the use of the Maori tongue at all in the education of Maori children after the establishment of the Colony would be contrary to good sense and a wise policy. It would be tending rather to shut, than to open, the gates of knowledge and civilization, to the rising generations, and to postpone the great and noble work of making from the two races, one Christian, civilized, English-speaking people, partaking in common of the benefits of British rule, British institutions, British commerce, arts and literature. In this matter, a British Government ought to act paternally, using the best means of persuasion, and other incentives, if need were, to insure the general or universal education of Maori children in the English language.

In the department of Justice, the administration of the Criminal law should be introduced at once when and where there was power of carrying it out without resistance, and where it was understood. Homicide, malicious injuries, and knowing violations of such rights of property as should have become fully intelligible to the Natives, ought at once to be put down by the Criminal Courts—the administration of justice itself being rendered a means of education, and affording a strong practical proof of the sincerity and truthfulness of the British authorities in their original professions. During the transition state, the less formidable violations of the rights of property might be dealt with with some reference to the Maori doctrines of compensation. As regarded Civil suits among themselves, it would be some time before the Maories would find their way on such matters into English tribunals,—but when they had done so, justice would require that, during the transition state, Maori customs should be taken into consideration in determining the rights or duties of Maories as among themselves, till at length the time should have come when, by the increasing amalgamation of the races, the Maories would be affected with knowledge of the British laws, and must be taken to have acted and contracted with respect to them.

Though the institution of slavery still existed to some extent, the law ought to make no distinction, as to its protection, between freeman and slave. The murder, or violent ill treatment, of a slave should be made the subject of criminal punishment; but there would be no just reason for granting to slaves in occupation of lands by the sufferance of their captors or owners, any rights to such lands in derogation of the rights of those who suffered them to occupy. In the transition state, besides protecting the lives and persons of slaves, there would be little necessity for interfering between them and their former owners; and it might be expected that on intertribal wars ceasing, and Christianity developing itself, slavery would gradually disappear altogether; there never having been any custom of external traffic in slaves between the Maori tribes and strangers.

While the Native population were thus from the beginning put in possession of the broad rights and privileges of British subjects, and made amenable to the Criminal law, and such other laws as they should gradually come to understand, they would be acquiring the intelligence necessary for enabling them to exercise privileges granted to, and duties imposed upon, certain sections of British subjects, such as the right of taking part in the election of legislators, and the duty of assisting as jurymen in the administration of the law. As long as any reference to Maori customs was admissible in the administration of justice, or to define rights and interests for the purpose of the acquisition of land held by Maories, it would be necessary to have some tribunal with a Maori element in it which should ensure the best information and judgment upon the customs and understood rights of the people.

In order to protect the Maories themselves against the rapacity and dishonesty of European speculators, as well as to establish a system of land titles uniform, simple, and practical, the British Government would insist that all its European subjects should take their title to land through the Crown, and also that those Maories who should buy lands after the settlement of the Colony should do the same; facilities being further given to the Maories to define their own lands and get Crown titles for them. To carry out this system a right of pre-emption, or rather of exclusive original purchase, should be given to the Crown.

In the exercise of this right the Crown would give to the Maories such sums as they should be willing to take and as should be reasonable under all the circumstances, reserving for itself the right to sell the same land again to any purchasers, either European or Maori, with the additional advantage of a title to it by Crown Grant, at such advanced price as would leave a revenue to the Crown to be devoted to the purposes of good government, and the promotion of the common interests of both races.

Of this, as of other branches of the revenue, a due proportion ought to be devoted to the special purposes of Maori civilization. Improved cultivation of lands, improved dwellings, improved personal habits, ought to be encouraged by precept and example, by pecuniary and other assistance.

The character and feelings of the people ought to be thought of especially during the transition state. They ought to be protected against temptations to fall into bad habits of Europeans, such as intoxication, and to

relapse into habits of quarrelsomeness and violence such as would be fostered by the acquirement of arms and ammunition. They ought to be made gradually to attain to such confidence in the law, and in the honesty of the Government, as to consider the acquisition of means of defence or attack against or upon their European neighbours as unimportant and unnecessary.

The higher families and Chiefs, those who had formerly enjoyed the greatest estimation and respect, ought to be treated with marked distinction and consideration, and in every legitimate way conciliated; so that they might feel their real loss of influence as little as possible, might not lose their self respect, and might be heartily inclined to use all the influence still left to them in the promotion of the objects of the Government. The Chiefs themselves would not appreciate this tribute to their hereditary and personal importance, more than the mass of the common men of their tribes would do.

Tribes having common occupation of lands and individuals (if necessary, with the consent of their tribes) ought to be encouraged to sell as much land as they did not require for their own usufructuary purposes. But they ought not to be encouraged to denude themselves entirely of all interest in land, inasmuch as persons formerly possessed of land, after selling the whole of it and expending the purchase money, might be discontented, might lose their self respect, become turbulent and troublesome, and finally have recourse to lawless practices, and establish a "dangerous class" in the community.

Firmness combined with conciliation; action, legislative and administrative, founded on fixed principle, and never at variance with such principle, though tender and sensitive to the prejudices and circumstances of the people; a treatment during the transition period such as a wise, just, humane and experienced parent would adopt towards children who had been left theretofore without parental care and subject to evil influences, would be the leading characteristics of a policy which should redound equally to the true well being of the Maori and to the lasting honor of the British people.

Chapter IV.

The Treaty of Waitangi.

Remembering how the British Government had been forced by external pressure, and in spite of its avowed scruples on behalf of the aboriginal inhabitants, to permit and ratify colonization by British subjects in the Islands of New Zealand, and to accept on behalf of the British Crown the sovereignty of the country, if voluntarily ceded by the aboriginal tribes, and that its professed objects in so doing were to give just and equal protection to both races, and to treat all such Chiefs, tribes, families, and persons as should voluntarily become subject to British sway upon the same general principles of justice as regards person and property, our inquirer would now turn to the Treaty of Waitangi, the only title-deed on which the supremacy of the British Crown is based as to the Northern Island of the group.

And be it remarked here, that, whatever may be said about the mode in which that treaty was negotiated and executed, about the ignorance of the Natives with respect to its contents and operation, the Maories who have come under British dominion must either look to it, and it only, for the foundation of their rights as against the British Crown and the Colonists, or to nothing but the vague dictates of natural justice, and it would seem that all chiefs, tribes, and individuals of the Native race, who have acknowledged the sovereignty of the Queen since the treaty, must be taken to have submitted to its being made the test of their privileges and duties. Such acknowledgment, either express or by necessary implication, has been made by almost every tribe in New Zealand. A difficulty might arise both as to the jurisdiction of tribunals, and as to the question between rebellion and war, if it should ever be made manifest that some tribe exists which had never directly or indirectly been a party to the Treaty of Waitangi nor acknowledged the supremacy of the British Crown. This difficulty it is well not to ignore or overlook; although, as it can arise only in exceptional cases, it need not in the meantime embarrass the inquirer in his consideration of the language and meaning of the treaty.

The true meaning of the treaty must be that which the respective parties, the Representative of the British Crown on one side, and the representatives of Aboriginal tribes on the other, must be taken, under all the circumstances above alluded to, to have contemplated in common. Both races had objects of self interest to secure by the treaty. For the English Colonists, the Crown desired to obtain a permanent and safe footing on the soil of New Zealand, enabling them to acquire a fixed property in the land, to be secured, along with personal liberty and protection, by the establishment of Civil Government and the administration of justice on British principles. The Natives, on the other hand, wished not only to get money and goods from the Europeans in return for the lands which they disposed of and to keep up commerce with them and profit by the arts and conveniences of life which they had introduced; but also, fearing the power of the foreigners in case they should permanently settle among them in great numbers, the Maories desired an assurance that the lands which they retained should not be taken from them, either by force, or in any other way, against their will. Those who had become good Christians began to prize the real value of peace; and the wiser men, even among themselves,

probably contemplated with satisfaction, the cessation, ere long, for ever, of those internecine wars which, destructive as they were of life and the fruits of industry, had been formerly among their principal avocations and the ultimate arbiters of all their rights. All that has been before considered must now be used to throw light upon the treaty.

The preamble announces that Her Majesty "regarding with her Royal favour 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 authorised to treat with *the Aborigines* of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's *Sovereign authority*, over the whole or any part of these Islands. Her Majesty, therefore, being desirous to establish a better 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 authorise me, William Hobson, a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, Consul, Lieutenant-Governor over 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."

This language emphatically declares that the motives inducing the British Crown to enter into the following agreement, were, favour for the Native Chiefs and tribes, anxiety to protect their just rights and property (that is to say, such rights and property, consonant with the general principles of natural justice, as they then possessed) and a desire to avert the evil consequences of lawlessness both to Aboriginal inhabitants and British settlers. The object of the treaty, in pursuance of such motives, was to secure to her Majesty the recognition by the Aborigines of her Sovereign authority, which would enable her, by means of the establishment of civil government, to secure to the Aborigines and British immigrants those advantages which she was desirous to bestow upon them. In speaking of the "confederated" and "independent" Chiefs, allusion is evidently made to the Flag confederation, and it is evidently intended to include both those who had joined, and those who had not joined, in that abortive and resultless proceeding. No pains seem to have been taken to discover what right Chiefs had to enter into such a treaty so as to bind their tribes—but acquiescence by the tribes would naturally be looked upon as a ratification of the acts of the Chiefs—and the intention must be taken to have been to secure whatever rights and property Chiefs, or tribes, or individuals might possess,—being such rights as natural humanity and justice and Christian principle would allow.

Such being the words, and the obvious meaning of the pre-amble, the inquirer proceeds to the words of *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 possess*, over their respective territories, *as the sole sovereigns thereof*."

Now, it is pretty clear, in the first place, if the statements in Chapter II. are correct, that the so called confederation had in fact no joint or representative sovereignty over the tribes which had been brought together to form it for a special and pressing purpose. It is equally clear, if the statements in Chapter I be correct, that no Chief had any "sole sovereign" power, such as is recognized, with fixed attributes, by the common public law of civilized nations.

In the next place, it probably matters little whether the Chiefs who did enter into the treaty had the right, according to native customs, to do so without the express consent of their tribes; because the subsequent recognition of the Queen's Sovereignty by the body of those tribes would estop individuals from denying the agency of their Chiefs. And now, with respect to what was ceded, it seems beyond cavil, when the article and the preamble are read together, and the circumstances of the parties making the cession are considered, that all the usual attributes of sovereignty known to civilized nations must be taken to have been given up to, and admitted to reside thereafter in, the British Crown; that the rights of civil government, of administering justice and enforcing it, and of levying war and of making peace, must have been surrendered, at all events, or nothing : provision being made, as will presently be seen by the next article, to prevent the Queen from claiming, by virtue of the cession of sovereignty, the "substance" or actual usufructuary occupation of the land against the will of the rightful Maori possessors thereof.

The words of the first article would be absurd unless the Chiefs who entered into the treaty were held to have given up every such sovereign or quasi-sovereign right as they either did possess or might be supposed among the British to possess. Otherwise they ceded nothing of their own. Therefore, if Chiefs had any sovereign rights distinct from beneficial and usufructuary possession—which does not seem to have been the case—or any "*mana*" other than that of which the acknowledgment was in truth a rent paid to them by slaves for possession, by sufferance, of lands which must be treated under the second article as in the possession of

their masters, those rights and that "*mana*" were certainly transferred by the treaty to the Queen of England, and could not be said to be among the rights and property which it was her avowed intention to guarantee to the Chiefs. As far as the ambiguous "*mana*" existed, it seems to have been that very interest, attribute, or accessory, that "shadow" connected with the land, which the Chiefs really intended to part with, either on their own behalf or on behalf of the tribes, as distinguished from the substance, and usufructuary possession, of the soil.

Such, then, being the nature of the cession which the Chiefs, becoming parties to the treaty, must be taken to have made on behalf of their tribes to the British Crown, it is to be remarked that such cession in fact implied the greater part of the consideration for it, inasmuch as it cast upon the British Sovereign the duties, as well as granted her the privileges, of sovereignty.

And in this alone the Maoris derived a vast advantage from the treaty, inasmuch as they exchanged barbarous, unsettled, and no longer practicable usages, strife and war, for wholesome institutions tending to insure justice and peace. But in order to give them more explicit assurance of the preservation of that which they most prized, namely, their possession of the soil, the treaty proceeded to declare in

Article the second.—"Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and tribes of New Zealand and 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 will and desire to retain the same in their possession."

Now this article certainly seems to contemplate the possession of lands by chiefs as chiefs, by tribes as tribes, by families as families, and by individuals as individuals, and such possession, whether collective or individual, it professes to guarantee and confirm;—that is to say, it promises that the British Sovereign will prevent such Chiefs, tribes, families, or individuals, being in lawful possession, collectively or individually, from being disturbed in their possession by any other tribes or persons either Maori or European. And it might very well be argued that inasmuch as no right is guaranteed or recognized except the undisturbed possession of the lawful possessor, and as such undisturbed possession is to be guaranteed only so long as it is the will and desire of the possessors to retain the lands, &c., in their possession, the treaty contemplated not only the power of alienation of tribal lands by tribes, but of family lands by families, and of individually held lands by individuals. But though the article seems open to this construction, it would probably be a more fair and ingenuous mode of construction to suppose that the words "Chiefs, tribes, families, and individuals," and the words "collectively and individually," were intended to cover any kind of claims which might afterwards be made out, to the lawful possession of lands, &c., and that the implied right of possessors to alienate, when they no longer desired to retain the lands, &c., should be recognized as existing in those who had any rightful interest in the possession. It could not have been intended that mere permissive occupation liable to be put an end to at the will of the true owner, or for some definite time or purpose, should be turned into a title as against the true owner. In such case, the occupation of the party permitted would be the possession of the party permitting,—for the purposes of this treaty.

Still it is to be carefully noticed that possession—that is, lawful possession—(whatever may have been its origin) is the thing guaranteed, and that it is guaranteed to those who collectively or individually possess.

The second article, after the foregoing provision, proceeds to stipulate for the pre-emptive right of the Crown; and it clearly contemplates that, by the guarantee before given, a power of alienation was to exist in lawful possessors whether collective or individual. But even supposing an individual possessor—say through inheritance—of land within the general territory of a tribe, acquired by the tribe by conquest, having now got a right of possession as against the tribe itself and all strangers whether Maori or European, must be held to have, also, incidentally, got an independent power of alienating to the Crown; it certainly might be very impolitic for the Crown, during that transition period before spoken of to purchase land possessed by an individual member of a tribe and situated in the heart of the land of the tribe, against the will or without the assent of those Maoris who might consider themselves in the meantime aggrieved or encroached upon by such purchase. With the development of a wise policy, such a purchase would in course of time be looked upon by the Maoris as a positive advantage, giving increased value to their own possessions; but in the meantime, it would be wise in the Crown to forbear from such purchases, where without the attainment of adequate advantages they would be sure to be looked upon with jealousy and suspicion, or would excite hostility, or help to keep up antipathies or prejudices of race.

These last remarks though properly belonging to another stage of the inquiry, seem necessary here to prevent misconception.

The words of the provision for pre-emption are these:—

"But the Chiefs of the united tribes, and the individual Chiefs [and this must mean on behalf of the tribes as well as on their own behalf] yield to her Majesty the exclusive right of preemption over such lands as 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."

It is to be noticed here that the word "proprietors" is used, and not the word "possessors"; but it certainly would be too much to infer from that fact that the proviso contemplated that the Chiefs were to be treated as "proprietors" having power to alienate lands of which they were not lawful possessors in their own right, because any alienation of land by any person other than the Chiefs, Tribes, Families, or Individuals, who rightfully *possessed* the land without their consent would be such a disturbance—at least if the alienation was of a beneficial interest—as had just been provided against.

The only consistent meaning, therefore, is that whoever might have such an interest in the land as is guaranteed by the Treaty must, when willing to alienate it, alienate it in the first instance to the Crown and not to a subject. This provision is founded upon a very intelligible principle already alluded to.

The third Article states: "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."

This article is but an express recognition of that which must have been implied by the acceptance on the part of the Crown of the ceded sovereignty, but was probably introduced for the purpose of reminding the contracting Natives that they were, from the fact of their being British subjects, receiving many substantial advantages besides that for which they more especially stipulated—namely the undisturbed possession of the lands theretofore possessed by them.

They got by the Treaty the general rights of British subjects *plus* an express British title to the possession of their lands as long as they chose to hold them. But there is no pretence for saying that they had any other just rights and property within the terms of the preamble guaranteed to them, either expressly or impliedly, by the Treaty.

To guarantee *in perpetuum* any of their usages which must be hindrances to their improvement and civilization would have been most unwise, inhumane, and shortsighted. But in applying to their case the general rights and privileges of British subjects, justice as well as policy would require that during the transition period regard should be shown to their previous customs and habits, so far as they were not at variance with humanity. Protection from violence, justice and personal freedom, and equality with other subjects in those respects, were the main rights and privileges conferred; but the particular modes in which those rights and privileges were to be insured to them must depend upon the wisdom and policy of the Sovereign power. The modes in which the rights and privileges of British subjects are secured vary in different parts of the British dominions, but the same general principles are applied everywhere; and no doubt it was the intention of the British Crown, and ought still to be its policy, to prepare the way gradually for the universal adoption of the same modes of securing British rights to the whole population of the Colony, giving the Maoris, whenever they are ready to enjoy them, the same tribunals, and the same share in making the laws and administering them, which their fellow subjects of European origin enjoy. To say that by virtue of the Treaty they became at once entitled to act as jurymen, or to take such part in legislation or government as the Europeans might do, or to share such duties and privileges, would be to say that they were entitled to that which all British subjects are not entitled to, merely as British subjects.

After the third Article of the Treaty came the signature of Her Majesty's representative; and then followed a clause of acceptance of the terms of the Treaty in these words:—

"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 meaning thereof. In witness whereof we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and dates respectively specified.

"Done at Waitangi, the 6th day of February, 1840."

[There were 512 signatures or marks.]

When the Chiefs spoke of "claiming authority" over tribes and territories, they must have meant either the sovereign or quasi sovereign authority which they ceded by the treaty, or merely the authority to bind the tribes and contract for them in respect of the territories, or both. And it could not be urged with any fairness that, the treaty, either directly or indirectly, guarantees to them or acknowledges in them, any authority "over the tribes" or the members thereof, inconsistent with the Queen's authority or the rights of British subjects.

Whether the signatures and marks to the treaty were fairly or satisfactorily obtained, whether the parties to it really did understand its provisions or no,—it is needless to inquire; for to all Maoris who have acquiesced in the British sovereignty the treaty is in the nature of a charter of privilege; inasmuch as on a mere cession of sovereignty it would have been competent for the sovereign power to make laws for the government of its new subjects, which would, directly or indirectly, wholly or partially, have deprived them of the possession of the land which they did not hold by any title from their new sovereign; whereas, under the treaty, any law or edict of the sovereign power which, without the express or implied consent of the Natives themselves, would

confiscate or disturb their possession of their lands against their will, while they continued to bear true allegiance to that sovereign power, would be contrary to principle and justice.

Chapter V.

Did the treaty of Waitangi carry out in letter and spirit the kind of policy indicated in Chapter II.?

FEW observations on this subject are now necessary. The treaty, certainly, is silent as to many matters of the highest importance to the Native race; but still it does not affirm any principle at variance with a sound policy. Had it been more special it might have elicited more objections, and been less intelligible. It dealt with the two great points on which a wholesome policy of colonization must be founded,—namely, on the one side, an absolute abandonment of anything like sovereign rights on the part of the Maories, and an acknowledgment of the general and absolute sovereignty of the British Crown; and, on the other, the specific assurance to the Maories of the undisturbed enjoyment of the beneficial interest in their lands.

Chapter VI.

THE general course of policy which a Government ought to follow in the practical application of the treaty seems already pretty plainly indicated. To keep steadily in view the ultimate, and not far distant, amalgamation of the races, and an ultimate identity of habits, feelings, and modes of enjoying the rights and privileges of British subjects, and to oppose and repudiate any schemes or expedients which would create fresh difficulties or barriers in the way of such amalgamation, would be the prominent duty of the Government, on the one side; while on the other, it ought to be jealous and cautious of every step which it took, even in the right direction, which might excite alarm, apprehension, or distrust in the Maori mind, yet insufficiently prepared for it; and be guided, to a great extent, in determining on the course to be pursued towards the ultimate goal, by considerations of what would be most acceptable—being right in principle—to the Maoris themselves. Without education having a special bearing on these considerations, and education not religious only but also civil, the course must be slow, difficult, and uncertain.

Chapter VII.

Are the Anti-land-selling League and the King movement breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi.

THE writer has no wish to go specially into these matters at present.

But if it be true that the members of the Anti-land-selling League do not only use persuasion and argument but resolve to use force to prevent persons entitled to alienate their land from alienating, they act in violation of the spirit of the treaty and of the rights and privileges of their fellow-subjects; and if they associate themselves together and *do use* force to oppose the officers of justice in the enforcement of the rights of their fellow-subjects, and defy the authority of the Queen, they commit a great crime, in direct repudiation of the treaty, and, under certain circumstances, amounting to rebellion or treason.

As to the King movement—if the election of a King and the hoisting of a flag are intended to be a repudiation of the Queen's authority, they are evident and palpable breaches of the treaty, and overt acts of rebellion or treason; but if the actors in the matter are only seeking to have an organisation of their own for the protection of the interests of their race, without repudiating the Queen's ultimate sovereignty, or forcibly interfering with the rights of other subjects, it might be difficult to say that the election alone and the use of the flag necessarily amounted to treason, especially in the case of those who have but vague ideas of the rights of a "King" or the meaning of a flag. It may be that by some tribes and individuals the King and flag demonstrations are viewed in the one way and by others in the other.

Chapter VIII.

William King's Case

MAY be tested—when the facts are undisputed—according to all the foregoing considerations.

Whether he had any show of title or not depends upon facts which the writer does not know to have been yet ascertained beyond dispute, and on views of Maori rights and customs much disputed, though possibly without any just cause.

That King did not object to the sale on the ground of title is assumed from authorized statements.

That he never claimed justice for an infraction of a right from the representative of the Crown is also assumed.

That his subsequent conduct, whether he had a title and set it up or not, amounted to a repudiation of the Queen's sovereignty and to rebellion, is also pretty plain.

But the course of the case points out what may be an over-sight and omission which it might be well to avoid in future.

The person who acts as agent for the Crown in the purchase of land does not seem to be the most proper person to decide whether there be any substantial dispute or not.

Perhaps it would be wise to provide in future that if any opposition or objection should be made *de facto* to a sale or proposed sale, some tribunal, with a competent Maori element, ought to decide the dispute or that there is no dispute, before the agent of the Crown should be allowed to purchase.

Chapter IX.

The Policy of the Future.

SUPPOSING it to be evident that the Queen's sovereignty, secured by the treaty of Waitangi, and heretofore in various ways acknowledged by persons and tribes now in arms against it, must be vindicated by force; and that, too, in such a way as to shew the Maori people the utter folly and hopelessness of any further or future contest; still it would seem wise that a definite policy, consistent with previously announced principles and with the treaty of Waitangi, should be steadily adhered to, and that no misconduct of the Native population in the course of the rebellion should (after necessary acts of punishment for the sake of example) be used as a justification for departing, at its conclusion, from the general principles professed by the Representatives of the British Crown, before, at, and since the establishment of the Colony.

It is most devoutly to be hoped that whatever excuses, or inducements, or justifications may be afforded by the Maoris for treating the rebellion as a war of races, the Government will at an early period be provided with a British force of sufficient strength to bring it to a speedy and effective conclusion, so as to make any future rebellion all but impossible, instead of being left in such a position that the present conflict will degenerate into a long, chronic, wasting, ruinous war of extermination, deplorable alike in a moral and economical point of view. But whether peace is to be established sooner or later on a safe and permanent basis, it would seem that, so long as aboriginal subjects of the Crown remain in the Colony, the same general principles ought still to be applied to them by a government as conscious of its ultimate power as it ought to be jealous of its honour and scrupulous in fulfilling the engagements of the British Crown in a large and liberal spirit. And, indeed, the present discontents and troubles may be well turned to good account by such a government, inasmuch as a candid and intelligent enquiry into the causes of discontent may enable it to discover, along with much which justice requires to be put down with the strong hand, some causes of discomfort and dis-trust which are in some measure *real* grievances, and at variance with the professed principles of the British policy.

It is one thing to acknowledge mistakes of omission or commission, contrary to principle, which have been overlooked, and find remedies for them—another, to make concessions contrary to principle merely for purposes of conciliation.

Demonstrations of strength will not lose any of their value from being accompanied by demonstrations of justice.

The writer does not possess either general or local knowledge or experience which would justify him in making specific practical suggestions with any confidence, but there are certain general outlines of a policy for the future, after the re-establishment throughout the Colony of peace, order, and allegiance to the Queen, which, it seems to him, might well be adopted and declared even while rebellion still exists; and for the ultimate establishment and development of which, during the whole period necessary for the fusion of the two races, preparations might even now be made.

The following crude suggestions are offered with extreme diffidence, and merely as hints, not as deliberate conclusions worthy of specific adoption :—

In the first place, education in the English language ought to be made an exclusive test, in a given number of years; so that, in another generation, no Maori not educated in the English tongue should be allowed to fill any of the offices hereinafter mentioned. But with the present generation such English education should not be made a *sine quâ non*.

While Maori, customs and habits (not being contrary to humanity and justice) must still be referred to for the purposes of administering justice among the Maoris, a Maori element should be provided for in all tribunals to which they may come for justice; and, in criminal cases where Maories are accused, there should be a Maori assessor to the magistrate in summary cases, and a proportion of Maori jurymen in trials by jury. The assessors should be chosen by the Government out of a list furnished by the tribes of the district; and the Maori jurymen for each province should be furnished from a list of persons elected in certain proportions by the different tribes and hapus resident in the province : the numbers to be decided according to circumstances.

For the preservation of the peace, information as to offences, and execution of process, a Maori peace officer should be appointed for each tribe or hapu by the Government, out of lists furnished by the tribe or hapu.

For the purposes of the purchase of land by the agents of the Crown, there should be a Board or Jury of Natives in each district composed of a certain number of members selected by lot from a list of persons elected by the different tribes of the district, to be presided over by some European officer other than the Crown purchase agent. The duty of the president should be merely to propound the questions for the decision of the Jury, and to record such decision, and to administer oaths to witnesses; and the jury should in all cases of dispute, either as to the title, or the proportion of compensation to be paid to individuals, decide conclusively as to the persons interested, and the proportion of purchase money which they ought each to receive. It would be wise to encourage the Natives in every legitimate way to take Crown titles for their lands, by making such tenure of lauds a necessary qualification for offices which would be sought after, or otherwise.

The Governor ought to have the assistance of a Council for Maori affairs, including a European minister, a few Europeans with a special knowledge of Maori matters, and a certain number of leading Maori Chiefs from different parts of the country. The number of Maori members would depend upon local and tribal considerations. To have them elected for the express purpose by the bodies of the tribes throughout New Zealand might entail great inconvenience, but they might be selected by the Governor out of persons named in the lists prepared by tribes or districts of candidates for assessorship, or some such superior office, so as to guarantee their being persons confided in by their own people.

In all selections by the Government of individuals from such lists, preference should be given to persons of the highest birth, or holding the highest position in their tribes; and, *cæteris paribus*, a preference should be given to persons acquainted with the English language.

It would be most inconvenient to hold out to the Natives any prospect of their being eligible as common legislators for the Colony, or to fill the offices of Government, till they had perfectly acquired the English language; and the acquisition of the language ought always to be held out to them as the means of introduction to new civil advantages.

The persons appointed to different offices,—peace-officers, assessors, land-jury, council,—should all receive some small remuneration, and even ordinary jurymen ought probably to have some small allowance for their expenses.

In Government Schools, a monitorial system might be adopted, some little pecuniary reward being granted for the monitorial services of advanced pupils; and assistant masterships might be held out in prospect as higher rewards. Small lending libraries might also be established. Through the Native boards, assessors, and officers, practical suggestions should be given to tribes for the improvement of their cultivations, but more especially for the improvement of their dwellings, for ventilation and drainage, conducive to their health and comfort, and thus for the gradual amelioration of their personal condition and habits, and the increase of rational self-respect. To provide the chosen officer or officers of a tribe or subdivision with an inexpensive model cottage—such as might easily be imitated—would also seem a step in the right direction.

Such are some of the more obvious provisions which might be made to carry out a policy agreeable to *à priori* doctrine, to the spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi, and to the professed principles upon which a British Colony was established in these Islands.

It is assumed that the Legislature, in the wise and just control of the public funds,—especially having regard to the large revenues yielded to the general funds on account of the difference between the price paid by the Crown to the Maoris for their land and the price for which the Crown subsequently sells that land—besides the large contributions of the Maoris to the Customs—will always be prepared to appropriate a fair share of the whole Revenues of the Colony to Maori purposes—for the improvement and civilization of the race, and for promoting the ultimate fusion of the two races.

The Constitution granted to the Colony for its own self-government, derived as it is through the cession of sovereignty by the Treaty of Waitangi, must always be taken to be subject to the general implied duties of the British Sovereign towards the parties who become British subjects on the faith of that Treaty.

In conclusion, it may be asserted with undoubting confidence that the Government and the Legislature will be sure to discover that perseverance in a liberal and just policy towards the Aboriginal Inhabitants will best and most effectually secure, even to the Colonists of European race, the true objects of all Government and Legislation;—and if, unhappily, the rebellion which has broken out should become general, and implicate all the tribes of New Zealand, so that the Government, on suppressing it, should be in a position to *dictate* the terms of the future relations between itself and the Maoris,—there seems no substantial reason why—after such punishment as might be necessary for the sake of example—it should not still adhere to the principles and practice of the same just and humane policy which has been above indicated.

Appendix.—NOTE A.

On the question—whether a Sovereign ought to observe the common laws of war towards rebellious

subjects—Vattel says, c. 18:—

Sec. 288.—"The name of *rebels* is given to all subjects who unjustly take up arms against the ruler of the society, whether their view be to deprive him of the supreme authority, or to resist his commands in some particular instance, and to impose conditions on him."

Sec. 290.—"Violent measures are forbidden in civil society: the injured individuals should apply to the magistrate for redress, and if they do not obtain justice from that quarter, they may lay their complaints at the foot of the Throne. * * *

"What conduct shall the Sovereign observe towards his insurgents? I answer in general, such conduct as shall at the same time be the most consonant to justice and the most salutary to the State. * * *

"In many cases, the safest and at the same time the most just method, of appeasing seditions is to give the people satisfaction."

Sec. 292.—"When a party is formed in a State, who no longer obey the Sovereign, and are possessed of sufficient strength to oppose him—this is called *Civil War*. * * *

"The Sovereign, indeed, never fails to bestow the appellation of *rebels* on all such of his subjects as openly resist him; but when the latter have acquired sufficient strength to give him effectual opposition, and to oblige him to carry on the war against them according to the established rules, he must necessarily submit to the use of the term 'Civil War.' * * *

"Should the Sovereign conceive he has a right to hang up his prisoners as rebels, the opposite party will make reprisals; if he does not religiously observe the capitulations, and all other conventions made with his enemies, they will no longer rely on his word, * * the war will become cruel, horrible, and every day more destructive to the nation. * * *

"Whenever, therefore, a numerous body of men think they have a right to resist the Sovereign, and feel themselves in a condition to appeal to the sword, the war ought to be carried on by the contending parties in the same manner as by two different nations; and they ought to leave open the same means for preventing its being carried to outrageous extremities, and for the restoration of peace.

"When the Sovereign has subdued the opposite party, and reduced them to submit and sue for peace, he may except from the amnesty the authors of the disturbances—the heads of the party. *He may bring them to a legal trial, and punish them if they be found guilty*".

The Coming Crisis: A Sketch of the Financial and 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 a bound. 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 oven 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 Caesars. 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 brother's, 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 uprightiness, 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 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 this 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 other's 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 true 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 are perennius.

—HORACE.

A man so various that he seemed to be
Not one, hut 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 contradictions unmistakable. One session Mr. Vogel solemnly announces that Provincial institutions are necessary, and the majority see it clearly. Next session the master sees 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.—"Metliinks '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 things, 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 rottenness 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 Jaw 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—we 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 cany 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. Travers 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 supreme 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 sutler. 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 re-modelling 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. Raphael in his best days 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 corn. 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 2£ 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, 2¼ 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 £5,040,000, 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 appeal's 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 many-sided. 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 our 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 £2,380,414 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 200,630 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, 14,655, 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 enterprizes 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-capp'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. France 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 storekeeper. 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 settlers 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."

Auckland: *Reed & Brett, Printers, "Evening Star" Office, Wyndham Street.* 1874.
Dunedin Chamber of Commerce.

Report of Committee appointed to Report upon the existing Bankruptcy Laws, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Chamber, held on Thursday, June 8th, 1876.

THE Committee have carefully considered the Debtors and Creditors Act 1875, and the Rules of Court under which it is administered, and have now to offer the following suggestions for the amendment of the same. These suggestions are almost all dictated by the actual experience of Creditors in Estates that have been brought under the operation of the Act. To those which appeared to the Committee to be of special importance, the grounds on which they are made are briefly appended.

NEW PROVISIONS.

The Committee believe that, in order to render the Debtors and Creditors Act an efficient piece of legislation, additions should be made to it, providing for the following matters :—

1. For the appointment of Official Assignees, in whom the Estate of a Debtor should vest immediately on his filing a statement of inability to pay his debts, or upon an order being issued for a meeting of his Creditors, when a Creditor has moved the Court for that purpose, and who should realise and distribute the Estate, if the Creditors neglect or refuse to take other steps for that purpose. The Committee consider this point to be one of primary importance. Under the present system, on the filing of a statement of inability to pay debts, the Estate of the Debtor vests in the Registrar of Court, an officer having other duties, and not likely to have any acquaintance with those now cast upon him. An Official Assignee should be a person selected on account of special qualifications, and, therefore, able to give great assistance to Creditors from the outset of the proceedings, whether the Trusteeship were left in his hands or not. Moreover, under the present system (if the first meeting of Creditors lapses), the Estate vests again in the Debtor, who has no further means of protecting it in the interests of the general body of his Creditors, or of obtaining a release from his liabilities.

2. For permitting the Estates of deceased persons to be administered under the Act, and for vesting the separate Estate of a deceased partner in the Trustee of the Estate of the surviving partner, when it appears that the firm was insolvent at the time of his decease. Mode—by order of Court on motion.

3. For vesting the joint Estate in the Trustee appointed under a liquidation, when one partner only has filed a statement of his firm's inability to pay their debts. Mode—by order of Court on motion

4. For authorising the Registrar, in the absence of the Judge from Court, to exercise the power to grant an order under Section 20 of the Act, together with all other powers, except the hearing of appeals.

5. For the public examination in Court, before a Judge or the Registrar, of a Debtor, and of other persons supposed to be able to give evidence touching the affairs of a Debtor. The Committee believe that such public

examinations are much more dreaded by dishonest Debtors than the withholding of a certificate, and that without them evidence of fraudulent insolvency will very seldom be secured in a form sufficiently clear to warrant a prosecution.

6. For the issue, by the Registrar (without motion), of order or summons commanding the attendance in Court, or before the Trustee, of the Debtor, or of any other person supposed to be able to give evidence; such summons to issue on the application of the Trustee, the Debtor, or of any Creditor.

7. For the administration of the separate Estates of partners in a firm, whose affairs are placed under liquidation (see Section 214 of Bankruptcy Act), and providing that after payment of the Creditors of such separate Estates, the surplus thereof should vest in the Trustee or the joint Estate; also, providing that the Creditors of separate Estates shall not rank on the joint Estate until the Creditors have been paid in full.

8. For prescribing a limit of time for proofs of debts being lodged with the Trustee, and for rendering it incumbent on a Trustee, when distributing a dividend before the expiration of such limit, to provide for payment of the same to all persons whose names appear in the Debtor's list of his Creditors. The Committee is of opinion that the limit should be, for New Zealand and the Australian Colonies, two months, and for more distant places, six months after the date at which the Trustee shall have posted to the Creditor notice of the liquidation; and that any moneys reserved as dividends for Creditors, or assumed Creditors, who do not lodge proofs of debt with the Trustee within the prescribed time, should be distributed amongst the Creditors of such Estate who have proved their debts.

9. For the issue of search warrants, as provided for in Clauses 157, 158, and 159 of the Bankruptcy Act. In connection with this, power should be given to a Trustee to break open any premises forming part of the Estate, and any box or other package containing assets in the Estate.

10. For obliging a Debtor to quit premises belonging to his Estate on notice from the Trustee, with provision that, if he refuse or neglect to do so, he may be ejected by a constable on a warrant from the Trustee, or may be given into custody on charge of being illegally on the premises. Experience has shown that it is of great importance that this should be provided for.

11. For authorizing Trustees to administer oaths to persons whom they may require to examine, and to take affidavits or declarations in proof of debts in the Estates of which they are Trustees. At present, although the Act authorizes a Trustee to examine persons on oath, the Trustee has not, by virtue of his office, any right to administer oaths.

12. For exempting from Stamp Duty all declarations and affidavits made by any Creditor, Debtor, or Trustee in connection with any Liquidation under the Act.

AMENDMENTS OF THE ACT

To carry out the views of the Committee as expressed in the foregoing suggestions for additions to the present law, and to render various Clauses of the Debtors and Creditors Act more workable and more calculated to render justice both to Debtors and to Creditors, the following amendments of the Act are required :—

1. In all cases where there would, under the Act, be a vesting of the Estate of a Debtor in the Registrar of the Court, the Estate should vest in the Official Assignee.

The last Clause of Section 19 should provide that on the filing of the resolution of Creditors appointing a Trustee, the Estate shall forthwith vest in such Trustee; and that an attested copy of the said resolution should be, in all cases, sufficient evidence of such vesting.

2. It should be provided that a Creditor for £25 may move the Court to call on a Debtor to show cause why his Estate should not be liquidated under the Act, if he shall have made demand on the said Debtor for payment of a debt due to him, and such debt shall not have been liquidated within forty-eight hours after such demand. Also, that the Registrar may order a meeting of Creditors, if he shall be satisfied that a Debtor is unable to meet his engagements, or that it is necessary for the interest of the whole body of Creditors that such meeting should be called. The same rights should be given to two or more creditors whose joint claims amount to £25.

The Registrar should also have power to order a meeting of Creditors, if any of the acts of Bankruptcy mentioned in Clause 20 of the Act be proved to his satisfaction.

Under the law as it stands at present, a Creditor cannot move at all, unless he can show that certain Acts of Bankruptcy or Fraud have been committed by the Debtor, and, therefore, not in any case, until the Debtor's Estate has been materially damaged. The risk of failing to prove any of the grounds on which a motion may be made, and of consequent reprisals on the part of the Debtor, will, in almost all cases, deter Creditors from taking action.

3. It should be provided that if a sufficient number of Creditors should not be present or represented at the first meeting, it should stand adjourned for three days, and that the Registrar should cause notice of such adjournment to be gazetted; and that if a sufficient number of Creditors are not present or represented at such

adjourned meeting, the Estate of the Debtor should vest in the Official Assignee, and be administered by him forthwith. Also, that the remuneration of the Official Assignee in such cases should be the same as it was under the Bankruptcy Act.

Also that any first meeting or adjourned first meeting may be further adjourned on resolution duly passed by the Creditors present thereat.

Also that, in order that distant Creditors may have proper opportunity of being represented thereat, the first meeting should take place within such a number of days, being not less than three nor more than ten, after the filing of a statement of inability to pay debts as the Registrar may appoint.

4. In Clause 24, provision should be substituted that any execution against the property of a Debtor shall be staid on notice of filing a statement of inability to pay his debts, or of a Creditor's motion for a liquidation under the Act being gazetted or served on the bailiff or any of the other persons mentioned in Section 73.

5. Section 3 of Clause 24 of the Act should be amended so as to provide that, failing an appointment by Creditors of a substitute in case of the death, &c., of a Trustee, the Official Assignee should become Trustee.

6. No distress for rent should be allowed after a statement of inability to pay his debts has been filed by any Debtor, or after a motion for a liquidation has been made by any of his Creditors.

7. Three months' rent and no more should be a preferential claim on any insolvent Estate.

8. Section 49 should be amended so as to provide that dividends should only be set aside and retained for a Creditor who has proved a contingent debt until the date of the contingency, and that, if such contingent debt does not then become a claim, the amount so retained shall be divided amongst the other Creditors who have proved. As the law now stands, a contingent Creditor may receive dividends, although it should ultimately turn out that he has no claim whatever on the Estate, and there is no provision by which he can be made to refund sums thus paid to him.

9. The words "other than a pre-existing debt" should be added at the end of Section 75, so as to make it clear that no security given to a Creditor in preference to others within three months of insolvency can stand as against the Trustee of a Debtor's Estate. No part of the Act requires more careful revision of its wording than this Clause. A recent decision given in this Province by Judge Ward has made it manifest that the law does not render void preferential payments made to one Creditor to the detriment of others, unless in some very exceptional cases.

10. The same words should also be added after the words "valuable consideration" in Section 3 of Clause 77.

11. The words "when sufficient funds have been realised to provide for a dividend," should be inserted in this Clause, so as to render its provisions inapplicable to those cases in which the assumed assets of the Estate prove valueless.

12. If no quorum is formed at a meeting of Creditors called to close a liquidation under Clause 90, the liquidation ought to be thereupon deemed to be closed, and the Trustee should file a declaration to that effect in Court.

13. A Debtor should be allowed at any time, on giving seven days' notice of his intention so to do to the Trustee in writing, and by notice in a gazette, to apply to his Creditors for an order of discharge. If such order be thereupon refused by the Creditors, or there should be no quorum at the meeting called for the purpose, the Debtor should be allowed to apply to the Court for an order on gazetting notice of his intention so to do. Under the present Act there can be no order of discharge until the Debtor's Estate is wholly distributed, however deserving the Debtor, or however willing his Creditors may be to grant a discharge.

14. That the following should be added to 76:—"Provided also that nothing herein contained shall be held to apply to consignments of goods held by the Debtor in the ordinary course of his business for sale on account of any other person, the identity and ownership of which can be proved to the satisfaction of the Trustee of the Debtor's Estate, or of the Registrar of Court, and in respect of which the owner shall tender payment to the Trustee of all advances made thereon by the Debtor, and of all charges due thereon to the Debtor's Estate, and shall surrender to the Trustee any acceptances granted by the Debtor in his favour by way of advance thereon."

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES OF COURT.

After a careful examination of the Rules which have been gazetted, and comparison of the same with the Act and with the foregoing suggestions, the Committee is of opinion :—

1. That the first meeting of Creditors should be held at the Supreme Court House of the District, unless a majority in number and value of the Creditors reside within ten miles of a District Court House, in which case the meeting should be held in such District Court House.

2. That at the first meeting, and at all adjournments thereof, the Registrar of the Court should preside, and should determine all questions of procedure which may arise at such meetings.

3. That after the proceedings of the first meeting and of any adjournments thereof are closed, all minutes of further proceedings in the Estate should be kept by the Trustee, the minutes of the first meeting being in all cases retained in Court.
4. That Creditors for amounts under £10 ought not to be excluded from voting at meetings of Creditors.
5. That Rule 40, which defines the voting power of Creditors, should be wholly rescinded, its provisions being contrary to Section 9 of Clause 28 of the Act.
6. That a statement of accounts should be attached to or be embodied in all proofs of debt.
7. That when proof of debt is made by an agent or attorney, his declaration that he is instructed by his principal that the statement of account attached thereto is correct should be sufficient.
8. That when a Creditor applies to the Court to set aside a decision of a Trustee in respect of his claim, he should be obliged to give immediate notice of his appeal to the Trustee.
9. That the fees payable to the Court should be as follows :—
10. That the words "any person" should be inserted instead of the word "solicitor" in Rule 56.
11. That the Trustee in any Estate should be definitely authorized to employ a solicitor to represent or advise him whenever he may consider it necessary to have such assistance.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

The Committee would strongly recommend that a special Act should be passed validating all past proceedings under the Debtors and Creditors Act 1875, in so far as they are rendered doubtful by the conflict between the Act and the Rules of Court that have been gazetted under it, or by ambiguities in the Act or in the Rules.

The Committee also recommend that the Chamber should again pointedly urge upon the Government that the evidence of experienced persons should be taken before a Select Committee of Parliament before an Amending Act is passed, and that such evidence should also be obtained for the information of the Governor in Council before amendments of the Rules of Court are passed.

The Bill amending the Bankruptcy Laws, drafted by Mr. Macassey last year, and introduced into the Legislative Council by Hon. Mr. Buckley, together with the suggestions for a basis of a Bankruptcy Act forwarded to the Chamber by the Hon. Mr. Reynolds, have had careful consideration at the hands of the Committee; and all their provisions, so far as the Committee have been able to agree with them, have been embodied in the foregoing recommendations.

Observations Respecting the Proposed Railway

Down the side Of the Harbor, Extending from Its Junction With the Ocean Beach Railway to Portobello.

By Simon Frederick Every.

"Anderson's Bay, June 17th, 1876.

Mills, Dick and Co., Steam Printers Dunedin Stafford Street 1876

Harbor-Side Railway.

"CAPITAL is as free as air!" says one; "You must not interfere with private enterprise!" says another. Thus an open course is left to all sorts of schemes. Now, I quite agree with the above remarks; but not without some reservation, or safeguard.

Let private enterprise flourish, the more the better; but let *public rights and properties be respected*. Let also *public life and limb be regarded*.

I am free to assert such consideration has not been shown by the parties proposing to construct a Railway down the side of the Harbor along the Peninsula.

First, as regards *public rights*, I hold that neither the Government nor the Harbor Board can consistently sanction such a line; it would be in direct violation of their duty as *conservators of the public interest vested in them*. How can it be shown to be just and fair to give a *private* company the power of taking into their own hands the frontage to the Harbor for *nine* milts, with limits of deviation 100 yards wide, giving them a right over no less than 334 acres of the Harbor, including eight acres out of Anderson's Bay?

Again, how can it be shown that due care is taken of *public property* if a Railway is sanctioned, not merely running along the side of a road which is about twenty feet wide, but crossing it at curves and in cuttings, the road being bounded on one side by a high bank or perpendicular rock? Oh, say the promoters, horses become accustomed to a train!

But how stands the case with a person quietly fishing from the bridge at Anderson's Bay? Will not horses become accustomed to him? On the contrary, it is deemed permanently dangerous, and must not be done,

therefore it has been forbidden by authority in the 'Provincial Gazette,' and transgressors are told they will be prosecuted.

Speaking of the danger connected with level crossings, what answer did one of the company give? "Oh, you old gentlemen are more tenacious of life than young ones!" Another, being remonstrated with respecting the danger attached to the sudden appearance of a train round a curve in front of a horse, being such as would be sure to kill somebody very soon, coolly answered, "Never mind!" But I do mind; not for myself, it is entirely on public grounds that this is written. After inspecting the plan, I feel in duty bound, to sound a note of warning, otherwise, should the line be made, and a fatal accident happen, I should seem to have connived at manslaughter.

It is not my intention to notice the objections to the proposed line, merely in a general way. To make the matter plain, it is necessary to enter into particulars, and go through in a practical manner, examining step by step, as it were, the effect of such a line. And here it is right to state that the information about to be given is compiled chiefly from the plan of the Railway deposited in the office of the Registrar at the Supreme Court.

Let us commence at the junction with that part of the scheme known as the Ocean Beach Railway; but before doing so, there is another point to be noticed, showing the animus of the company. Not long before the plan of the proposed Railway to Portobello was deposited with the Registrar, viz. the 20th April, 1866, a petition was taken throughout the Peninsula, and signatures obtained thereto, under the representation that the course to be adopted was quite an open question at present; thus many names were obtained under false pretences.

Starting from the Junction, and going close by the road across Anderson's Bay, and touching the side of the road, which is bounded by a high, perpendicular rock as far as Grant's Braes, there it crosses a little bay; and then across the public road, entering a cutting 20 feet deep and 66 yards long, where there is a curve of 6 chains radius.

Be it remembered, the road was formed by prison labor, representing public money; a bridge at the Bay erected at public expense; and the portion merely crossing Anderson's Bay had cost £1,900 long before completion, having to be raised and improved afterwards at considerable cost. A heavy additional expense was also incurred at Grant's Braes: a large gang of prisoners being employed there for some time.

Particular attention should be directed to the above cutting and curve—it is a perfect trap! A rock 20 feet high on the inside of a curve 6 chains radius,—the cutting 66 yards long,—no chance of seeing ahead. A carriage, it might be, just at the entrance, or even entering, as a train came rumbling through.

Passing on, the road is rendered dangerous all the way by the line being close to it, and in some places crossed by the Railway.

There are also other curves of the same radius, interfering more or less with the road. It may also be remarked, that the *whole line of public road*, now formed down that district, is included within the limits of deviation, and at the mercy of a company, if successful in their application.

In favor of this scheme of Railway, it has been stated, that it would be a vast boon to merchants and others now resident in Dunedin, by enabling them to erect villas all over that side of the hill. This is a fallacy; as very few people would be inclined to climb up the slope to the height of seven or eight hundred feet. Whereas if a line were taken, something like two-thirds of the way up, it would give facility for building, either above or below, thus being of far more advantage to all property along the slope, than down at the bottom.

As regards a line to open up the Peninsula, it is evident there is great difference of opinion respecting the proper course to be taken;—some say down the harbor-side; others think it would be less expensive to take the line down the centre;—but these hasty conclusions, in the absence of necessary data, savor of self-interest, rather than mature deliberation.

No one can form a correct idea of what course should be taken throughout, or the traffic to be expected, or the probable cost, without first obtaining some definite data to go upon, to gain which, as an early writer said, "Various borings should be made, for the purpose of obtaining geological knowledge of the substratum; flying levels should be taken of three or four lines; traffic takers employed, and every possible information collected, as a preliminary measure, then all should be open for examination by the land owners and the public before more expensive measures are adopted, always remembering that publicity gives confidence."—(Peter Lecount, R.N., C.E., F.R.S., late of the London and Birmingham Railway). What is a Railway intended for? Surely to give the greatest possible amount of accommodation to the public. Again, how can this object be so well effected as by the adoption of a course, in a central position, giving facility for traffic from *either side* throughout the greater portion of its length?

The known resources of the Peninsula are various and due examination will bring more to light. The great question at present seems that of practicability. Some people look at the high range of hills, and at once conclude it is impossible to take a Railway near them; nevertheless, lines have been taken through as rugged a country, and this is no case for despair. Steeper gradients are now adopted than in the early days of Railways.

Two or three courses present themselves for examination. First, let a line diverge from the Ocean Beach Railway, about 30 chains south from the Bay Horse Hotel, pass round the abrupt rock, then go in nearly a straight line for some distance, rising about 1 in 50, then making a slight curve, and passing under the main road above the Presbyterian Church; (N.B.—The step of the Church is 122 feet above high-water in Anderson's Bay, and the ridge of the roof 30 feet more, or 152 feet, giving good data to guide both ways;) on again, just below Shiel Hill, curving across that property, and again passing under the Portobello Road, and going behind Shiel Hill Hotel, it would then proceed without difficulty to the hollow of the main road, South of Captain Stewart's residence, again passing under the road and getting on the Harbor side of it; there is thence no obstacle for some distance; but without data to guide it would be unsafe to venture any decided opinion beyond that point.

Those who have been down the road towards Portobello, and witnessed the beautiful and varied scenery on the Peninsula, can form some idea of what a Railway would effect by traversing the main portion of its length, in an elevated position, opening up the country, which at present is only thinly peopled, in consequence of its isolation from the main land.

Steam-boats on the Harbor are unavailable to an extensive district; they only serve those who reside near its border; those located high up the slope find it more convenient to take the road, and all persons living on the ocean side of the range of hills are quite excluded from availing themselves of any boats that may be on the Harbor. This remark implies with *equal force to a Railway down by the side of the Harbor*, which would only be of service to those who already enjoy the convenience of water communication. If a central course be adopted, and stations placed in convenient positions, then villas will be erected on *either side* of the line, and townships laid out, boarding-houses built for invalids or visitors to Otago. Passenger and general traffic will increase.

Although all the advantages or disadvantages of different lines cannot be enumerated with accuracy in the absence of definite information, still some of them may be stated, so as to give a tolerably correct idea of their comparative merits and demerits; and should it prove, after due examination, that a Railway crossing to the ocean side of the ridge, opening up all the beautiful country in the Sandfly Bay District and the Maori Reserve, before descending to Portobello; should this be found calculated to entail more extra expense than would be sanctioned by the increased returns that might be expected from the varied local resources of the district under improved circumstances, then let the line descend gradually, and keep on the Harbor side of the range, giving a station somewhere in the neighbourhood of the residence of Mr. John Mathieson, which, with a good road to it from the present main road, would be a great boon to the whole neighbourhood.

There is one item I omitted in its right place, viz., the limits of deviation at the side of Anderson's Bay include a portion of the Government Reserve 454 links wide, and 1000 links long, of high rock, containing four acres and a half of fine building stone, *public property*.

I must state, distinctly, that I am not in any way personally interested as to what course may be pursued; but have felt strongly that it was my duty to the public to give such information as I could collect, and having done so, I now take leave of the subject, feeling quite aware that if there are any persons who are only influenced by *interested motives*, they will visit me with condemnation; but that is a secondary consideration, or rather no consideration—quite immaterial.

The Kaitangata Railway & Coal Company, Limited.

Copy Leases *Of Their Mines at Kaitangata*.

Fergusson & Mitchell, Printers Dunedin Princes St.

Copy Lease of Coal Mines.

Dated 20th May, 1874.

William Aitchison, Esq.,

—To—

Kaitangata Coal Mining Company, Registered.

No 38785. RECEIVED AT 1.45 O'CLOCK, ON THE 26th October, 1875.

John Cuddy, Dep: Reg:

Vol. 52. Fol. 99. p. 219.

Copy Lease of Coal Mines.

This Deed, made the twentieth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, between WILLIAM AITCHISON, of North Molyneux district, in the Province of Otago, and Colony of New Zealand, settler, hereinafter called the Lessor of the one part, and The Kaitangata Coal-Mining Company (Registered), hereinafter called the Lessees of the other part: WITNESSETH that the lessor doth hereby demise unto the lessees,

their successors, and assigns, ALL AND SINGULAR the coal mines, beds, or seams of coal, situate and lying at, upon, and underneath that section or parcel of land containing by admeasurement fifty-five acres, more or less, being section numbered four, block three, North Molyneux district, in the said Province, as the said section is delineated on the plan in the margin hereof, and colored red; EXCEPTING however, that portion of the said land which, with its admeasurements and abuttals, is shewn on the said plan, and colored yellow, being land already conveyed to one Charles Taylor: AND ALSO full and free liberty, license, power, and authority to dig, sink, work, drive, and make such mines, cuttings, quarries, pits, shafts, adits, trenches, soughs, drifts, leats, and water-gates as the lessees, their successors, or assigns shall think proper, in and upon any part or parts of the said section of land for the procuring of coal in or from the said beds, or seams of coal, or any of them, and for avoiding and carrying off water, foul airs, and slyth therefrom : AND ALSO to make use of such ground room, heap room, and pit room as shall be necessary for laying the coal that shall from time to time be got out of such pits, or the stones, gravel, earth, and other refuse and rubbish which shall from time to time be brought to the surface in the course of working the said beds or seams of coal: AND ALSO, to take, lead, and carry away with carts, waggons, and other carriages all the coal raised and got out of the said mines through, over, and along all or any part of the said section of land the most convenient way or ways, to any place or places, where the same shall be delivered: AND ALSO, in and upon the said land to make, fix, or place any roads, ways, or bridges as occasion shall require: AND ALSO, in and upon such part of the said section of land, not exceeding in admeasurement two acres, as the lessees, their successors, or assigns, shall, within six months from the date hereof, select to make, set up, and build, and also to pull down and re-erect all such fire and other engine-houses, stables, dwelling-houses, cabins, huts, sheds, walls, jetties, and other erections as shall from time to time be necessary or convenient for the working all or any of the said beds or seams of coal, or for getting or procuring the coal therein or therefrom, or for converting the same in any manner for use, or for laying up or stacking the same, or for more effectually exercising all, or any of the liberties, powers, and authorities hereinbefore granted : AND ALSO, for the purpose of making any such roads, bridges, engine-houses, stables, dwelling-houses, cabins, huts, sheds, jetties, walls, and other erections as aforesaid, to dig, take, and lead away any stone or other materials convenient or suitable for those purposes; together with full power, license, and authority to cut down, remove, and carry away all such timber for firewood, or for the necessary purposes of the mines, from any part of the said section of land as may be necessary for the proper working of the said mines and for domestic use by the miners, and also for building such houses, huts, bridges, jetties, or sheds, as aforesaid, upon the land; together with the use of all waters and watercourses arising or running within the said section of land, with liberty to divert and turn such waters and water-courses, and to cut or place any leats, channels, or races, for conducting or conveying the same in through or over any part or parts of the said land for the purpose of more effectually exercising and enjoying the liberties, powers, and authorities hereby granted; EXCEPTING, always, and reserving unto the lessor, his heirs, and assigns, or other the tenant or tenants, occupier or occupiers, for the time being, of the said section of land, and their workmen and servants, free liberty and authority, with or without horses, cattle, carts, waggons, and other carriages to pass, and go along, upon, and across the roads, waggonways, or tramways, bridges, and jetties which may be constructed on the said parcel of land, or in connection therewith, at such time or times as he or they shall think proper, he or they doing or causing no injury nor obstruction to the property or works of the lessees, their successors, or assigns. AND ALSO, excepting and reserving unto the lessor, his heirs or assigns, and his or their agents, workmen or servants, free liberty and authority at all convenient times to enter upon the said mines and premises, and to view the state thereof, and to inspect, examine, and measure the said mines, pits, shafts, or seams and premises, and to use the tackle, ropes, and other conveniences within or upon the said mines, pits, shafts or jetties, or belonging thereto, as often as he or they shall think proper for the purposes aforesaid: TO HAVE, HOLD, USE, EXERCISE AND ENJOY the said bods or seams of coal, liberties, licenses, powers, authorities, and All and singular other the premises hereby granted and demised or expressed, and intended so to be unto the lessees, their successors and assigns, for and during the term of EIGHTY-FOUR YEARS, computing from the twenty-third day of October, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two : YIELDING AND PAYING therefor (subject however to the provision for a reservation of royalty next hereinafter contained) during the said term, the yearly rent of one hundred pounds sterling, by equal quarterly payments, on the twenty-third day of January, the twenty-third day of April, the twenty-third day of July, and the twenty-third day of October in each year; TOGETHER with a rent, in the nature of a royalty, at the rate of one shilling for every ton of coal mined and carried away during each such quarter of a year, such rent to be ascertained and paid on the days hereinbefore mentioned: PROVIDED however, and it is hereby expressly declared and agreed by and between the said parties hereto, that if the rent ascertained, and paid as for royalty in any quarter of a year, shall exceed the sum of twenty-five pounds, then for such quarter of a year, the annual rent, other than royalty hereinbefore reserved, shall not be payable, it being the true intention of the parties hereto, that the lessor, his heirs or assigns shall in any event receive as and for a minimum rent at the rate of one hundred pounds per annum, whether or not coal

may be raised or mined, so that if the royalty shall in any quarter of a year exceed the sum of twenty-five pounds, then the minimum rent shall merge in the royalty, and the said lessor, his heirs or assigns, shall not receive in any one quarter, both rent and royalty together. And the said lessees do hereby, for themselves, their successors and assigns, covenant with the lessor, his heirs and assigns, in manner following, that is to say, that they, the said lessees, their successors and assigns shall and will pay, or cause to be paid, the rent hereinbefore reserved at the times and in the manner hereinbefore mentioned or appointed for the payment thereof; and also all present and future rates, taxes, charges, or assessments, and outgoings whatsoever, payable or chargeable, whether by or on the landlord or tenant, in respect of the said mines and premises hereby demised: AND ALSO shall and will in all cases, pay or cause to be paid, unto the lessor, his heirs or assigns, for the benefit of him and them, and Ms and their tenants respectively, such sum or sums of money as may be agreed upon or (in case of difference or dispute) as shall be determined by arbitration in manner hereinafter mentioned, by way of compensation for any injury or damage which may be done by them or their agents, servants or workmen, to growing crops and artificial grasses and buildings upon the said land: AND ALSO, that it shall and may be lawful for the lessor, his heirs or assigns, to recover the amount of the compensation agreed upon or awarded by the arbitrators, by distress upon the demised premises in the same manner as the annual rent hereinbefore reserved may be recovered; AND ALSO, shall and will from time to time, and at all times during the term hereby granted, fence and defend with proper and suitable posts, rails, fences, or walls, all pits, shafts, adits, or holes, which shall be made or sunk by them upon the said section of land, or any part thereof; AND ALSO shall and will during the said term, do as little injury or damage as possible to the surface of the said land, or the buildings, walls, fences, or other property thereon, and shall not, nor will injure or endanger the houses or buildings of the lessor, his heirs or assigns, or his or their tenants, by undermining the foundations of the same, or any them: AND ALSO, shall not, nor will during the said term, without the consent in writing of the lessor, his heirs or assigns, first obtained, get, or procure stone or timber from any part of the said section of land, except stone for use on the said land or timber for use in the mines, or for jetties or fences and buildings or for firewood for domestic purposes, nor remove the same from the said land without the like consent. AND ALSO, shall and will before the expiration of the said term, fill up all pits, shafts, and adits, sunk or made by them, unless the lessor, his heirs or assigns, shall be desirous that the same shall be left open, and of such his or their desire, shall give three calendar months previous notice in writing to the said lessees, their successors or assigns; and shall and will, during the whole of the said term, work the mines in a proper manner, according to the rules of good mining, and keep the shafts and mines or drives supported with sufficient and proper supports, and keep all roadways, bridges, jetties, and water-courses in good repair, and keep correct plans of the workings. AND ALSO, shall and will keep a proper book or books with checks, for the entry of all coal mined and removed; and will, on the first day of each month, deliver to the lessor, his heirs or assigns, if he or they shall so require, a full, true, and correct account of the tonnage of all coals mined and removed during the month. AND ALSO, shall permit the lessor, his heirs or assigns, at any time upon demand for that purpose made to inspect the said books, and make copies of or extracts therefrom. AND ALSO, shall and will, at the end or other sooner determination of the said term, peaceably and quietly leave, surrender, yield and give up the demised premises unto the lessor, his heirs or assigns. AND ALSO : shall and will peaceably and quietly permit and suffer the lessor, his heirs or assigns, and his and their agents, servants, or workmen, at all convenient times, to enter upon the demised premises and view the state thereof, and to inspect, examine, and measure the mines, pits, shafts, engines, jetties, and buildings, on the demised premises, or in connection therewith; and for the purposes aforesaid to use the tackle, ropes, buckets, and other conveniences within the said mines, pits, shafts, or jetties, or belonging thereto, as often as he or they shall think proper. PROVIDED ALWAYS : and it is hereby agreed and declared that when and so often as any injury shall have been done by the lessees, their successors or assigns, or their agents, servants, or workmen, to growing crops, artificial grasses, buildings, or fences, as hereinbefore mentioned, the sum or sums of money to be paid as compensation for such injury or damages, shall be ascertained as follows :—that is to say, the said lessor, his heirs or assigns, or agent, shall (either of his own or their own accord, or at the instance and request of any tenant or occupier of the buildings, fences, or property aforesaid, so injured or damaged as aforesaid) by notice in writing to be given to the lessees, their successors or assigns, claim a compensation for such injury or damage; and each of the parties shall within ten days after such notice shall have been delivered, appoint an arbitrator to ascertain the sum or sums to be so paid as a compensation, and if the lessees, their successors or assigns, shall neglect within the said ten days to appoint their arbitrator, then the arbitrator named by the lessor, his heirs or assigns, shall appoint an arbitrator to act for the lessees, their successors or assigns, and the arbitrators so appointed as aforesaid shall appoint a third person to act with them, and the determination of such three persons, or of the majority of them, as to the sum or sums to be so paid as a compensation, shall be binding and conclusive on both the said parties. PROVIDED ALSO, and it is hereby agreed between the said parties to these presents, that if the lessees, their successors or assigns, shall be desirous of determining the said term of eighty-four years at the end of the first twenty-one

years or forty-two years or sixty-three years of the said term, and of such their desire shall deliver to the lessor, his heirs or assigns, or leave at his or their usual place or places of abode not less than six calendar months' notice next before the expiration of such twenty-one, or forty-two, or sixty-three years, and shall pay and discharge all arrears of rent, and perform all and every the covenants and conditions hereinbefore contained, and on their part to be fulfilled, then and in such case at the end of such twenty-one, or forty-two, or sixty-three years, as the case may be, the said term hereby granted shall absolutely cease and determine. AND ALSO, that if the lessees, their successors or assigns, shall be desirous of determining the said term of eighty-four years at any time during the said term, and of such their desire shall deliver to the lessor, his heirs or assigns, or leave at his or their usual place or places of abode not less than six calendar months' notice before such determination shall take place, and shall pay and discharge all arrears of rent, and perform and fulfil all and every the covenants and conditions hereinbefore contained, and on their part to be performed and fulfilled, and shall pay to the lessor, his heirs, or assigns, a sum of five hundred pounds sterling as compensation, then, and in such case at the end of six months from the time when such notice shall have been delivered or left as aforesaid the said term of eighty-four years hereby granted shall absolutely cease and determine. And the lessor doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant with the lessees, their successors, and assigns, that the lessor, his heirs, or assigns, and his and their tenant or tenants, occupier or occupiers, for the time being of the land hereby demised, shall not, nor will, during the term of this demise, cut down any timber on any part of the said section of land except for mining, agricultural, or domestic purposes, nor remove the same from the said land: PROVIDED ALWAYS and it is hereby expressly declared and agreed by and between the said parties hereto that the lessees, their successors, or assigns performing the covenants and conditions herein contained may at any time within thirty days after the expiration of this demise, remove the machinery and trade fixtures from the said land. AND THAT if the rent hereby reserved shall be in arrear for twenty-one days after any day whereon the same ought to be paid, or if the lessees, their successors, or assigns shall neglect to work, or shall abandon the said mine for sixty consecutive days, or in case of the breach or non-observance of any of the covenants herein contained, and on the tenant's part to be observed and performed then, and in either of the said events or cases it shall be lawful for the lessor, his heirs, or assigns to re-enter upon the demised premises, and the same to repossess as in his or their former estate, and that without making any formal or other demand of rent, and notwithstanding that no such demand shall have been made, and such reentry shall not release any security current with these presents in the nature of a bond or otherwise. IN WITNESS WHEREOF these presents have been executed by, or on behalf of, the said parties hereto the day and year first above written.

Signed by the above named William Aitchison, in the presence of William Aitchison

Henry S. Rennert, Clerk, Balclutha,

THE COMMON SEAL of the Kaitangata Coal-mining Company Registered) was hereto affixed by Thomas Thompson Ritchie and Reginald Macdonald, two of the Directors of the said Company, and Robert Grigor, Legal Manager of the said Company, who also signed and delivered these presents as the act and deed of the said Company, in the presence of

L.S.

T.T. Ritchie, Regd. MacDonald. Directors

Robert Grigor, Legal Manager.

Henry S. Rennert, Clerk, Balclutha.

Copy Lease of Coal Mines.

Copy.

No. 175.

Lease of Sections

14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20, block IX, situated in the Kaitangata District.

William Aitchison, Lessor.

Kaitangata Coal Mining Company, Registered. Lessees.

Particulars entered in the Register Book, vol. 3, folio 191, the fourth day of November, 1875, at 12 o'clock.

D. F. Main,

District Land Registrar of the District of Otago.

Received at 2.5 o'clock, October 26th, 1875.

(L.S.) W.D.Smith.

Transfer No. 2219 of Lease No. 175, The Kaitangata Coal Mining Company, Registered, to the kaitangata Railway and Coal Company, Limited, received at 2.5 o'clock, 26th October, 1875.

D. F. Main, D.L.R.

Memorandum of Lease.

I, WILLIAM AITCHISON, of North Molyneux District, in the Province of Otago, Settler, being registered as Proprietor of an estate in fee simple, subject however, to such encumbrances, liens, and interests as are notified by memorandum, underwritten or endorsed hereon, in that piece of land situated in the Kaitangata District, containing by admeasurement, eight hundred and fifty eight acres and four poles, be the same, a little more or less, being country sections, marked respectively, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, and twenty, block nine on the map of the said district, comprised in certificate of title, volume 3, folio 191, DO hereby lease to THE KAITANGATA COAL MINING COMPANY (Registered) hereinafter called "the Lessees," ALL and singular the coal mines, beds, or seams of coal, situate and lying at, upon, and underneath the said parcel of land; AND ALSO full and free liberty, license, power, and authority to dig, sink, work, drive, and make such mines, cuttings, quarries, pits, shafts, adits, trenches, soughs, drifts, leats, and water gates, as the lessees, their successors or assigns shall think proper, in and upon any part or parts of the said parcel of land for the procuring of coal in or from the said beds, or seams of coal, or any of them, and for avoiding and carrying off water, foul airs, and slyth therefrom : AND ALSO, to make use of such ground room, heap room, and pit room, as shall be necessary for laying the coal that shall from time to time be got out of such pits, or the stones, gravel, earth, and other refuse and rubbish which shall from time to time be brought to the surface in the course of working the said beds or seams of coal: AND ALSO, to take, lead, and carry away with carts, waggons, and other carriages, all the coal raised and got out of the said mines, through, over, and along all or any parts or part of the said parcel of land, the most convenient way or ways to any place or places where the same shall be delivered; AND ALSO, in and upon the said land, to make, fix, or place any roads, ways, or bridges, as occasion shall require: AND ALSO, in and upon such part of the said parcel of land, not exceeding in admeasurement two acres, as the lessees, their successors or assigns, shall under this, or the lease hereinafter mentioned, collateral herewith select to make, set up and build, and also to pull down and re-erect, all such fire and other engine houses, stables, dwelling houses, cabins, huts, sheds, walls, jetties, and other erections as shall from time to time be necessary or convenient for the working all or any of the said beds or seams of coal, or for getting or procuring the coal therein or therefrom, or for converting the same in any manner for use, or for laying up, or stacking the same, or for more effectually exercising all or any of the liberties, powers, and authorities hereinbefore granted : AND ALSO, for the purpose of making any such roads, bridges, engine houses, stables, dwelling houses, cabins, huts, sheds, jetties, walls, and other erections as aforesaid, to dig, take, and lead away any stone or other materials, convenient, or suitable for those purposes, TOGETHER with full power, license, and authority to cut down, remove, and carry away all such timber for firewood, or for the necessary purposes of the mines from any part of the said parcel of land as may be necessary for the proper working of the said mines, and for domestic use by the miners, and also for building such houses, huts, bridges, jetties, or sheds as aforesaid upon the land : TOGETHER with the use of all waters and water-courses, arising or running within the said parcel of land, with liberty to divert and turn such waters and water-courses, and to cut or place any leats, channels, or races for conducting or conveying the same in, through, or over any part or parts of the said land for the purpose of more effectually exercising and enjoying the liberties, powers, and authorities hereby granted; EXCEPTING always and reserving unto the lessor, his heirs and assigns, or other the tenant or tenants, occupier or occupiers for the time being of the said parcel of land, and their workmen and servants free liberty and authority, with or without horses, cattle, carts, waggons, and other carriages to pass and go along, upon, and across the roads, waggon-ways, and tramways, bridges, and jetties, which may be constructed on the said parcel of land, or in connection therewith, at such time or times as he or they shall think proper, he or they doing or causing no injury nor obstruction to the property or works of the lessees, their successors or assigns: AND ALSO, excepting and reserving unto the lessor, his heirs or assigns, and his or their agents, workmen or servants, free liberty and authority at all convenient times to enter upon the said mines and premises and to view the state thereof, and to inspect, examine, and measure the said mines, pits, shafts, or seams, and premises, and to use the tackle, ropes, or other conveniences within or upon the said mines, pits, shafts, or jetties, or belonging thereto, as often as he or they shall think proper for the purposes aforesaid; TO BE HELD by them, the said lessees, their successors and assigns as tenants for the space of eighty-four years, computing from the twenty-third day of October, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, at the yearly rental (subject however to the provision for a reservation of royalty hereinafter contained) of one hundred pounds sterling, by equal quarterly payments on the twenty-third day of January, the twenty-third day of April, the twenty-third day of

July, and the twenty-third day of October in each year: TOGETHER with a rent in the nature of a royalty at the rate of one shilling for every ton of coal mined and carried away during such quarter of a year, such rent to be paid on the days hereinbefore mentioned, subject to the following covenants, conditions, and restrictions. That if the rent ascertained and paid as for royalty in any quarter of a year, shall exceed the sum of twenty-five pounds, then for such quarter of a year, the annual rent, other than royalty hereinbefore reserved, shall not be payable, it being the true intention of the parties hereto, that the lessor, his heirs or assigns, shall in any event receive, as and for a minimum rent, at the rate of one hundred pounds per annum, whether or not coal may be raised or mined, so that if the royalty shall, in any quarter of a year, exceed the sum of twenty-five pounds, then the minimum rent shall merge in the royalty, and the lessor, his heirs or assigns, shall not receive in any one quarter, both rent and royalty together. AND that the lessees, their successors or assigns, shall and will pay or cause to be paid, the rent hereinafter reserved at the times and in the manner hereinbefore mentioned or appointed for the payment thereof : AND ALSO, all present and future rates, taxes, charges, or assessments and outgoings whatsoever payable or chargeable, whether by or on the landlord or tenant in respect of the said mines and premises hereby leased: AND ALSO, shall and will in all cases, pay or cause to be paid unto the lessor, his heirs or assigns, for the benefit of him and them, and his and their tenants respectively, such sum or sums of money as may be agreed upon or (in case of difference or dispute) as shall be determined by arbitration, in manner hereinafter mentioned by way of compensation for any injury or damage which may be done by them or their agents, servants, or workmen, to growing crops and artificial grasses and buildings upon the said land: AND ALSO, that it shall and may be lawful for the lessor, his heirs or assigns, to recover the amount of the compensation agreed upon or awarded by the arbitrators, by distress upon the leased premises, in the same manner as the annual rent hereinbefore reserved may be recovered: AND ALSO, shall and will from time to time, and at all times during the term hereby granted, fence and defend, with proper and suitable posts, rails, fences, or walls, all pits, shafts, adits, or holes, which shall be made or sunk by them upon the said parcel of land, or any part thereof: AND ALSO, shall and will during the said term, do as little injury or damage as possible to the surface of the said land, or the buildings, walls, fences, or other property thereon, and shall not, nor will injure or endanger the houses or buildings of the lessor, his heirs or assigns, or his or their tenants, by undermining the foundations of the same, or any of them; AND ALSO, shall not nor will, during the said term, without the consent in writing of the lessor, his heirs or assigns, first obtained, get or procure stone, or timber from any part of the said parcel of land, except stone, for use on the said land or timber for use in the mines, or for jetties or fences, and buildings, or for firewood for domestic purposes, nor remove the same from the said land without the like consent: AND ALSO, shall, and will, before the expiration of the said term fill up all pits, shafts, and adits sunk and made by them unless the lessor, his heirs or assigns shall be desirous that the same shall be left open, and of such, his or their desire, shall give three calendar months' previous notice in writing to the lessees, their successors, or assigns, and shall, and will, during the whole of said term, work the mines in a proper manner according to the rules of good mining, and keep the shafts and mines or drives supported with sufficient and proper supports, and keep all roadways, bridges, jetties, and watercourses in good repair, and keep correct plans of the workings : AND ALSO, shall and will keep a proper book or books with checks for the entry of all coal mined and removed, and will on the first day of each month deliver to the lessor, his heirs, or assigns, if he or they shall so require, a full, true, and correct account of the tonnage of all coals mined and removed during the month; AND ALSO shall permit the lessor, his heirs, or assigns, at any time upon demand for that purpose made, to inspect the said books and make copies of, or extracts therefrom : AND ALSO, shall and will at the end or other sooner determination of the said term peaceably and quietly leave, surrender, yield, and give up the leased premises unto the lessor, his heirs, or assigns: AND ALSO, shall and will peaceably and quietly permit and suffer the lessor, his heirs, or assigns, and his and their agents, servants, or workmen at all convenient times to enter upon the leased premises, and view the state thereof, and to inspect, examine, and measure the mines, pits, shafts, engines, jetties, and buildings on the leased premises, or in connection therewith, and for the purposes aforesaid, to use the tackle, ropes, buckets, and other conveniences within the said mines, pits, shafts, or jetties, or belonging thereto, as often as he or they shall think proper: AND ALSO, that when and so often as any injury shall have been done by the lessees, their successors, or assigns, or their agents, servants, or workmen to growing crops, artificial grasses, buildings, or fences as hereinbefore mentioned, the sum or sums of money to be paid as compensation for such injury or damages shall be ascertained as follows, that is to say : THAT the lessor, his heirs, or assigns or agent shall (either of his or their own accord, or at the instance and request of any tenant or occupier of the buildings, fences, or property so injured or damaged as aforesaid) by notice in writing to be given to the lessees, their successors, or assigns, claim a compensation for such injury or damage, and each of the parties shall within ten days after such notice shall have been delivered appoint an arbitrator to ascertain the sum or sums to be so paid as a compensation, and if the lessees, their successors, or assigns shall neglect within the said ten days to appoint their arbitrator, then the arbitrator named by the lessor, his heirs, or assigns, shall appoint an arbitrator to act for the lessees, their successors, or assigns,

and the arbitrators so appointed as aforesaid shall appoint a third person to act with them, and the determination of such three persons, or of the majority of them, as to the sum or sums to be so paid as a compensation shall be binding and conclusive on both the said parties. AND IT IS HEREBY AGREED between the parties hereto that if the lessees, their successors, or assigns shall be desirous of determining the said term of eighty-four years at the end of the first twenty-one years, or forty-two years, or sixty-three years of the said term, and of such their desire shall deliver to the lessor, his heirs or assigns, or leave at his or their usual place or places of abode not less than six calendar months' notice next before the expiration of such twenty-one, or forty-two, or sixty-three years, and shall pay and discharge all arrears of rent and perform all and every the conditions hereinbefore contained, and on their part to be fulfilled, then and in such case at the end of such twenty-one, or forty-two, or sixty-three years, as the case may be, the said term hereby granted shall absolutely cease and determine: AND ALSO, that if the lessees, their successors, or assigns shall be desirous of determining the said term of eighty-four at any time during the said term, and of such their desire shall deliver to the lessor, his heirs, or assigns, or leave at his or their usual place or places of abode not less than six calendar months' notice before such determination shall take place, and shall pay and discharge all arrears of rent, and perform and fulfil all and every the conditions hereinbefore contained, and on their part to be performed and fulfilled, and shall pay to the lessor, his heirs, or assigns a sum of five hundred pounds sterling as compensation then, and in such case at the end of six months from the time when such notice shall have been delivered, or left as aforesaid, the said term of eighty-four years, hereby granted, shall absolutely cease and determine : AND ALSO, that the lessor, his heirs, or assigns, and his and their tenant or tenants, occupier or occupiers, for the time being, of the land hereby leased, shall not, nor will, during the term of this lease, cut down any timber on any part of the said parcel of land except for mining, agricultural, or domestic purposes, nor remove the same from the said land : AND ALSO, that the lessees, their successors, or assigns performing the conditions herein contained may at any time within thirty days after the expiration of this lease remove the machinery and trade fixtures from the said land. AND IT IS HEREBY EXPRESSLY DECLARED that if the rent hereby reserved shall be in arrear for twenty-one days after any day whereon the same ought to be paid, or if the lessees, their successors, or assigns shall neglect to work, or shall abandon the said mine for sixty consecutive days, or in case of the breach or non observance of any of the conditions herein contained, and on the tenant's part to be fulfilled, then and in either of the said events or cases wherever, the words "six calendar months" occur throughout sub-section two of section fifty-six of the "Land Transfer Act, 1870," the words "twenty-one days" shall, for the purpose of this lease, be substituted therefor, so that said sub-section which is implied herein shall, in the reading and construction of this lease, be read and construed as if the said words "twenty-one days" had been inserted therein instead of the aforesaid words "six calendar months." AND IT IS HEREBY DECLARED that this lease shall be collateral with a certain deed of lease bearing date the twentieth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, made between the said lessor of the one part and the said lessees of the other part, whereby the lessor demised to the lessees, their successors, and assigns part of section four, block three, North Molyneux District, in the Province of Otago aforesaid, for a term commensurate with the term hereby granted, at the same rent and subject to like covenants and conditions as are herein contained, and that this lease and the said deed of lease shall be read and construed as one lease, and that there are not two separate rents, but if the rent on one lease shall be paid, the rent purporting to be payable by the other lease shall not be enforceable or enforced. AND IT IS HEREBY LASTLY DECLARED that the necessity for two leases has been caused by reason that the land comprised in the said deed of lease has not been brought under the provisions of the "Land Transfer Act, 1870," and the lands comprised in this lease have been brought under the provisions of the said Act.

The Kaitangata Coal Mining Company, (Registered), DO hereby accept this lease of the above described lands to be held by them as tenants, and subject to the conditions, restrictions, and covenants above set forth.

Dated this eighteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five.

THE COMMON SEAL of the Kaitangata Coalmining Company (Registered) was hereunto affixed in the presence of L.S. T. T. Ritchie, Reginald Macdonald Directors.

Signed by the above-named Wm. Aitchison as lessor, this eighteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, in the presence of William Aitchison.

Robert Grigor, Surveyor, Balclutha.

The Standard Fire and Marine Insurance Company of New Zealand, mortgagees of the land above described, hereby consent to this lease.

THE COMMON SEAL of the Standard Fire and Marine Insurance Company of New Zealand was hereunto affixed in the presence of L.S.

Charles Reid, Manager of the said Company.

Memorandum of Mortgage. No. 645. William Aitchison to The Standard Fire and Marine Insurance Company of New Zealand.

Ferguson & Mitchell, Printers, Princes Street, Dunedin.

The Kaitangata Railway & Coal Company, Limited.
Report and Valuation of Railway by Mr. W. N. Blair, *Civil Engineer*.
Fergusson & Mitchell, Printers Dunedin Princes Street

Report and Valuation of Railway.

Dunedin, THE DIRECTORS OF THE KAITANGATA RAILWAY AND COAL COMPANY.

30TH JUNE, 1876.

GENTLEMEN,

In accordance with your request, I have the honor to submit the following report on the KAITANGATA RAILWAY and COAL MINE.

Situation.

THE KAITANGATA BRANCH RAILWAY leaves the Main Trunk Line at the Stirling Station on the northern bank of the Clutha River, and runs eastward to the Township and Coal Field of Kaitangata, a distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The Branch passes right through the Township of Kaitangata, and strikes the Coal Field, about the middle of the western margin; it also runs close to the Clutha River at this point, which is practically the head of the deep water navigation. This line is, to all intents and purposes, the one recommended by me to the Provincial Government of Otago in 1873 (see "Votes and Proceedings of Provincial Council, Session XXXII"), and it is the shortest route by which the Coal Field can be brought into direct communication with the markets on all sides. The following table shows the distance by rail from your line to the different centres of population:—

Character of Works.

The Railway is constructed generally to the same standard as the main line. From the junction to the township, the line is practically straight and level, the only curve being 90 chains radius, and the steepest gradient 1 in 440, but the last 30 chains, leading into the mine, has four curves of $7\frac{1}{2}$ chains radius, and gradients of from 1 in 30 to 1 in 42. These steep gradients are in favor of the traffic, consequently are an advantage in working the line.

The following notes give the leading features of the works—Land enclosed, 1 chain wide; Fencing, ditch, mound, four wires and top rail; Gates, as on main line; Formation, 12 feet wide; Bridges and Culverts of totara and matai timber, according to the General Government Standard Drawings; Sleepers, 7 feet x 8 inches x $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, about 2,000 to the mile; Ballast, gravel about $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubic yards per yard forward; Rails, 40lbs per yard, Government pattern, joined with fish-plates, and fastened to the sleepers by dog-spikes.

The Station Buildings at Kaitangata consist of an engine shed, 31 feet by 19 feet, a goods shed, 42 feet by 21 feet, and a passenger platform, 100 feet by 12, all of the best timber and iron. The passenger house at Kaitangata Station is not erected yet. A substantial and convenient stage is built at the entrance to the mine, so that the coal is emptied at once from the miners' trucks into the railway waggons. Generally the works on the Kaitangata Railway are well designed, suitable for the purposes for which they were intended, and faithfully built with the best materials.

Rolling Stock.

The only rolling stock hitherto provided consists of a locomotive and 25 sets of waggon ironwork. The former is a 10 ton tank engine, 0 wheels coupled, manufactured by Messrs. Davidson & Co., of Dunedin; it is well designed, and equal to English manufacture. In consequence of the easy gradients, this locomotive is capable of hauling on the branch any load that can be taken by the heavy ones on the main line. The waggon ironwork is of the ordinary type, ready for erection—it was manufactured in England.

Mine.

The Company's lease gives them the privilege of mining over an area of 1000 acres, and the present mine

is opened near the middle of the western boundary. A drive of 100 yards into the slope of the hill strikes the coal at right angles to the seam, which at this point is 27 feet thick. I do not consider myself competent to make an estimate of the quantity of coal at this particular place, or in the whole ground leased by the Company, but when it is considered that a seam of equal thickness exists at Coal Point on the sea coast, three miles due east from your mine, and that coal has been found in various places for two miles north and south, I do not think it is too much to assume that the greater part, if not the whole of your land, is occupied by a thick seam of coal.

So far as working is concerned, it would be almost impossible to find a mine which offers greater facilities than the Kaitangata one. As already stated, the railway runs right up to the entrance, and the coal is received into the waggons 100 yards from where it is got. Indeed, if necessary, the locomotive might be taken into the workings. The seam dips towards the railway, consequently, the drive and workings have a fall outwards, which ensures perfect drainage at a minimum cost. The horizontal drive, instead of a vertical shaft, effectually saves the heavy charges of lifting and pumping. The roof of the mine is at present hard cemented conglomerate, easily supported; but if heavier ground is met with, the cost of propping will not be great, as Kaitangata is one of the best timber districts in Otago.

Character of Coal.

Professor Black, of the Otago University, gives in his Annual Report for 1875, the following analysis of the Kaitangata Coal, which was, I understand, made from a sample picked up by himself on the ground.

at my request he has recently analysed four samples, which give the following mean result—

In contrast with these, I subjoin average results of analysis of eight samples of Tokomairiro and five of Green Island coals, also taken from Dr. Black's report for 1875.

From the above it will be seen that the Kaitangata Coal is at least 7 per cent, better than any local production that can be brought into competition with it. But this does not show the full measure of its superiority. The Kaitangata Coal has less sulphurous and other obnoxious gases in its composition, and makes a clearer and more cheerful fire than the other two; consequently, it is preferable for household purposes.

Valuation.

In making a valuation of the works of the Kaitangata Railway and Coal Company, I have taken them at what I consider a fair price as they stand, independent of any commercial or speculative value that may be attached to them, which also excludes any benefit derivable from the lease of the land. The following is the valuation under the various heads:—

General.

Although it is scarcely my province to do so, I shall, in conclusion, point out some of the advantages possessed by the Kaitangata Railway and Coal Mine, which amounts, in my opinion, to a guarantee of the success of the scheme, provided they are not neutralised by bad management, or some other extraneous cause.

The Railway runs to the centre of a thriving and rising district which, independent of its mineral wealth, has a large trade in timber and agricultural produce; this, in itself, would bring a fair traffic to the line.

In addition to its superior quality, which has already enabled the Kaitangata to compete successfully with the Green Island coal in the Dunedin market, it has the advantage of being nearer the country consumer. Those at Green Island are the only other large mines that have railway communication; and in the matter of distance alone, they cannot compete with the Kaitangata one further south than Waiholā, while all the country beyond is thickly settled, and badly supplied with fuel of any kind.

As already shewn, the cost of getting the Kaitangata coal can be reduced to a minimum. I do not know another mine in the Province that offers greater facilities for working. We may, therefore, set this against the extra railway carriage, and assume that the first cost of the coal delivered in Dunedin is not greater than that from the deep pits within six miles of the town.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,

W. N. Blair
, Civil Engineer.

Fergusson & Mitchell Printers, Princes Street, Dunedin.
Statement by the Directors of the Dunedin Water Works Company
With Reference to the Various

Negotiations Between the Corporation and the Company
For the Purchase of the Company's Works and Plant,
May 16, 1874.

Printed at the "Daily Times" Office Dunedin Rattray Street MDCCCLXXIV

The Water Works Question.

As some misunderstanding seems to have arisen in regard to the position of matters between the Corporation and the Water Works Company in the proposed sale of the Works, the Directors of the Company have thought it desirable to put the following facts before the public.

First—With reference to the alleged Contract for sale—or, as it is called, honourable engagement to sell—the facts are these:—

On the 21st June, 1872, at an extraordinary meeting of the Shareholders, Mr. Reynolds moved as follows: "That the Works be offered to the Corporation at £5 per Share premium on 5050 Shares allotted, on the conditions arranged with the Corporation, as per Report, and that the Collector receive six months' salary."

The result of the voting, counting Shares, was 455 as against 305—leaving, apparently, a majority of 150 in favour of the motion, but, in reality, a minority of 115 of the number (three-fourths) necessary to constitute a majority, though this necessity was not known to the Directors at the time. At the same time, it was distinctly promised to the Shareholders that a deed should be prepared, and submitted to the Shareholders for confirmation, before the property actually passed. In pursuance of that Resolution, the Directors entered into a written agreement with the City Corporation, by which they agreed, on behalf of the Company, to sell the Water Works to the Corporation at the price named in the Resolution, subject to certain special conditions, among which were the following: that the sale should be completed on or before the 1st of January, 1873; *and that time should be deemed of the essence of the contract.*

During the Session of Assembly immediately following this meeting the Dunedin Gas and Water Works Loan Act, 1872, was passed, at the instance of the Corporation. In that Act is the following clause: "Nothing herein, or in the Municipal Corporations Water Works Act, 1872, contained, shall be deemed to authorise the Dunedin Water Works Company to sell the Water Works of such Company, except under the authority of a special resolution of the Shareholders of such Company *to be hereafter passed.*" And in the same Session, another Act was passed, called "The Municipal Corporations Water Works Act, 1872," which contained provisions requiring the Corporation to give three months' public notice of their intention to purchase or construct Water Works, and empowering two-fifths of the Citizens to interpose, and by their veto prevent the Corporation from entering upon either undertaking. The Directors, neither directly nor indirectly, had anything to do with the insertion of those provisions in the two Acts; but the effect of them was, that, apart from its original infirmity of not having been passed by a sufficient majority, the Resolution of the Company at once fell to the ground, and the Corporation were disabled from completing the attempted purchase within the time purposely limited by the Directors.

At a General Meeting of Shareholders, convened on February 7, 1873, the following motion was made by the Chairman: "That the works and plant be sold to the Corporation at £15 per Share on all the Shares allotted, as per agreement submitted as per Dunedin Gas and Water Works Loan Act, 1872." Before the voting on this motion, the Chairman was asked: "Is it to be part of the bargain that every Shareholder can have the amount due to him in Corporation Debentures at six per cent?" The answer was: "Yes. Any Shareholder can have all, or any portion of his purchase money in Corporation Debentures at six per cent." Another question was: "How long will these Debentures run before they can be redeemed?" The answer was: "Fifty years. The Shareholders will get Six per Cent. Debentures for fifty years." (*Vide* "Daily Times" report.) The voting upon this motion stood thus: 838 for the motion, and 575 against it—leaving, apparently, a majority in favour of the motion of 263, but, in reality, a minority of 221 of the number (three-fourths) necessary to constitute a majority—though this was not known to the Directors at the time.

The Directors being thus apparently, but, as it was afterwards discovered, not really, armed with authority to revive the former (supposed) contract, placed themselves in communication with the City Council, and then the Corporation found that they could only give thirty years' Debentures, and this fact was communicated by the Mayor, Mr. Fish, to the Chairman of the Company, accompanied with threats of agitation and compulsion, if the Company did not sell to the Corporation and accept of thirty years' Debentures instead of fifty; and subsequently, on the 18th February, the same fact—*i.e.*, the inability of the Corporation—was communicated officially by the Town Clerk to the Directors, and accepted by the latter as an intimation that all negotiations were at an end. Some time afterwards it was discovered by the Directors that a majority of three-fourths of the Shareholders was necessary to pass any such motion as had been proposed, and consequently that there *never*

was any motion whatever passed by the Shareholders which, either morally or legally, bound the Company to sell to the Corporation.

On the 9th May, 1873, the Corporation wrote to the Company, threatening, if the Directors declined taking the thirty years' Debentures, that they would "apply to Parliament at the ensuing Session for the repeal of the Company's rating power, improperly held by a Company which is unable to supply the wants of the inhabitants of the City and suburbs." To this communication the Directors replied by simply acknowledging receipt, considering as they did that the Corporation had thus entered upon a course wholly unjustified by the circumstances—a course which, if persevered in, would disentitle the Corporation to any favour or concession on the part of the Company, and more than justified the latter in acting upon the rule which usually governs the sale of property—that of obtaining its fair value.

The Corporation proceeded to carry their threat into execution, and by a Petition which contained gross misstatements asked Parliament to take away the Company's right to levy rates, and to withdraw the Government guarantee. The General Assembly threw out the Petition without calling on the Company for an explanation, and thus the Company was left (as in point of fact it always had been, and as the Corporation themselves practically acknowledged, by afterwards making an entirely new offer of £16 per Share) perfectly free to sell at such price, and on such conditions, as it might decide upon; and accordingly, on the 27th October, 1873, the Shareholders, in General Meeting, passed the following Resolutions:—

RESOLVED—1. That in accordance with the recommendation of the Board, the Works and Plant of the Company be sold to the Corporation.

2. That in consequence of the general rise and increasing value of the Company's property, the sum formerly offered by the Corporation and recently renewed of £15 per share does not represent the fair value of the Shares.

3. That the Directors be authorised to arrange with the Corporation to refer the question of the actual price to be paid for the Shares to a competent arbitrator or arbitrators, mutually chosen, of high social position and totally unconnected with this City or Province, both parties to be bound by his or their decision, subject to the conditions formerly contained in the draft agreement. The consent in writing of three-fourths of the Shareholders in number and value to be obtained before signing the submission.

It was during the discussion of these Resolutions that the offer of £16 per Share was made by the Corporation; and after a motion by a Shareholder that the Company should sell at that price had been put to the meeting and negatived, the above Resolutions were carried by the requisite three-fourths in number and value of the Shareholders, and were communicated to the Corporation by letter of November 3rd, in which the Secretary of the Company pointed out the difficulties in the way of any other settlement, assured the Corporation of the sincere desire of the Directors to co-operate with the Corporation in securing the Water Works for the City at their fair value; promised that the Directors would reciprocate a fair and honourable spirit in carrying out the negotiations; and reminded the Corporation that this was the first offer by which the Shareholders were legally bound. This offer the Corporation refused, in terms of marked discourtesy. See their letter of 25th November, 1873. And so the matter now stands.

Second—Objections have been made to the quality of the water supplied to Dunedin. It will be sufficient to say, that not one of the objections applies to the water in the Lower Reservoir, or to that supplied to the City, but to the Upper Reservoir, or settling basin, where all impurities coming down the creek are caught, and prevented from going into the Lower Reservoir, from whence the City is supplied.

It will be seen from the documents following that Professor Black says that hitherto there was no necessity for filtering the water, and no blame can therefore lie on the Company for neglect. The Directors now, however, on his recommendation, will construct filter beds so soon as the necessary funds can be raised under the Borrowing Bill which the Company propose to introduce at the ensuing Session of the General Assembly, but which the Corporation, with singular inconsistency, threaten to oppose.

The water supply of Glasgow and of Melbourne is not filtered, and the Dunedin water compares favourably with either.

The Directors are making arrangements to have the water periodically analysed by competent analysts, in order that the Citizens may, from time to time, have the most authentic information upon so important a subject.

By order of the Directors,

Thomas Dick, Secretary Dunedin Water Works Company.

Appendix.

SIR—I have the honour to report on six samples of water forwarded to me for analysis by the Corporation of Dunedin.

The samples were taken from different sources. They were not collected under my superintendence, but I have no reason to doubt that they represent fairly the average quality of the water at the different localities.

For the sake of comparison with other waters supplied to large communities, I have transferred to my tables analyses of samples from various parts of the world. Those given in Table I. [herewith enclosed] are copied from the list given in Watts' "Chemical Dictionary" (page 1016, Vol. V., 1869). I have converted his milligrammes per litre into grains per gallon; and his calcium, magnesium, sodium, &c., into lime, magnesia, soda, &c.

The examples I have quoted in Table II., [enclosed], I have transferred from Wanklyn and Chapman's treatise on Water Analysis, published in 1870.

The analysis of each of the samples of Dunedin water reported on was performed by myself in all its details. I am, therefore, responsible for any inaccuracies it may contain. In the total amount of *solid contents* Dunedin supply approximates closely to the water of the Clyde, above Glasgow, the Elbe, the Spree, and the Danube, which supply Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna. It contains more than the Manchester supply, in the ratio of 3 to 2. It contains less than the London supply, in the ratio of 1 to 3.

In this respect, therefore, the water supplied to Dunedin is far within the limits of water extensively used for domestic supply. The *softness* of the Dunedin water is accounted for by the smallness of the quantity of *lime* and *magnesia* salts it contains. This softness is an advantage for washing and cooking purposes, and for domestic use in general; also for supplying steam-boilers, as it is not so liable as harder water to deposit a crust on the inner surface of the boiler.

A harder water, containing a larger proportion of sulphate of lime, would be more suitable for brewing purposes. There is, perceptibly, more *iron* dissolved in the water taken from the taps in Dunedin, than as taken from the "Lower Larger Reservoir." The quantity, however, is not such as to render the water in the least degree objectionable. The *organic matter* returned in Table I., is a constituent of a far greater significance in a water intended for domestic use than any of the other constituents given in that table. Its amount was calculated in the usual way, from the loss sustained by ignition of the solid contents, due allowance being made for the carbonic acid and oxygen expelled. It will be seen on reference to the column headed "Organic Matter," in Table I., that the volatile organic matter in Dunedin water is approximately half as much as is contained in most of the water supplied to London, and nearly twice as much as contained in the Glasgow supply from Loch Katrine. I consider that on the whole it is not an excessive amount; and, when viewed in connection with columns headed "Ammonia," in Table II., it falls well within the returns reported for samples of water supplied to large communities.

The most objectionable form of organic matter is that which contains *Nitrogen* or *Nitrogenous organic matter*. The proportion of this impurity that has already undergone decomposition is indicated in Table II., under the headings "Ammonia already formed," which might be called "Free Ammonia," and "Nitrogen of Nitrates and Nitrites." The amount of nitrogenous organic matter existing in the water, and still undecomposed, is stated in the same table, under the heading "Ammonia derivable from organic matter." A little less or more of this impurity makes a great difference in the quality of water. The objection to "Free Ammonia" and "Nitrates and Nitrites" is not founded so much on the injurious properties of the substances themselves as on the indication they give of the existence of nitrogenous impurities from which they have been derived. The Ammonia not yet formed, but whose constituents are contained in the nitrogenous organic matter still undecomposed, has been appropriately termed "Albuminoid Ammonia." On this "Albuminoid Ammonia" chiefly depends the goodness or badness of a water intended for domestic use. Its amount is given in Table II., under the heading "Ammonia derivable from organic matter." It will be seen by reference to that table that the "Free Ammonia," or "Ammonia already formed, in the Dunedin water ranges from 0.01 to 0.08 parts in a million of water; the higher figure being quite exceptional, while the "Albuminoid Ammonia," or "Ammonia derivable from organic matter," is contained within the limits of 0.057 and 0.098 parts in a million parts of water.

By an enlargement of Table II., I might show, by additional examples, that the "Free Ammonia" in water supplied by the different London Companies ranges from 0.01 to 0.3 parts in a million; in the domestic supply of Manchester from 0.006 to 0.014 parts in a million; in the Edinburgh supply from 0.004 to 0.14; and in the Glasgow Loch Katrine water, as is seen by Table II., from .004 to . . . While the "Albuminoid Ammonia," or

"Ammonia still unformed" ranges in the London supply from 0.05 to 0.16, in the Manchester supply from 0.06 to 0.10, in the Edinburgh supply from 0.034 to 0.10, and in Glasgow supply, Loch Katrine, 0.08.

The amount of *Nitrates* and *Nitrites* will be seen on reference to Table II. to be not unduly large in the Dunedin supply.

Under the *microscope* (Nachet's construction, 400 diameters) the various samples submitted, while showing a considerable variety of organic forms, did not contain these in an unusual proportion, nor of such kinds as to render the water unfit for dietetic purposes.

On the whole, I consider the samples submitted for analysis a good soft water, well fitted for the domestic supply of a community.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

James G. Black.

J. M. Massey, Esq.,
Town Clerk of Dunedin.

Analysis of Fresh Water-Dunedin Supply, and Other Sources.

SOURCE. Total Solid Contents. Constituents of Total Solid Contents—Grains per Gallon. Grains per Gallon. Ca O, Lime. Mg O, Magnesia. Fe₂ O₃ Oxide of Iron. Al₂ O₃ Alumina. Na₂ O Soda. K₂ O Potash. SO₃ Sulphuric Acid. CO₂ Carbonic. Acid. Cl. Chlorine. Si O₂ Silica. Organic Matter. DUNEDIN—A. ROSS Creek, above Reservoir ... 6.9 0.415 1.30 DUNEDIN—B. Small or Upper Reservoir ... 7.14 0.40 0.94 1.38 DUNEDIN—C. Lower Larger Reservoir 6.70 0.53 0.16 0.09 0.33 0.85 0.40 0.36 0.96 0.79 0.87 1.25 DUNEDIN—No. 1. Dunedin Corporation Offices ... 6.11 0.47 Traces. 0.294 0.26 1.5 0.41 1.10 0.83 0.80 1.40 DUNEDIN—No. 2. Salutation Hotel 5.6 0.58 0.87 1.42 DUNEDIN—No. 3. Last House St. Andrew St.... 6.8 1.28 THAMES at Kew, as supplied by Grand Junction Co. 21.7 7.42 0.55 0.76 0.81 0.325 2.25 5.35 0.84 0.44 3.07 THAMES at Battersea, as supplied by South wark & V. Co. 21.07 7.34 0.6 0.333 1.056 0.725 2.415 5.32 1.16 0.76 1.49 THAMES at Chelsea, as supplied by Chelsea Co. ... 21.08 7.50 0.5 0.28 0.78 0.34 3.30 4.62 1.22 0.70 2.38 THAMES at Lambeth, as supplied by Lambeth Co. ... 20.39 6.65 0.7 0.85 1.04 0.50 2.19 4.70 1.17 1.04 2.59 LOCH KATRINE, for Glasgow Supply 1.98 0.186 0.08 ... 0.09 0.32 0.087 0.33 ... 0.798 CLYDE, a few miles above Glasgow 8.127 1.90 ... 0.14 ... 0.273 ... 0.458 1.61 0.58 0.21 1.12 RHINE at Strasburgh ... 16.219 5.74 0.163 0.406 0.175 0.43 ... 1.14 4.75 0.08 3.41 ... ELBE, near Hamburg ... 8.88 2.73 0.128 0.084 0.42 2.50 2.75 0.378 ... SPREE, at Berlin 7.98 2.54 0.30 ... 0.91 0.217 0.12 0.50 2.53 0.04 DANUBE, near Vienna ... 9.89 3.36 0.81 0.14 0.764 3.41 0.14 0.34 ...

Estimation of Hardness, Nitrogenous Organic Matter, Nitrates and Nitrites.

SOURCE. HARDNESS. Representing grains of Carbonate of Lime per gallon, or its equivalent in soap-consuming power. AMMONIA. Parts in one million, or seven hundredths of a grain per gallon. NITROGEN OF NITRATES AND NITRITES. Before Boiling. After Boiling. Already Formed. Derivable from Organic Matter, Albuminoid Ammonia. Grains per Gallon. DUNEDIN—Ross's Creek, above Reservoir ... 2.45 1.2 0.010 0.057 0.026 DUNEDIN—Small or Upper Reservoir ... 3.57 2.1 0.010 0.064 0.028 DUNEDIN—Lower Larger Reservoir 2.30 1.0 0.010 0.098 0.021 DUNEDIN—Salutation Hotel 2.55 1.0 0.080 0.069 0.070 DUNEDIN—Dunedin Corporation Offices ... 2.50 0.9 0.010 0.085 0.025 DUNEDIN—Last House in St. Andrew Street... 3.00 1.25 0.015 0 .061 0.021 DUNEDIN—Prof. Black's House, High Street... 2.7 1.10 0.040 0.075 0.035 LONDON SUPPLY—Moorgate Street 15.6 ... 0.015 0.084 0.250 LONDON SUPPLY—Southwark and Vauxhall Co. 0.015 0.15 ... MANCHESTER

SUPPLY—Brazenose Street 0.016 0.06 0.0007 MANCHESTER SUPPLY—Palatine Hotel 0.014 0.10 ... EDINBURGH SUPPLY—University Laboratory 0.004 0.07 ... EDINBURGH SUPPLY—Colinton Reservoir 0.14 0.08 ... GLASGOW SUPPLY—Loch Katrine 0.004 0.08 0.021 BALA LAKE—N. Wales 1.4 1.4 0.000 ELLESWATER—Westmoreland, England ... 1.33 0.98 0.003 LONDON SUPPLY—Lambeth Co. 14.1 ... 0.015 0.15 ... WELL, near Preston 1.726 *The average of these 7 samples of Dunedin water gives the Albuminoid Ammonia as 0.072; while that of Glasgow (Loch Katrine) is 0.080.

University Laboratory, DUNEDIN

11th April, 1874.

J. M. MASSEY, ESQ., TOWN CLERK.

SIR—In accordance with your instructions to me, dated 6th inst., I have the honour to report on the quality of the Dunedin Water Company's water. Three of the samples examined, marked A, B, C, in the subjoined table, were delivered at the Laboratory by one of your officers. The sample marked D, I collected at the Laboratory tap here. As my Report to you, dated 30th, June of last year, exhibits the results of a careful and exhaustive analysis of the water supplied to Dunedin at that time, I have not considered it necessary to do more at present than determine the proportion of *total solid residue* left on evaporation, and the proportion of *organic matter* in the several samples. The table subjoined shows the results I obtained under these two headings on the 9th of the present month, also the results obtained on the 25th of June of last year; and, for comparison, I have transferred from Watts' Dictionary of Chemistry corresponding results similarly obtained from river and lake waters supplied to London and other communities in various parts of Europe.

It will be seen from these results, that the water taken from the Corporation Offices' tap last week contains about 36 per cent, more organic matter than water taken from the same tap in last June. This increase of organic matter is probably to be accounted for by the circumstance that the present analysis was made at an earlier period of the year, before the cold weather has set in, and before the heavy rains of winter have swept away the looser vegetable growths.

Under the microscope (Nacht's, 400 diam.) the water taken from the Corporation and Laboratory taps does not show organisms in greater variety or in much greater proportion than I observed in June last.

The sample submitted from the Upper Reservoir, however, shows low cellular growth—confervæ, desmids, diatoms, &c.—in such abundance as to render that water, in its present condition, in my opinion, quite unfit for domestic use. In view of these results, showing so large an increase of organic matter, the water will not quite maintain the good character I was able to give it in my last Report. Though still within the limits of water extensively used for domestic purposes, it is, I think, desirable that something were done to improve its quality. A great improvement could be easily effected by causing the water to undergo, before entering the main, a process of filtration, either through a bed of sand and gravel, or these mixed with clay and powdered charcoal. By this means, the suspended impurities—vegetable growths, particles of clay, and the *débris* of plants—would be removed; and if charcoal were used, the dissolved organic impurities also to some extent.

If, in addition to some such process of filtration, the water were caused to flow for a few miles in the open air over a sandy or pebbly channel, so as to be exposed to the action of light and the oxydising influence of the atmosphere, it would rank, for domestic purposes, among the best waters supplied to any community.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

James G. Black, Provincial Analyst.

Total Solid Residue and Organic Matter in Grains Per Gallon.

SOURCE. TOTAL SOLID RESIDUE. ORGANIC MATTER, April 9, 1874 A.—Dunedin Small Upper Reservoir 8.7 ... 4.06 B.—Dunedin Large Lower Reservoir 6.18 ... 2.10 C.—Dunedin Corporation Offices 6.37 ... 1.90 D.—Dunedin University Laboratory Tap..... 6.30 ... 1.92 Thames at Kew, Great Junction Company 21.7 ... 3.07 Thames at Barnes, West Middlesex Company.....

22.67 ... 2.75 Thames at Battersea, Southwark and Vauxhall Co.. 21.07 ... 1.49 Thames at Chelsea, Chelsea Company 21.08 ... 2.38 Thames at Lambeth, Lambeth Company..... 20.39 ... 2.59 Thames at London Bridge 28.58 ... 7.00 Thames at Greenwich 27.98 ... 4.07 Ravensbourne, Kent, Kent Company (1851)..... 29.7 ... 2.61 New River, New River Company 19.4 ... 2.75 River Lea, East London Company..... 23.5 ... 4.13 Loch Katrine, Glasgow Supply 1.98 ... 0.79 Clyde, few miles above Glasgow..... 8.13 ... 1.12 Lake of Geneva..... 10.64 ... 0.42 Rhone at Lyons..... 11.86 ... 0.23 Manchester Water Supply (1864)..... 5.35 ... 0.75 Dunedin—Ross's Creek, above Reservoir (June, 1873) 6.9 ... 1.30 Dunedin—Small Upper Reservoir (June 25, 1873) ... 7.14 ... 1.33 Dunedin—Large Lower Reservoir (June 25, 1873)... 6.70 ... 1.25 Dunedin—Corporation Offices (June 25, 1873)..... 6.11 ... 1.40 Dunedin—Tap at Salutation Hotel (1873)..... 5.60 ... 1.42 Dunedin—Last House in St. Andrew St. (June, 1873) 6.80 ... 1.28

DUNEDIN,

23RD APRIL, 1874.

DR. BLACK,

DEAR SIR—As some misunderstanding appears to exist in the community with reference to your recent Report on the quality of the water supplied to Dunedin, will you oblige me by replying to the annexed questions? of course adding thereto any explanations you may consider necessary to prevent your replies being made use of unfairly, either for or against the quality of the water; my only object being to elicit the real facts in a form which all the public can understand.

Yours truly,

Robert Gillies.
Chairman of Directors of the Water Works Company,

UNIVERSITY LABORATORY, DUNEDIN,

25RD APRIL, 1874.

ROBERT GILLIES, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR—I have to acknowledge your communication of yesterday referring to my Report of 13th inst. on the Dunedin water, and requesting replies to a series of questions, "to elicit the real facts in a form which every one can understand."

Now I do not see how any one can fail to understand that Report, so far as it goes, especially if read in its true character, as a supplement to my Report of 30th June of last year.

It is not, as already explained, like the former Report, founded on a complete analysis of the water. It deals only with the *total solid residue*, and the *total organic matter* present in the water at the time of analysis. There is a column devoted to the results obtained under each of these two headings; the same columns also show the proportion of *total solid residue* and of *total organic matter* obtained from other well-known sources of water supply in various parts of Europe.

Every one, therefore, who reads my Report, has the means of comparing in these respects the Dunedin Company's water with the other waters quoted.

However, with the view of removing any misunderstanding that may exist, I shall with pleasure comply with your request.

J. G. Black, Provincial Analyst.

Questions and Answers.

Q. 1. Was the water marked A in your Schedule collected under your instructions? or has any evidence been submitted to you that that sample was collected in such a way as to ensure its being a fair sample from the small Upper Reservoir?

A. 1. No. Samples A B and C, as stated in my Report, were delivered in jars at the Laboratory. I made no

enquiries, nor was any information offered as to the manner in which they were collected.

Q. 2. From your knowledge of the Upper Reservoir, as a settling basin to catch all impurities coming down the creek, would you state whether you think it possible to take a sample of water from there (without any intention of acting unfairly) which would not be a fair sample of the whole water in that Reservoir?

A. 2. Yes. Water taken from the Upper Reservoir, just within the margin where confervas are abundant and luxuriant, would probably contain fragments of these plants in undue proportion. On the other hand, water obtained well within the Reservoir, but collected in such a manner that the vessel receiving it was not plunged several inches under the surface, would probably contain an undue proportion of light floating particles—dust, flies, feathers, fragments of plants, &c. In either case, the water so collected would not be an average sample of the water in the Reservoir.

Q. 3. Am I right in saying that your remark, that "that water in its present condition was quite unfit for domestic use," referred solely to that particular sample, and not to the water in the Lower Reservoir which supplies the City, or to any of the samples gathered from any of the taps in town?

A. 3. Yes. The words of my Report are: "The sample from the Upper Reservoir shows low cellular growths, confervæ, desmids, diatoms, &c., in such abundance as to render that water in its present condition, in my opinion, quite unfit for domestic use." I wish it to be clearly understood that the water which I characterised as above was the water contained in the jar delivered at the Laboratory, and labelled as having been taken from the Upper Reservoir. I had not, before making my Report, inspected the Upper Reservoir, and could not therefore judge with any certainty whether the sample sent to the Laboratory fairly represented the average quality of that water. Since writing my Report, however, I visited the Reservoirs to-day, and in justice to the Water Company must say that sample A of my Report does not fairly represent the water at present in the Upper Reservoir.

Q. 4. In regard to your statement that "the water taken from the Corporation Offices tap, last week, contains 36 per cent, more organic matter than water taken from the same tap in last June," am I right in saying that you do not mean thereby that 36 per cent, of every gallon of water is organic matter, but that 36 per cent, of the organic matter it contained before, which was 1.40 grains per gallon, or .5 of a grain, represents the increase of organic matter?—or, to put it in another form, am I right in saying that the total increase of organic matter alluded to amounts to half a grain in the gallon of water?

A. 4. Yes. It will be seen on reference to column headed "Organic Matter" in my Report of 13th inst. that one gallon of water taken from the tap at the Corporation Offices in June last year yielded 1.4 grains of organic matter; and that one gallon from the same tap this month yielded 1.9 grains of organic matter. The increase of organic matter this month as compared with the quantity of organic matter present in the water last June is therefore half a grain per gallon. This, as stated in my Report, is an increase of 36 per cent, on the quantity observed in June last. The same column also shews for this month an increase of 2.73 grains of organic matter per gallon in the water from the Upper Reservoir. This is equal to an increase of 208 per cent, on the quantity found in last June. The Lower Reservoir shows an increase of .85 grains per gallon, which is equal to an increase of 68 per cent.

Q. 5. In characterising the increase of organic matter as "so large," am I right in saying that that is simply in proportion to the small amount formerly found in it, and does not refer to the actual amount in the water as compared with many other waters extensively used for domestic purposes?

A. 5. Yes. The words "so large an increase of organic matter" have reference solely to the results obtained from the Dunedin Company's water this month and in June last year. The increase of organic matter observed in the three samples already quoted—viz., 36 per cent., 68 per cent., and 208 per cent., otherwise $\frac{1}{2}$ grain, $\frac{68}{100}$ grain, 2.73 grains per gallon respectively—is the chief ground of my opinion that the water "does not quite maintain the good character I was able to give it last June."

Q. 6. Am I right in saying that under the microscope you found the water supplied in Dunedin (Corporation and Laboratory taps) does not show organisms in greater variety nor in much greater proportion than in June last, when you reported that the water "did not contain organic forms in an unusual proportion, nor of such kind as to render the water unlit for dietetic purposes?"

A. 6. Yes.

Q. 7. Is there anything in your Report that should make any one give up the use of the water, as delivered at the taps in the City, for ordinary domestic purposes?

A. 7. No.

Q. 8. In any part of your Report, do you wish to convey anything more than that it is desirable to improve the water by filtration; and that if this were done it would rank for domestic purposes among the best waters supplied to any community?

A. 8. No.

Q. 9. Was there anything revealed in your analysis of June last to induce you to recommend that the water should be filtered, or that should have induced the Directors of the Company to go to that expense before this?

A. 9. No.

Q. 10. On the whole, and taking the water as supplied through the mains to the City, do you consider it, as to quality, within the limits of water extensively used for domestic purposes?

A. 10. Yes.

Q. 11. Am I right in saying that the average of all the samples of water analysed in June last shows that they contain .073 parts of Albuminoid Ammonia in one million parts of water, whilst Loch Katrine water contains .080 of the same, and that it is on the amount of this Albuminoid Ammonia that the goodness or badness of a water chiefly depends?

A. 11. Yes.

Land Regulations of the Province of Canterbury, New Zealand. coat of arms

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Index.

Introduction.

THE original Regulations (under "Waste Lands Act 1854") Consisting of 82 clauses, were made by Proclamation of the Governor, dated 9th February, 1856, and came into operation on 1st April, 1856.

These Regulations were amended, as to clauses 67 and 68, by Proclamation of the Governor, dated 14th August 1856, the amendments coming into force on the 15th September, 1856.

They were again amended, as to clauses 35 and 43, by "The Waste Lands Regulations Amendment Ordinance 1857" (Session VII, No. 2).

They were further amended, as to clauses 33, 51, 52, 65, 66 and 71, by "The Waste Lands Regulations Amendment Ordinance 1858" (Session IX, No. 1).

The above Regulations, as amended, were validated by "The Waste Lands Act 1858," as from the dates at which they respectively came into operation.

The various clauses or portions of clauses which have from time to time been repealed, since the original Regulations were framed, are printed in *italics* herein.

The following Acts of the General Assembly affecting these Regulations, and applying only to the Province of Canterbury, have since become law; and to the provisions of these Acts reference has been made by note, wherever it could conveniently be done, in the present reprint of the Land Regulations.

"Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1864

Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1865

Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1866

Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1867

Canterbury Public Reserves Act 1867

Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1869

Canterbury Temporary Mining Reserves Act 1869.

Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1873".

In addition, however, to the above Acts, which have a local application only, many statutory enactments are now in force which apply to the whole Colony, and it is necessary that the Provincial Land Regulations should be read in connection with these, in order to ascertain the actual state of the Land Laws of the Province.

The subjoined is a summary of the most important Acts deferred to:—

Relating to General Law—

"Waste Lands Act 1858

Crown Lands Act 1862

Crown Lands Sales Extortion Prevention Act 1866

Waste Lands Board Appeal Act 1867

Commissioner of Crown Lands Act 1869"

Part of "Immigration and Public Works Act 1870"

Relating to porters of Provincial Legislatures to make Laws affecting Public Roads and Watercourses—

"Highways and Watercourses Diversion Act 1858

Provincial Councils Powers Extension Act 1863
Provincial Councils Powers Extension Act 1865"
Relating to Reserves—
"Public Reserves Act 1854
Public Reserves Act Amendment Act 1862
Public Buildings Reserves Act 1867"
Relating to Crown Grants, Pasturage Licenses, and Land Orders—
"Lost Land Orders Act 1861
Lost Licenses and Leases Act 1865
Crown Grants Act 1866
Crown Grants Amendment Act 1867
Crown Grants Amendment Act 1870"
Part of "Land Transfer Act 1870"
Part of "Land Transfer Act 1870 Amendment Act 1871"

WILLIAM GUISE BRITTAN, Chief Commissioner of Waste Lands Board, Canterbury.

Land Office, Christchurch,

October, 1873.

Regulations for the Disposal, Sale, Letting, and Occupation of the Waste Lands of the Crown, in the Province of Canterbury.

1. All Regulations now in force in the Province Repealing of Canterbury for the sale, letting, disposal, and occupation of the Waste Lands of the Crown are hereby repealed.
2. All such Waste Lands shall, from and after Waste Lands, how to be dealt with the day on which these Regulations shall come into force, be sold, let, disposed of, and occupied according to these Regulations, and not otherwise.
3. Every Act which the Superintendent is hereby Superintendent to act with advice of Executive Council authorised or required to perform, he shall perform solely in accordance with the advice of his Executive Council for the time being, and such advice shall be recorded on the minutes of the Council.

II.—the Waste Lands Board.

4. There shall be established a Board, to be called Board, how to be constituted the Waste Lands Board,
The Governor may also, upon the recommendation of the Provincial Council and the Superintendent, create "Land Districts" and "District Land Boards." (See "Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1865." *Appendix No. II.*, hereto.)
to consist of one Chief Commissioner
The "Commissioner of Crown Lands Act 1869" enacts that the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Province shall be, *ex officio*, a member and chairman of the Waste Lands Board.
(See Appendix No. 9 hereto)
and of not less than two nor more than five other Commissioners, all of whom (except such one as shall be appointed to act as Treasurer) shall be appointed and be removable by warrant under the hand of the Superintendent.
5. One member of the Waste Lands Board shall

Board, Treasurer of
also be the Treasurer thereof, and such member shall be appointed and removable by the Governor.

6. The Waste Lands Board shall sit at the principal
Board, sittings of

Land Office of the Province, at certain stated times to be determined by the Superintendent, and shall also sit for special purposes at such places and at such times as the Superintendent shall direct; of which sittings due notice shall be given in the Provincial Government *Gazette*, and one or more newspapers published in the Province.

The ordinary sittings of the Board are held on every Monday and Thursday, at 12 o'clock noon, except when Christmas day or other proclaimed holiday falls on either of those days.

7. The Chief Commissioner, when present, and in
Board, who to preside at
his absence, then some member selected by those present at any meeting of the Board, shall preside thereat, and shall have a casting vote in all questions coming before the Board.

8. All questions coming before the Board shall be
Questions, how to be decided
decided by a majority of the Commissioners present thereat.

9. All meetings of the Board shall be attended by
Quorum
at least three Commissioners, and shall be open to the public.

10. All applications for land and for Pasturage
Board applications to be determined by
and for Timber Licenses shall, after hearing evidence when necessary, be determined by the Board at some sitting thereof.

11. The
Power is given to the Board by "The Waste Lands Board Amend Act 1867," to rehear a case, and if advisable, reverse previous decision. The same Act also allows of appeal to Judge of Supreme Court against the decision of the Board. The Board may also, in case of doubt upon a question of law, submit the same to a Judge of the Supreme Court for his opinion, and the Board shall be guided by such opinion. (See "Waste Lands Board Appeal Act 1807," *Appendix No. VII.* hereto).

Board shall have power to hear and
Board, powers of
determine all disputes between the holders of Pasturage and Timber Licenses respecting the boundaries of runs and districts, and shall have and exercise all the powers which may be lawfully had and exercised by any Commissioner of Crown Lands under the provisions of "The Crown Lands Ordinance, Sess. X., No. 1;" and "The Crown Lands Extension Ordinance, Sess. XI., No. 10."

These two Ordinances were repealed by the 'Crown Lands Act 1862.' (See *Appendix No. VIII.*, hereto.)

12. All the routine business of the Land Department
Routine business
shall be transacted by the Chief Commissioner, subject to such regulations as may be made by the Board in that behalf.

13. *A book to be called the "Application Book,"*
This clause was repealed by the "Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1873," and the following clause substituted for it.
shall be kept open during office hours at the Land Office, in which the name of every person desiring to make any application to the Board shall be written in order by himself, or any person duly authorised on his behalf; and the Commissioners shall, during the sitting of the Board, consider and determine all applications in the order in which they shall appear in the Application Book: Provided that if any person shall not appear himself or by some person duly authorised on his behalf before the Board when called in his turn, his application shall be dismissed until his name shall appear again in the book in order: Provided also that if two or more persons shall apply at the same time to write their names in the Application Book, the Chief Commissioner shall bracket their names, and shall initial the bracket; and when they shall appear before the Board, the Board shall determine the priority of right to be heard by lot; and it shall not be lawful for the Board to hear any application except such as shall be made in accordance with this Regulation.

Application for rural land.

13. All applications for the purchase of rural lands shall be made and determined in the following manner, that is to say,—When the applicant, or any person authorised in writing, or by telegram, on his behalf, shall apply at the Survey Office either at Christchurch or Timaru for the purpose of purchasing any portion of rural

land, the Chief Surveyor, or such person as he may appoint, shall prepare a form of application for the said applicant, or any person authorised in writing on his behalf, to sign, containing a description of the portion of land which the applicant desires to purchase, and shall initial the said form, and note thereon the precise time at which the application shall have been made; and the Commissioners shall during the sitting of the Board, consider and determine all such applications in the order in which they shall have been received at the above mentioned Survey Offices, up to such day and hour as may from time to time be fixed by the Superintendent on the recommendation of the Board: Provided that if two or more persons shall apply at the same time for the same piece of land, or any portion thereof, the Board shall determine the priority of right to be heard by lot. Applications for the purchase of rural lands shall have priority of hearing before any other applications.

Applications for land in the districts south of the Rangitata, may be made, and the purchase money remitted, through the Survey Office, Timaru.

Application book to be kept open.

For all other purposes, a book, to be called the "Application Book," shall be kept open during office hours at the Land Office, in which the name of every person desiring to make any application to the Board shall be written, in order by himself, or any person duly authorised in writing on his behalf, and the Commissioners shall, during the sitting of the Board, consider and determine all applications made by such persons in the order in which their names shall appear in the Application Book, except where otherwise provided: Provided that if any person shall not appear himself, or by some person duly authorised on his behalf, before the Board when called in his turn, his application shall be dismissed until his name shall appear again in the book in order: Provided also that if two or more persons shall apply at the same time to write their names in the Application Book, the Chief Commissioner, or in his absence any other Commissioner, or the Chief Clerk of the Board, shall bracket their names, and shall initial the bracket; and when they shall appear before the Board, the Board shall determine the priority of right to be heard by lot; and it shall not be lawful for the Board to hear any application except such as shall be made in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

14. The Board shall keep true and detailed

Minutes to be kept

minutes of all applications made to the Board, and all decisions thereon, and of all sums of money paid to the Treasurer, and generally of all the proceedings of the Board; and such minutes shall be signed by all the Commissioners present at any meeting; and such minutes shall be open to the inspection of all persons desiring to inspect the same, at all reasonable hours, on payment of the sum of two shillings and sixpence for every such inspection.

III. Surveys.

15. There shall be a Chief Surveyor, who shall be

Survey staff

appointed and removable by warrant under the hand of the Superintendent, and as many Assistant Surveyors as shall be necessary, who shall be appointed and removable by the Superintendent, upon the recommendation of the Chief Surveyor.

16. All surveys shall be conducted in such manner

Surveys, how to be conducted

as the Board, by any regulations to be made in that behalf, shall direct.

IV.—The Land Revenue.

Payments how to be made

17. All payments to be made in respect of land shall be made to the Treasurer of the Board during the sitting thereof, and the Treasurer shall thereupon give receipts for the same.

Certain charges to be defrayed out of revenue

18. By the 62nd clause of the Constitution Act the Governor is authorised and required to pay out of the revenue arising from the disposal of the Waste Lands of the Crown all the costs, charges, and expenses incident to the collection, management, and receipt thereof; and also to pay out of the said revenues such sums as shall become payable under certain other provisions therein contained. The Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board shall, therefore, pay out of all the funds coming into his hands under these Regulations all such sums for the above-named purposes, in such manner and to such persons as the Governor shall direct.

V.—Public Reserves

This clause was repealed by "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1873," and the following clause substituted for it.

19. *Reserves for the uses of the Provincial Government and for other public purposes may, upon the recommendation of the Provincial Council, be made by the Superintendent, and shall not be alienated from the specific purposes to which they shall have been severally dedicated, except under the provisions of an Act of the General Assembly entitled "The Public Reserves Act 1854;" and a full and complete description of every such reserve and of the purposes to which it shall have been dedicated shall, so soon as possible after it shall have been made, be published in the Government Gazette of the Province, and set forth on the authenticated maps in the Land Office: Provided that the Superintendent may, if the Provincial Council be not then sitting, temporarily reserve land for such purposes until the next session of such Council.*

19. Reserves for the uses of the Provincial Government

Reserves how to be made
and for other public purposes

Reserves made under this clause for "churches, chapels and cemeteries," were validated by "The Canterbury Public Reserves Act 1867."

may, upon the recommendation of the Provincial Council, be made by the Superintendent, and shall not be alienated from the specific purposes to which they shall have been severally dedicated, except under the provisions of an Act of the General Assembly, entitled "The Public Reserves Act 1854:" and a full and complete description of every such reserve and of the purposes to which it shall have been dedicated shall be published in the Government *Gazette* of the Province, and set forth on the authenticated maps in the Land Office: Provided that the Superintendent may, if the Provincial Council be not then sitting, temporarily reserve land for such purposes until the next session of such Council.

Lands reserved for public purposes, may, either before or after issue of Crown Grant under "The Public Reserves Act 1854" to the Superintendent, be surrendered to the Crown by the Superintendent, in cases where the lands so reserved have been, or it is desirable that they should be appropriated to purposes connected with the General Government administration. (See "The Public Buildings Reserves Act 1867.

And if the Provincial Council shall not at its next sitting recommend the Superintendent to make the lands so temporarily reserved or any part thereof a reserve, the same or the portion not included in any such recommendation shall nevertheless not be open for sale, except in the manner hereinafter provided.

The Superintendent may nevertheless, immediately

Disposal of inpsed Reserves

at the conclusion of every session of the Provincial Council, again temporarily reserve any such land for any purpose until the next session of such Provincial Council; or in case he shall not again temporarily reserve such land, he shall cause the same to be put up for sale by public auction at an upset price of forty shillings per acre, at such time and place of sale, and in such mode of sale and payment of purchase money as he may think fit; and if such land be not sold at such auction, the same shall thereupon be open for sale as rural land.

This clause was repealed by "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1873" and the following clause substituted for it.

20. *Reserves for public highways, bridle-paths and footpaths shall be made by the Superintendent, and shall be set forth on the authenticated maps in the Land Office. The Superintendent and the Provincial Council may, by Ordinance, alter the line of any such highways, bridle-paths, and footpaths, and dispose of the land theretofore used for the same.*

Reserves for public highways &c.

20. Reserves for public highways, bridle-paths, and foot-paths shall be made at any time whatever by the Superintendent or the Board, or by the Chief Surveyor, under the authority of the Superintendent, and shall be set forth on the authenticated maps in the Land Office.

(1). The "Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1873" enacts that "all rural lands in the said Province shall be sold subject to a right of laying out a road or roads over the same, if found necessary or expedient on survey; and a Crown Grant shall issue to the purchaser or purchasers of any such land, excepting thereout so much thereof as may be required for such road or roads. (See Appendix No. X. hereto.)

The Superintendent and the Provincial Council may by Ordinance alter the line of any such high ways, bridle-paths and footpaths, and dispose of the land theretofore used for the same.

Reserves of timber

21. The Superintendent may temporarily reserve any land for the preservation or sale of the timber thereon;

but such land may at any time cease to be so reserved upon a Resolution of the Provincial Council.

Reserves of auriferous land

22. The Superintendent may, upon the recommendation of the Provincial Council, by proclamation in the Government *Gazette* reserve from the operation of these Regulations any tract of country in which the precious metals may be found to exist; and the land within such tract of country shall be disposed of according to Regulations hereafter to be issued and published in that behalf, in the same manner and under the same authority as these present Regulations.

Power is given to the Superintendent under "The Canterbury Temporary Mining Reserves Act 1869," to temporarily reserve supposed auriferous land, and to issue licenses to prospect over such reserves. (See *Appendix No. V.*, hereto).

VI.—Town Lands

23. The sites of Towns shall be determined by the

Towns, sites of

Superintendent, upon the recommendation of the Provincial Council, and shall be notified by proclamation in the Government *Gazette* of the Province.

(1). Township sites when not sold, or, which having been sold, have been re-conveyed to the Crown, or to the Superintendent, may be reserved for educational or other purposes of public utility. (See "Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1869," *Appendix No. VI.*, hereto.)

24. Town Lands shall be sold by public auction,

Town lands to be sold by auction

in sections, the size and upset price of which shall be determined by the Superintendent and the Provincial Council; and, having been so determined for each town severally, shall not again be altered.

25. The time and place of every auction sale shall

Auction sale, time and place of

be fixed by the Superintendent, and shall be notified in the Government *Gazette*, and one or more newspapers of the Province, at least thirty days before such sale shall take place.

26. No such notification of any sale of town lands

Notification of sale not to be published until map of town is open for inspection

shall be published until a map of the town, signed by the Chief Surveyor, shall have been laid open for public inspection in the Land Office; and such map shall set forth, accurately delineated, all the town sections numbered consecutively, so far as laid out, showing the sections to be submitted for sale, and the public reserves in connection with them.

27. Town sections may be put up to auction, either

Town sections how to be put up

by order of the Superintendent, or upon the application of some person who shall, at the time of making such application, deposit ten per cent, of the upset price with the Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board. Such deposit shall, if no advance on the upset price be made, be considered as the deposit upon the sale at such public auction.

Deposit money to be returned in certain cases

28. If any section shall be purchased by other than the original applicant, the deposit money shall be forthwith returned on demand.

List of sections applied for to be published

29. Ten days at least before any such auction sale a list of all the sections about to be offered for sale shall be published in the Government *Gazette* and one or more newspapers of the Province.

Sale to be held in open court

30. Every auction sale of land shall be held by the Commissioners in open court, as hereinbefore provided.

Highest bidder to pay deposit

31. The person who shall be declared the highest bidder at such auction shall immediately pay a deposit of ten per cent, of the purchase money to the Treasurer, and in default thereof, the section shall be again immediately put up to auction.

Purchase money, payment of

32. The remainder of the purchase money shall be paid to the Treasurer in full, within one week after the day of sale; and, in default thereof, the purchaser shall forfeit his deposit money, and also all right or title to the land; and the section may be sold to any person applying for the same for the price at which it was knocked down at the auction; and, if not so sold, the section may be again put up to auction at any future sale.

This clause was repealed by "The Waste Lands Regulations Amendment Ordinance 1858" and the following clause substituted for it

33. *Immediately on payment of the purchase money in full, the purchaser shall receive from the Commissioners a "License to occupy," in the form set forth in the Schedule A, hereto annexed, which he shall return again to the Commissioners when he shall receive the Crown grant of the land. Such "License to Occupy" shall be transferable by endorsement, in the form set forth in the Schedule.*

License to occupy

33. Upon payment of the purchase money in full, the purchaser shall receive from the Commissioners a "License to Occupy" in the form set forth in Schedule A to the Waste Lands Regulations, and such License shall be restored to the Commissioners upon receipt of a Crown grant of the land purchased.

VII.—Rural Land

34. All lands not included in any of the foregoing

Rural land

Regulations shall be open for sale as rural land, at a uniform price of forty shillings per acre.

35. *No section of Rural Land shall be sold containing*

This clause was repealed by "The Waste Lands Regulations Amendment Ordinance 1857" and the following clause substituted for it

less than twenty acres: Provided that any section so limited by frontage lines or private lands as to contain less than twenty acres may be sold by auction at the upset price of forty shillings per acre; the time and place of sale, and the mode of sale and payment of purchase money to be as nearly as may be in accordance with the Regulations herein contained, applicable to the sale of Town Land.

35. Save as hereinafter provided, no section of

Sections of less than twenty acres, how to be sold

Rural Land shall be sold containing less than twenty acres; but any section so limited by frontage lines or private lands as to contain less than twenty acres may be sold by auction at the upset price of forty shillings per acre; the time and place of sale and the mode of sale and payment of purchase money to be as nearly as may be in accordance with the Regulations herein contained applicable to the sale of Town Land

The "Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1873," provides that "an auction shall be held once in three months, by order of the Superintendent, at which all sections of land containing less than twenty acres of land, not having been already exposed for sale by auction, shall be put up at an upset price of forty shillings per acre, and if not then sold such section shall thereupon be open for sale on application at a uniform price of forty shillings per acre: Provided always that nothing herein contained shall prevent prior application for and the sale of any such land under and in pursuance of clause thirty-five of the said regulations." (Sec Appendix No. X. hereto.)

: Provided, nevertheless, that if any section so limited shall be included in a Pasturage License with pre-emptive Right, the holder of such License shall be entitled to exercise such pre-emptive Right under these Regulations, upon payment of the sum of Forty Pounds for such section.

36. Every section of Rural Land shall be in one

Form of sections

block, and, except as hereinafter provided, of a rectangular form, and, if bounded by a frontage line, shall be of a depth of half-a-mile (or forty chains) from such frontage.

A frontage line shall be taken to mean the boundary of a road, river, or public reserve, or any stream or watercourse which shall have been declared by notification in the Government 'Gazette' to constitute a frontage for the purpose of selection.

Frontage lines, for the purpose of selecting any rural lands, shall be taken to mean any road, river, or public reserve which may from time to time be set forth or indicated on any of the authenticated maps in the Survey Office of the Province, or any such stream, watercourse, or natural feature of the country as the Waste Lands Board shall determine necessary or expedient to be a frontage line. (See "Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1873," Appendix No. X. hereto.)

Exceptional form of sections

37. Where, from the frontage not being a straight line, or from the interference of other frontage lines, natural features, or the boundaries of private lands, the above rules in respect of form cannot be accurately observed, the form of the section shall be determined as nearly in accordance with these rules as, in the judgment of the Board, circumstances will admit.

Exceptional form of Sections

38. In sections of land not adjacent to or bounded by a frontage line, all the sides may be equal; but one

side may not be less than one third of the other, and such section shall not be less than half a mile distant from a frontage line.

Section may be selected of a certain form adjacent to another

39. Any person possessing a section of land may at any time select another adjacent thereto, of such form that the two together, being considered as one section, shall be in the form required for a single section under the foregoing rules.

On payment of purchase money, land to be laid off by Surveyor

40. Immediately on the payment of the purchase money, the purchaser shall receive from the Commissioners a "License to Occupy" in the form set forth in the Schedule B hereunto annexed; and as soon thereafter as conveniently may be, the land shall be laid off by a Government Surveyor as nearly in accordance with the description given by the purchaser in his application as these Regulations will admit: Provided that whenever the lands selected lie without the surveyed districts, the expense of the survey, and of connecting such survey, with the existing surveys, shall be borne by the purchaser, who shall at the time of purchase deposit the amount of the estimated cost of such surveys with the Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board, which shall be made as soon as practicable by order of the Chief Surveyor: Provided always that should any section when surveyed prove to differ in any respect from that intended by the purchaser, the Government will not be responsible for any loss or inconvenience which the purchaser may experience, nor will the purchase money be returned: Provided also that if the Surveyor shall find that the whole extent of land in the selected locality falls short of the quantity paid for by the purchaser; the Treasurer shall repay so much of the purchase money as exceeds the price of the land to be conveyed.

The "Canterbury Waste Lands Act. 1869" provides that all acreage found on survey to be in excess of the quantity applied for by the purchaser, but included within the boundaries given, shall be paid for, or, in case of refusal, the cost of re-survey of the section shall be borne by the purchaser. (See Appendix No. V. hereto.

The "License to Occupy" shall, in any case, be amended by the Commissioners in accordance with the report of the Surveyor, and the Crown Grant shall be made out in accordance therewith; and the "License" shall be returned, to the Commissioners when the Crown Grant shall be issued.

41. Any person making a ditch, and bank fence to

Fencing lands adjoining Waste Lands

lands adjoining Waste Lands of the Crown, may take out of such Waste Lands half the land required for the ditch and bank: Provided that no ditch or bank, shall be more than six feet in width.

VIII.—Compensation Lands

Land may be given in compensation in certain cases

42. Whereas it is desirable that private persons should be enabled to receive portions of Waste Land in exchange for private lands taken for roads or for other public purposes. If any person shall be entitled to receive any compensation in respect of any land which shall have been taken for the purposes of a road or of any other public work, or in respect of any damages done to his property by the taking of such land for such purposes, such person shall, upon application to the Waste Lands Board, be entitled to a grant of Rural land in such situation as he shall select, subject to the conditions as to form and frontage in these Regulations contained, to the extent of one acre for every two pounds sterling of the amount of compensation which the applicant shall be entitled to receive in respect of the land taken for such purposes, or in respect of such damage as aforesaid.

This clause was repealed by the "Waste Lands Regulations Amendment Ordinance 1857," Session VII., No. 2, and the following clause substituted for it

43. *If any person shall at any time have made and completed at his own private cost any public road or bridge, or any public main drain, or any part of such road, bridge or drain, such person shall, upon application to the Waste Lands Board, be entitled to a free grant of Rural Land in such situation as he shall select, subject to the conditions as to form and frontage in these Regulations contained, to such an extent as the Board shall adjudge, not exceeding one acre for every four pounds sterling which he shall prove to the satisfaction of the Waste Lands Board that he shall have actually expended in, the construction of such road, bridge, or drain.*

Provided always that it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Board that the money so expended by the applicant has been beneficially expended for the use and advantage of the public: Provided also that no application for less than twenty acres shall be received under this clause; but that where any amount of compensation awarded by the Board shall be of a less amount than twenty acres of land, the party entitled may pay the balance in cash upon the same terms as other applicants to purchase Rural Lands under these Regulations.

43. If any person shall contract with the Superintendent

Land may be granted in compensation or payment for work to make and complete within a given time; any public road, bridge, or drain, or any part of any such road, bridge, or drain, furnishing such security as the Superintendent may require for the due completion of such contract, and shall select such portion of Rural Land as he shall be willing to accept by way of payment or compensation, or by way of part payment or compensation for such work, it shall be lawful for the Superintendent to reserve such portion of land from public sale for such given time, but no longer; and such person shall, on the completion of such contract, be entitled to a free grant of such land, or so much thereof as the Board shall adjudge, not exceeding one acre for every two pounds sterling, which the Superintendent shall certify to the Waste Lands Board to be the *bona fide* value of the work so done by such person, according to the prices for work and materials at the time of performing such contract current in the district.

Every such reservation of land from public sale
Reservation of land for compensation to be Gazetted
shall be published in the Government *Gazette* of the Province, as directed in clause 19 of these Regulations'.

No such reservation shall continue in force for
Reservation to be in force only twelve mouths
a longer period than twelve calendar months from the date on which it shall have been made.
No land included in a Pasturage License with
Holders of pre-emptive Rights to be allowed option of purchase
pre-emptive Right shall, as against the holder of such pre-emptive Right, be so reserved or granted until he shall have been allowed the option of purchasing such land in the manner prescribed in clauses 64 and 66 to these Regulations.

Maximum granted to any one person
No greater amount of land than 250 acres shall, under the provisions of this clause, be reserved or granted to any person under any such contract, unless in payment of work for which a vote has been passed by the Provincial Council.

Maximum granted in any one year
No greater amount of land than 1000 acres in the aggregate shall in any one year be reserved or granted under the provisions of this clause, without the special sanction of the Provincial Council.

Provisions as to foregoing
Provided always that every parcel of land so granted shall be subjected to the same conditions as to form and frontage as any Rural Land sold under these Regulations: Provided also that no application for less than twenty acres shall be received under this clause; but that where any amount of compensation awarded by the Board shall be of less extent than twenty acres of land, the person entitled may pay the balance in cash, upon the same terms as other applicants for the purchase of Rural Lands under these Regulations.

IX.—Naval and Military Bounties

44. Whereas the Superintendent and the Provincial Council, and other the inhabitants of Canterbury, are desirous to aid in making provision for the maintenance of such persons of her Majesty's land and sea forces as may be discharged as unfit for further service, in consequence of wounds or loss of health incurred in the present war with Russia, and also for the maintenance of the widows of those who may be killed in such war:—

Any such person or widow shall, upon application to the Waste Lands Board, and upon the production of satisfactory evidence from the proper authorities as to such discharge or death, be entitled to receive a free grant not exceeding thirty acres of the Waste Lands within this Province, subject to the conditions as to form and frontage contained in these Regulations: Provided always that such application shall be made to the Waste Lands Board by such person or widow in person, within three years after such discharge or death.

(1.) This clause has become inoperative through effluxion of time.

X.—Pasturage

45. Until sold, granted, or reserved for public
Land may be occupied under Pasturage License
purposes as herein provided, the Waste Lands may be occupied for pasturage purposes by persons holding licenses from the Waste Lands Board to occupy the same.

46. Any person applying for a Pasturage License

Mode of application for license shall state to the Commissioners what are the boundaries and extent of the run applied for, and the number and description of the stock which he possesses, or will undertake to place upon the run within twelve months from the date of the license.

47. The extent of run allowed to each applicant

Extent of run

shall be at the rate of 120 acres to every head of great cattle, and twenty acres to every head of small cattle. The words "great cattle" shall be construed to mean horned cattle, horses, mules, and asses, male and female, with their offspring above six months of age; and the words "small cattle" shall be construed to mean sheep, male and female, with their weaned offspring.

48. Every pasturage run shall be in one block,

Form of run

and, as far as circumstances will admit, of a rectangular form: the frontage under ordinary circumstances, shall not be greater than one-half the depth.

49. The fee to be paid for the license shall be at

Fee to be paid for license

the following rates:—For every run containing less than 1000 acres, twenty shillings for every hundred acres; for every run containing 1000 acres and less than 5000 acres, twopence per acre for the first thousand, and one penny per acre for every acre in addition.

For every run containing 5000 acres or upwards, one farthing per acre for the first and second years, one half-penny per acre for the third and fourth years, three farthings per acre for the fifth and every subsequent year: Provided that the first year shall be taken to be the time elapsing from the date of the original license to the first day of May next following.

50. No pasturage License shall be granted for a

Minimum fee

less annual fee than £2 10s.

Except in the case of those Pasturage Licenses held under the provisions of "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1869," the annual rental of which was determined by assessment.

51. *The fee shall be paid to the*

This clause was repealed by the "Waste Lands Regulations Amendment Ordinance 1858," Session IX., No. 1, and the following clause substituted for it

Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board every year, in advance; for the first year on the issue of the license, and for the second and every subsequent year on the 1st day of May; and every pasturage license not renewed by payment of the required fee on the 1st day of May shall, unless good cause to the contrary be shown, to the satisfaction of the Waste Lands Board, be considered as abandoned.

51. The fee shall be paid to the

Payment of fee

Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board every year, in advance; for the first year on the issue of the license, and for the second and every subsequent year on any sitting day of the Board between the 20th day of April and the 1st day of May inclusive: And every pasturage License not renewed by payment of the required fee on or before the 1st day of May shall, unless good cause to the contrary be shown to the satisfaction of the Waste Lands Board, be considered as abandoned.

Subject to the provisions of "The Waste Lands Board Appeal Act 1867." (See *Appendix No. VII.*, hereto.)

Except also Pasturage Licenses held under "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1864," and "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1869," which if not renewed by payment of the required fee within the time prescribed by "The Waste Lands Board Appeal Act 1867," are declared "forfeited by the Board, and put up to public auction after forfeiture. (See *Appendix No. VI.*, hereto.)

52. *Every pasturage license shall be in the form*

This clause was repealed by the "Waste Lands Regulations Amendment Ordinance 1858" Session IX., No. 1, and the following clause substituted for it

set forth in the Schedule C. hereto annexed, and shall be transferable by endorsement in the form set forth in the Schedule; and shall entitle the holder to the exclusive right of pasturage over the lands specified therein upon the terms above stated. It is, intended that such license shall be renewable from year to year until the land specified therein shall be purchased, granted, or reserved, under these Regulations; and, if so renewed, the fee to be paid in respect of such licenses shall not be altered until the 1st of May, 1870. Such license shall give no right to the soil or to the timber, and shall immediately determine over any land which may be purchased, granted, or reserved under these Regulations. A reasonable right of way shall be allowed through all pasturage runs.

52. Every Pasturage License shall be in the form

Form of license

set forth in the Schedule C to the Waste Lands Regulations, and shall be transferable by endorsement in the form set forth in such Schedule, and such transfer shall be deemed to be complete upon notice thereof being duly given to the Waste Lands Board, and not before.

Power is given to the Board by "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1866" to issue fresh licenses in case of the transfer or sale of a portion of the lands held under license, or, of exchange of right of pasturage over adjoining lands, or, where it is desirable to include in one license contiguous lands held under two or more licenses. (See *Appendix No. III.*, hereto.)

A pasturage license shall entitle the holder thereof to the exclusive right of pasturage over the land specified therein upon the terms above stated. Such license shall be renewed by endorsement from year to year, until the land specified therein shall be purchased, granted, or reserved under these Regulations; and the fee to be paid in respect of such license shall not be altered until the 1st May, 1870.

In the case of Runs held under "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1864" and "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1869," the annual rental payable up to the 1st May, 1880, is fixed by those Acts, and cannot be altered until that date. (See *Appendices Nos I. and VI.*, hereto).

Such license shall give no right to the soil or to the timber, and shall immediately determine over any land which may be purchased, granted, or reserved under these Regulations. A reasonable right of way shall be allowed through all pasturage runs,

The Superintendent may, under authority of "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1867" direct any holder of a Pasturage License to make such gates or other openings in any fence erected by him on Waste Lands of the Crown as he may deem necessary. (See *Appendix No. IV.*, hereto.)

Stock, certain quantity required for run

53. If at any time during the first four years after the issue of the first license the quantity of stock for the run shall be less than that originally required, or during the next three years less than twice that amount, or during any subsequent period less than three times that amount, the Waste Lands Board may declare the whole or a portion of such run to be forfeited: Provided always that with regard to runs granted prior to the issue of these Regulations, such first period of four years shall commence from the date on which these Regulations shall come into operation: Provided that one or more runs held by the same individual or firm may, for the purposes of this clause, be considered as one run.

54. In any case in which a runholder can prove to

Condition under which stock not required to be on run

the satisfaction of the Waste Lands Board that he is precluded by arrangements entered into previous to the passing of these Regulations from actually, for a given period, placing his stock on his own run, it shall be sufficient if he prove to the satisfaction of the Board that he possesses within the Province the requisite amount of stock, and will undertake to place the same on the run at the expiration of such period.

55. Every holder of a license shall, at any time

Licensee to make return of stock when required by Waste Lands Board

upon a written order from the Waste Lands Board to that effect, make a true and complete return of all the stock on his run; and if he shall wilfully and knowingly make any false return, the Waste Lands Board shall immediately declare his license to be forfeited.

56. Every run or portion thereof which shall

Run forfeited to be put up to auction

have been forfeited, as above provided, shall be put up by the Waste Lands Board to public auction, after an advertisement in the Government 'Gazette,' and one or more newspapers of the Province. A license granted after forfeiture shall be deemed to be an original license. Upon appeal from any person whose run has been forfeited within sixty days from the date of such forfeiture, it shall be lawful for the Superintendent to reserve or suspend such forfeiture either wholly or in part.

57. Every person taking out a license for a run

Deposit to be made on taking out license

which is not stocked, will be required to deposit with the Treasurer the sum of ten shillings for every hundred acres included in the license, which will be returned without interest as soon as he shall have fulfilled the conditions in respect to stocking the run within the prescribed period; but if such conditions be not fulfilled, such deposits shall be forfeited.

Foregoing rules not to apply to runs under 5000 acres

58. The above rules in respect to stocking a run, and to the lodgment of deposit money with the Treasurer, shall not apply to runs containing less than 5000 acres.

Payment for survey of run

59. Every holder of a license may be required at any time to pay for the actual cost of the survey of his run, at a rate not exceeding twenty shillings for every thousand acres.

Preemptive Right

60. Every holder of a Pasturage License shall, upon application to the Waste Lands Board, be entitled to pre-emptive right over portions of his run as follows:—For a run of not less than 1000 acres, and not more than 5000 acres, over a block of land comprising and circumjacent to his homestead, to the extent of 5 per cent, of the acreage of the run; for a run of 5000 acres and upwards, over 250 acres of land comprising and circumjacent to his homestead

This part of the clause was repealed by "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act, 1867."

or principal station

(1). The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1867" enacts (*inter alia*) as follows:—

(a) That all pre-emptive rights previously granted under clause 60 are validated as from the time at which they were made.

(b) Where improvements covered by any pre-emptive right, granted under the part of clause (50, repealed by the said Act, are proved to the Waste Lands Board to have become of less value than £50, the Board give notice to licensee to make the improvements of that value within one month. If notice not complied with, the right of preemption is declared forfeited. Forfeiture not to ensue when the deterioration in value is caused by purchase of part of land on which the improvements stand.

(c) Crops may not be raised for sale on land covered by pre-emptive right.

(d) In the case of improvements made or erected by the holder of a Pasturage license, and which are not covered by pre-emptive right, the holder of the Pasturage License is entitled to remove the same at any time within three months after receipt by him of notice from the Board of the purchase of the land on which the improvements stand.

(e) Any person wilfully injuring a fence erected by a holder of a Pasturage License on waste lands of the Crown is liable, on conviction, to a penalty not exceeding ten pounds. Foregoing rules not to apply to runs under 5000 acres

(* See Appendix No. IV, hereto)

; and for all runs over all lands occupied by any buildings, enclosures, plantations, cultivations, or any such other improvements as shall in the judgment of the Waste Lands Board be deemed sufficient for the purposes of this clause, together with fifty acres comprising and circumjacent to the land so occupied or improved.

61. The licensee shall, at the time of his application

Mode of applying for pre-emptive right

to the Board, give a sufficient description of the lands over which he claims such pre-emptive right, to the satisfaction of the Chief Surveyor; and the same shall be marked off on the authenticated maps in the Land Office.

62. *The lands included in such pre-emptive right*

Repealed by "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1867," and the following clause substituted for it may be of such form as the applicant shall choose; but any land purchased by him in the exercise of such right shall be subject to the Regulations as to form and frontage herein contained.

62. The lands included in such pre-emptive rights

Form of preemptive right

shall be subject to the rules as to form and frontage herein contained with respect to purchased land

This does not apply to pre-emptive rights granted or created under original clause No. 62, which are still subject to the provisions of the original clause.

(See appendix No. IV. hereto).

63. The Waste Lands Board shall not receive

Application for purchase of pre-emptive right

or entertain any application to purchase from any person other than the runholder the aforesaid block around the homestead or principal station, which does not include the whole of such block.

64. The right of preemption hereby given shall

Right of pro-emption to be exercised within certain time

be exercised within one week for all lands within twenty miles of the Land Office at Christchurch, and within one month for all lands at a greater distance therefrom; such time being reckoned from the date of service of a written notice from the Waste Lands Board, setting forth a copy of the application for any of the land included in the pre-emptive right. Such notice may be served either personally on the run-holder, or by leaving the same at his last known place of abode within the Province, or at the principal homestead or station

on the run

(2.) This clause applies to all pre-emptive rights.

(See appendix No. IV. hereto).

This clause was repealed by the "Waste Lands Regulations Amendment Ordinance 1858," and the following clause substituted for it

65. *The applicant for any Rural Land included in any pre-emptive right shall deposit with the Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board a sum equal to four shillings per acre of the purchase money, and the remainder he shall pay within one week from the date of his application being granted, or forfeit such deposit. Such deposit, however, shall be immediately returned on demand, if the holder of the pre-emptive right shall purchase any portion of the land applied for.*

Applicant for rural land within pre-emptive right to make deposit

65. The applicant for any rural land included in any pre-emptive right shall deposit with the Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board a sum equal to four shillings per acre of the purchase money, and the remainder he shall pay within one week from the date of his application being granted, or forfeit such deposit. Such deposit, however, shall be immediately returned on demand, if the holder of the pre-emptive right shall give notice of his intention to purchase any portion of the land applied for, and pay the requisite deposit.

This clause was repealed by the "Waste Lands Regulations Amendment Ordinance 1858," and the following clause substituted for it

66. *If the holder of the pre-emptive right decide upon purchasing any portion of the land applied for, he shall forthwith pay to the Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board a deposit of four shillings per acre of the purchase money of such portion; and if he shall not within six weeks thereafter have paid the remainder of the purchase money, he shall forfeit such deposit, together with all right or title to the land.*

Holder of pre-emptive right, if intending to purchase, to make deposit

66. If the holder of the pre-emptive right decide; upon purchasing any portion of the land applied for, he shall forthwith pay to the Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board a deposit of four shillings per acre of the purchase money of such portion; and if he shall not within six weeks thereafter have paid the remainder of the purchase money, he shall forfeit such deposit, together with all right or title to the land.

If the holder of any pre-emptive right *other than*

The words *erased* were repealed by the "Canterbury Waste Lands Act, 1867."

those created by clause 60 of the Waste Lands Regulations shall neglect or refuse to purchase any portion of the land applied for, such portion shall, from and immediately after such neglect or refusal, be released from all right of preemption, and open to purchase on the terms of these Regulations, as if the same had not been included in any pre-emptive right.

67. *Holders of pasturage licenses with pre-emptive*

This clause was repealed by proclamation of the Governor, dated 14th August, 1856, and the following clause substituted for it

right in connection with purchased lands, whether under the Canterbury Association or the Crown, shall be entitled to claim pasturage licenses over the lands included therein upon the terms of these regulations, with a pre-emptive right over such land, to be exercised subject to these regulations as regards notice of application, payment of deposit and purchase money, price of land, and size and shape of blocks. If the land covered by such pre-emptive right shall be included within the limits of a run held by license under clauses 50 and 53, the holder thereof on paying rent for the same, may take credit for the amount paid by him in respect of lands covered by such pre-emptive right.

67. Pasturage Licenses, with pre-emptive right in

Licenses with pre-emptive right held under Canterbury Association or Crown, when to come under these Regulations

connection with purchased lands, whether under the Canterbury Association or the Crown, shall, from and after the 1st day of April, 1856, be taken and deemed to be Pasturage Licenses over the lands included therein, upon the terms of these Regulations, with a pre-emptive right over all such land, to be exercised subject to these Regulations as regards notice of application, payment of deposit, purchase money, price of land, and size and shape of blocks. If the land covered by such pre-emptive right shall be included within the limits of a run held by license under clauses 50 and 53, the holder thereof, in paying rent for the same, may take credit for the amount paid by him in respect of lands covered by such pre-emptive right.

This clause was repealed by proclamation of the Governor, dated 14th August, 1856, and the following clause substituted for it

68. *Nothing in these regulations shall be interpreted to affect the legal rights or equitable contracts made by the Canterbury Association or the Government with holders of the pasturage licenses, But if any person*

holding a license under the Canterbury Association or the Government shall voluntarily resign the same to the Government, he shall be entitled to receive a license under these regulations, and shall from the date of such exchange hold his run at the rate and on the conditions specified in these regulations.

Licenses without pre-emptive right held under Canterbury Association or Crown may be renewed

68. Holders of Pasturage Licenses without pre-emptive right shall be entitled to hold such licenses, or to have them renewed upon the terms of their contract with the Canterbury Association or the Crown, as the case may be; but if any person holding a license under the Canterbury Association or the Crown, shall voluntarily resign the same, he shall be entitled to receive a license under these Regulations, and shall from the date of such exchange hold his run at the rate and on the conditions specified in these Regulations.

Exchange of license

69. If any person exchanging his license shall for any period included in the new license have paid rent at a higher rate than would be payable under such license, such overpayment shall be adjusted at the next payment of rent.

Licensee to be paid for improvements, if land on which effected be reserved

70. In the event of improvements having been effected by the licensee of a run on any land which shall be reserved by the General Government or by the Provincial Government under these Regulations, the licensee shall receive payment of the value of such improvements, such value to be decided by arbitration under direction of the Waste Lands Board, and to be paid by the Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board out of the Land Fund.

71. *All payments on account of pasturage runs*

This clause was repealed by the "Waste Lands Regulations Amendment Ordinance 1858," and the following clause substituted for it

shall in future be made on the 1st day of May, at the Land Office, at Christchurch, and the Waste Lands Board shall sit at that place for the Treasurer to receive the same.

71. All payments on account of pasturage runs

Payments on account of pasturage runs, when to be made

shall in future be made on or before the 1st day of May, in accordance with clause 51, at the Land Office, at Christchurch, and the Waste Lands Board shall sit at that place for the Treasurer to receive the same.

72. All payments to be made on account of pasturage

Payments made previous to 1st May next ensuing.

runs before the 1st day of May next ensuing shall be made for the portion of the year only which shall elapse between such day of payment and the said 1st day of May.

73. In calculating the amount of the license fee

In ting license fee and stock required, broken portion of year to be considered part of year commencing 1st May next ensuing

and the stock required to be on the run, the year commencing on the said 1st day of May shall be deemed to be the same year as that for which such part payment shall have been made.

74. Notwithstanding anything contained in these

Governor may upon recommendation of Superintendent and Provincial Council, reserve land held under pasturage license in the neighborhood of towns

Regulations, it shall be lawful for the Governor, upon the recommendation of the Superintendent and Provincial Council, at any time, and from time to time, by proclamation in the *Government Gazette* of the Province, to reserve for the purposes hereinafter mentioned any lands within the Province, adjacent to or in the neighborhood of any town, now or which may hereafter be formed; and to declare that on and from a day to be named in such proclamation, all depasturing licenses issued under these Regulations in respect of such reserved lands shall cease and be of no effect; on and from which day all such licenses shall, as respects such lands, cease and be of no effect accordingly; and it shall be lawful for the Governor at any time thereafter, by Regulations to be issued in that behalf, according to the provisions of the Waste Lands Act, upon the recommendation of the Superintendent and Provincial Council, to regulate the occupation of the waste lands of the Crown within such reserved districts.

Timber

Sale of timber

75. If any tract of land shall have been reserved for the sale of timber thereon, such timber may be sold by public auction at an upset price and subject to conditions to be fixed by the Superintendent, and the purchaser shall agree to remove the same within a certain time; and all the timber not removed within such time may be

again put up to public auction.

Licenses to cut timber may be granted

76. No person shall, without a license, cut or remove any timber from any waste lands of the Crown (except timber which he shall have purchased under the last clause); and any person so cutting or removing timber shall be liable to pay the costs of such license for one year, together with the costs of recovering the amount of the same.

The Superintendent has power, by proclamation in the *Gazette* of the Province, to define any district or districts in the Province, which it shall not be lawful for the Waste Lands Board to include in any license to cut timber. (See "Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1869." *Appendix No. VI.* hereto.)

be paid for such license

77. Every license for cutting or removing timber shall be issued for one month, or for one year, at the request of the person applying for the same; and a fee of ten shillings shall be paid upon every monthly license, and of five pounds upon every yearly license.

License not transferable

78. A license shall entitle no one but the person named therein to cut down the standing timber, but it will authorise him to employ any number of persons, during the term of the license, to saw, split, or remove the timber so cut; and such license shall not be transferable.

79. A license to cut timber shall extend only

License limited to district
to the district named therein.

80. If any person duly licensed shall have established

Protection given by license

a saw pit for the purpose of sawing timber, no other person shall cut timber within fifty yards of such pit without consent of the person first occupying such saw pit: Provided that if the person establishing such pit shall not use the same, and shall not cut timber within such distance as aforesaid from the pit for twenty-eight, consecutive days, it shall be lawful to any other holder of a license to enter thereupon, and to cut timber as though such pit had not been established.

81. If any person shall for the purpose of removing

Road made by removal of timber, right to use

timber, have made a road upon land being the waste lands of the Crown and not being a highway, it shall not be lawful for any other person to use the same without the permission of the person making the same first obtained: Provided that if such road shall not be used at any time for ninety consecutive days, it shall be lawful for any holder of a license at any time thereafter to use the same.

82. If any person holding a timber license shall be

License to be forfeited un-determined circumstance

proved before the Waste Lands Board to have offended against any Regulations herein contained respecting timber, or to have wilfully or negligently injured or destroyed by fire or otherwise any timber belonging to the Crown, such license shall be, and shall be immediately declared to be forfeited, and it shall be at the discretion of the Board to refuse to issue another timber license to the same person.

Schedules

Schedule A.

Province of Canterbury.

License to Occupy Town Lands.

WHEREAS ___ of ___ hath been duly declared the purchaser for the sum of ___ pounds ___ shillings and ___ pence, of the section of the Waste Lands of the Crown hereinafter described, and hath this day paid to ___ the Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board of the Province of Canterbury, the said sum of ___ pounds ___ shillings and pence, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged:

NOW KNOW ALL MEN AND THESE PRESENTS WITNESS, that We, in pursuance of the powers vested in us as Commissioners of the Waste Lands Board, do hereby authorise and empower the said ___ his heirs or assigns, at any time after the date hereof, to enter upon all that section of land situated in ___ street, in the

Town of _____ marked No. _____ in the authenticated map of the said Town in the Crown Lands Office, and containing _____ acres, or thereabouts, being the section of land so purchased as aforesaid, and to hold and enjoy the same for his and their absolute use and benefit.

Given under our hands at the Sitting of the Waste Lands Board, held at on the _____ day of _____ 18

Schedule B.

Province of Canterbury.

License to Occupy Rural Land.

WHEREAS _____ of _____ hath been duly declared the purchaser for the sum of _____ pounds _____ shillings _____ and _____ pence, of the section of the Waste Lands of the Crown hereinafter described, and hath this day paid to _____ the Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board of the Province of Canterbury the said sum of _____ pounds _____ shillings and _____ pence, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged:

NOW KNOW ALL MEN AND THESE PRESENTS WITNESS, that We, in pursuance of the powers vested in us as Commissioners of the said Waste Lands Board, do hereby authorise and empower the said _____ his heirs or assigns, at any time after the date hereof, to enter upon all that section of land situate and bounded as hereinafter described, that is to say, _____ and to hold and to enjoy the same for his and their absolute use and benefit, subject nevertheless to the Regulations now in force for the sale, letting, disposal, and occupation of the Waste Lands of the Crown within the Province of Canterbury.

Given under our hands at the Sitting of the Waste Lands Board, held at on the _____ day of _____ 18

Schedule C.

Province of Canterbury.

License to Depasture Stock.

WHEREAS _____ of _____ hath been duly declared to be entitled to a license to depasture stock upon the Waste Lands of the Crown within the Province of Canterbury, upon the terms and upon the conditions hereinafter mentioned: _____ Now therefore, We, in pursuance of the powers vested in us as Commissioners of the Waste Lands Board for the said Province, do hereby grant to the said _____ the exclusive license, from and after the date hereof, until the 1st day of May next, to depasture stock upon the land situate and bounded as hereinafter described, that is to say _____ and containing _____ acres or thereabouts, subject never theless to all the provisions and conditions contained in the Waste Lands Regulations now in force within the Province of Canterbury.

Given under our hands at the Sitting of the Waste Lands Board, held at on the _____ day of _____ 18

Endorsement.

I, the within-named _____ for valuable consideration to me paid by _____ of _____ do hereby transfer to the said _____ the within-written Pasturage License, and all my estate and interest therein.

Witness my hand this _____ day of _____ 18

Witness—

Appendix I.

Title

An Act to Amend the Waste Land Regulations of the Province of Canterbury.

(Reserved for Her Majesty's assent.

Her Majesty's assent notified by proclamation of the Governments dated 23rd August, 1865.

)

Preamble

WHEREAS by the Acts Ordinances and Regulations now in force within the Province of Canterbury for the sale letting disposal and occupation of Waste Lands of the Crown within the said Province provision is made for the amount of license fees to be paid until the 1st May 1870 on such lands when held under depasturing licenses And whereas it is expedient to make further provision with respect to lands held under such licenses.

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows:—

short title

I. The Short Title of this Act shall be "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1861."

Act only to apply to Province of Canbury

II. This Act shall apply to the Province of Canterbury only and to the Waste Lands within that Province and shall not come into operation until Her Majesty's pleasure shall have been taken thereon and the same shall have been confirmed by Her Majesty with the advice of the Privy Council and a proclamation of such confirmation having been given shall have been made by the Governor.

Holders of Depasturing Licences may accept terms of this Act until 1st May 1866

III. If any holder of a depasturing license shall at any time before the first day of May 1866 give notice to the Waste Lands Board at Christchurch that he is desirous of holding his license subject to the fees provided by this Act such license shall on and from such date be subject to such fees but this Act shall have no effect with regard to any licenses in respect of which such notice shall not have been given before the said 1st day of May 1866.

Rent to be paid subsequently to 1st of May 1866.

IV. The annual fees to be paid in respect of any Depasturing License held under the provisions of this Act shall be as follows

From the first day of May 1866 until the first day of May 1873;

- For every run containing less than one thousand acres two pounds sterling for every hundred acres.
- For every run containing one thousand acres and less than five thousand acres one pound thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling per hundred acres for the first thousand acres and sixteen shillings and eightpence sterling for every hundred acres in addition.
- For every run containing five thousand acres or upwards twelve shillings and sixpence sterling for every hundred acres.

On and after the first day of May 1873 and until the first day of May 1880.

- For every run containing less than one thousand acres three pounds four shillings sterling for every hundred acres.
- For every run containing one thousand acres and less than five thousand acres two pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling per hundred acres for the first one thousand acres and one pound six shillings and eight-pence sterling for every hundred acres in addition.
- For every run containing five thousand acres or upwards one pound sterling for every hundred acres.

V. Nothing herein contained shall in any way affect the force or interfere with the operation of the Regulations for the disposal sale letting and occupation of the Waste Lane's of the Crown in the Province of Canterbury or the rights or liabilities of any persons holding licenses under the same or any other persons save as herein expressly provided and every license granted under the provisions of this Act shall be subject in all respects to the said Regulations except so far as is herein otherwise provided.

Appendix II.

Title

An Act to Amend the Waste Lands Regulations of the Province of Canterbury.

[30th October, 1865.

Preamble

WHEREAS by the Acts Ordinances and Regulations now in force within the Province of Canterbury for the sale letting disposal and occupation of Waste Lands of the Crown within the said Province it is provided that there shall be established a Board to be called "The Waste Lands Board" and that all applications for Land and for pasturage and Timber Licenses shall be determined by such Board and also that all Town Lands shall be sold by auction at an open sitting of such Board and whereas it is expedient with a view to facilitate the sale and disposal of Waste Lands of the Crown situate in the southern and western parts of the said Province that District Land Boards should be established in the said Province.

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows—

Short title

I. The Short Title of this Act shall be "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1865."

Governor may create "Land Districts."

II. The Governor may by proclamation in the *New Zealand Gazette* and also in the *Government Gazette* of the Province of Canterbury and upon the recommendation of the Superintendent and Provincial Council create districts for the sale and disposal of Waste Lands of the Crown and define the boundaries thereof and may from time to time as occasion may require in like manner and upon the like recommendation vary the boundaries of such districts. Such districts shall be called "Land Districts."

For each Land District a District Land Board to be appointed

III. For each Land District there shall be a Board to be called a "District Land Board" to consist of one Chief Commissioner and of not less than two nor more than five other Commissioners all of whom shall be appointed and be removable by warrant under the hand of the Governor.

Time and place of sitting to be fixed by Superintendent

IV. Each District Land Board shall sit at such times and in such places as the Superintendent of the said Province shall direct of which sittings due notice shall be given in the *Provincial Government Gazette* and in one or more newspapers published in the Province.

District Land Boards to have same powers and duties as

V. Each District Land Board shall in respect of the Land District for which it is created have the like powers and be subject to the like obligations and restrictions as by any law now in force the Waste Lands Board of the said Province has or

Waste Lands Board

is subject to in respect of the whole Province.

VI. The provisions of the Waste Lands Regulations of the

Business of District Land Boards to be conducted in same manner as at Waste Lands Board

said Province relating to the conduct and management of the business of the said Waste Lands Board shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the District Land Board to be established by authority of this Act.

VII. So soon as a District Land Board shall have been established

All land in Land District to be sold &c only by District Land Board

in any Land District to be created by authority of this Act all business relating to the sale letting disposal or occupation of Waste Lands of the Crown situate within such district shall be conducted by such District Land Board only and not by the Waste Lands Board of the Province.

VIII. Nothing herein contained shall affect the

Powers of Waste Lands Board with respect to certain Waste Lands not affected

powers of the said Waste Lands Board with respect to Waste Lands of the Crown not included in any district under this Act and the powers of the said Waste Lands Board in all matters relating to surveys shall be exercised throughout the Province by the said Waste Lands Board only anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

IX. And whereas it is desirable that in certain parts of the

Rural land within the West Coast Gold Field

said Province now comprised within the West Canterbury Gold Fields rural lands should upon its being withdrawn and excluded from the said gold field be sold by auction at an upset price of not less than two pounds per acre Be it enacted that it shall be lawful for the Governor upon the application of the Superintendent and Provincial Council of the said Province by proclamation in the *New Zealand Gazette* to set apart and define blocks of rural land in any part of the said Province now comprised within the said gold fields which lands may when withdrawn from the said gold field be sold by public auction at an upset price of not less than two pounds per acre and to make regulations for the due and proper management of such auction sales and for all things necessary and incidental thereto Such proclamation and such regulations when published in the *New Zealand Gazette* shall have the force of law.

Appendix III.

Title

An Act to alter and amend the Waste Lands Regulations of the Province of Canterbury.

[8th October, 1866.]

Preamble

WHEREAS divers persons who have held or now hold licenses to depasture stock upon Waste Lands of the Crown in the Province of Canterbury have sold or transferred to other persons their right to depasture stock over portions of the lands comprised in such licenses and whereas it is expedient that the persons to whom the

right to depasture stock over such portions of such lands has been so sold or transferred by the original holders of such licenses or persons claiming under them or to whom such rights may be hereafter sold or transferred should be enabled to have issued to them separate licenses from the Waste Lands Board of the said Province to de-pasture stock upon the portions of the said lands upon which the right to depasture stock already has been or hereafter may be sold and transferred as aforesaid And whereas it is expedient that further provision be made for regulating the sale of land in towns withdrawn from the gold fields in the said Province:

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows:—

Short title

I. The Short Title of this Act shall be "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1866."

Upon portion of a run being sold Waste Lands Board may issue separate license for such portion

II. Whenever it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of the Waste Lands Board of the Province of Canterbury that the original holder of any license to depasture stock upon Waste Lands of the Crown in the said Province or any person claiming under such original holder shall have sold or transferred his right to depasture stock upon any portion or portions of the land comprised in such license to any other person or persons it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners to grant to each person to whom the right to depasture stock upon any portion of the lands comprised in such original license shall have been so sold or transferred a separate license under the hands of the said Commissioners for the portion of the said lands to which such person shall be entitled in like manner as if such license were issued as an original license and thereupon the portion of the said lands for which such new license shall be issued shall be and be deemed to be a separate run and shall be numbered as such in the books of the said Commissioners and also on the public maps of the said Province and a fresh license shall be issued to the person or persons claiming the residue of such run under the original license.

III. Whenever it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of
Commissioner to grant fresh licenses in certain cases

the Commissioners of the Waste Lands Board of the Province of Canterbury that the original holders of any licenses to depasture stock upon adjoining portions of the Waste Lands of the Crown or any persons churning under any such original holders respectively shall have exchanged their right to depasture stock upon any portion or portions of the lands comprised in such licenses with each other it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners to grant to each of such persons a fresh license under the hands of the said Commissioners which license shall issue in like manner as if the same were an original license and such license shall omit the portions of the said lands which such person shall have parted with and shall include such other portions as such person may have received in exchange together with the lands comprised in the original license excepting such portion omitted as aforesaid.

IV. Whenever it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of

Commissioner may issue fresh license comprising one or more previously issued

the Commissioners of the Waste Lands Board of the Province of Canterbury on the application of any person being the original holder of two or more licenses to depasture stock upon adjoining Waste Lands of the Crown in the said Province or any person claiming under such original holder that it would be desirable that the lands comprised in such two or more licenses should be comprised in one it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners to grant to such person a fresh license which shall issue in like manner as if the same were an original license and shall comprise the lands included in such two or more licenses and such new license shall have such number given to it as to the said Commissioners shall seem fit

V. Every application for a new or separate license shall be in

Application for new license to be in writing and accompanied by a plan

writing and shall be signed by the applicant or by his agent or solicitor and shall state the names of the person or persons to whom the original license or licenses was or were granted and also the names of the persons then entitled to the different portions of the lands comprised in such license or licenses and shall be accompanied by a plan of the lands showing thereon the boundaries of the different portions for which separate or new licenses are required.

VI. Every such application as aforesaid shall be lodged in the

Application for issue of new license to be advertised

office of the Chief Commissioner of the said Waste Lands Board at least eight weeks previous to the day upon which such application shall be heard and notice of such application shall be given by the Chief Commissioner by advertisement in at least one newspaper published in the said Province once every week for such period as aforesaid and the expense of such notice shall be borne by the applicant.

VII. The Waste Lands Board may require the said lands to be

Run to be [*unclear*: ui] surveyed

re-surveyed and thereupon the applicant shall deposit with the Treasurer of the Board the estimated cost of such re-survey, The Chief Surveyor shall as soon as practicable make such re-survey and the division or divisions in each case respectively shall be made and marked by the Chief Surveyor on the public maps in his charge and shall be binding and conclusive upon all parties concerned.

New license to give no claim to additional pre-emptive rights

VIII. Nothing in this Act contained shall be deemed or taken or construed to give to the person or persons to whom such new licenses shall be issued power to take up any additional pre-emptive rights beyond such as the holder or holders of the original license or licenses would have been entitled to take up under such license or licenses.

Fee for issue of now license

IX. There shall be paid to the Receiver of Land Revenue for the said Province for each license issued under the authority of this Act the sum of one pound such sum to be paid by the person to whom such license is issued.

Land in gold fields town-ships may be sold at fixed price

X. Whenever any land within a proclaimed township in the Province of Canterbury heretofore has been or hereafter shall be withdrawn from any gold field for the purpose of sale it shall be lawful for the Superintendent upon the recommendation of the Provincial Council to declare by proclamation in the Provincial Government *Gazette* that any part of such land which shall at the time of such withdrawal be lawfully occupied and have upon it buildings of the value of not less than twenty-five pounds shall be offered for sale to the person in lawful occupation of such land at a fixed price and upon the like recommendation to fix the price at which such land shall be so offered If such offer be accepted in writing within two months after a notice thereof shall have been published in the Provincial Government *Gazette* it shall be lawful for the Waste Lands Board to sell such lands to such person at such fixed price Provided that every such sale shall except as regards the price take place upon the conditions in reference to the sale of Town Lands prescribed in the Waste Lands Regulations of the said Province and if such offer as aforesaid be not so accepted within such period such land shall be sold by auction in the ordinary manner prescribed in such Regulations and at such upset price as may in each case be determined by the Superintendent and Provincial Council.

Appendix IV.

The Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1867.

Title

[10th October, 1867.]

WHEREAS it is expedient to alter and amend the Regulations now

Preamble

in force in the Province of Canterbury for the sale letting or disposal and occupation of the Waste Lands of the Crown in the said Province And whereas doubts have been expressed whether certain rights of preemption over Crown Lands in the said Province granted by the Waste Lands Board in pursuance of said Regulations are legally valid And whereas it is expedient that such doubts should be removed

BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows—

I. The Short Title of this Act shall be "The Canterbury Waste

Short Title

Lands Act 1867."

II. The words "The Regulations" in this Act shall mean all

Interpretation

Regulations Acts and Ordinances now in force in the Province of Canterbury relating to the sale letting disposal or occupation of the Waste Lands of the Crown in the said Province The clauses hereinafter mentioned and denoted by their numbers shall refer to the clauses of that part of the Regulations which was brought into operation and enacted under and by the various Acts Ordinances Bills and Regulations mentioned in the Schedule to "The Waste Lands Act 1858" as relating to the Province of Canterbury and which the said Act declared should have the force and effect of law and which part of the Regulations is contained in eighty-two clauses numbered consecutively.

III. All rights of preemption heretofore granted by the said

Preemptive rights already granted to be valid

Waste Lands Board under the authority or under the presumed authority of clause sixty of the Regulations are hereby declared to have been valid as from the time of the granting thereof,

IV. That part of the clause numbered sixty commencing with

No further improvement pre-emptive rights to be granted and inclusive of the words "and for all runs over all lands" to the end of the clause is hereby repealed except as to pre-emptive rights heretofore granted or created under the part so repealed and which by this Act are declared valid and such repeal shall extend to affect pasturage licenses heretofore issued under the Regulations and the rights of the holders thereof except as aforesaid.

V. The clause numbered sixty-two except as to pre-emptive rights

Rule as to form of pre-emptive rights

heretofore granted or created as aforesaid is hereby repealed and in the place thereof the following clause substituted that is to say—

- The lands included in such pre-emptive rights shall be subject to the rules as to form and frontage herein contained with respect to purchased land.

Clause 64 to apply to all pre-emptive rights

VI. The clause numbered sixty-four shall refer as well to rights of preemption already granted under the part of clause sixty hereby repealed as to rights of preemption granted or to be granted by the unrepealed part of the last-mentioned clause.

Part of clause repealed

VII. The following portion of clause sixty-six of the said Regulations is hereby repealed namely the words "other than those created by clause sixty of the Waste Lands Regulations."

Improvement for which pre-emptive right granted to be kept up to value of £50

VIII. Whenever any pre-emptive right shall have been heretofore granted or created under that part of clause sixty hereby repealed and the building enclosure plantation cultivation or other improvement in respect of which such pre-emptive right has been granted or created shall at any time after the passing of this Act be proved to the satisfaction of the Waste Lands Board to be or to have become of a less value than fifty pounds it shall be the duty of the Waste Lands Board thereupon to give notice to the holder of such pre-emptive right requiring him to cause such additions to be made to such building enclosure plantation cultivation or other improvement as shall make it of the value of fifty pounds and if the holder shall not in the judgment of the Waste Lands Board have complied with such requirement within one calendar month after the notice aforesaid shall have been left at the homestead or principal station on the run on which the land included in the pre-emptive right is situate or if there shall be no such homestead or principal station then upon the land included in such pre-emptive right then the pre-emptive right shall thereupon become forfeited and void and the land included therein shall become open for purchase as if it had not been so included Provided always that no pre-emptive rights shall become forfeited and void on account of such deterioration in value when such deterioration shall have occurred by purchase of part of the land on which any such improvements may stand.

Crop's may not be raised for sale from pre-emptive rights

IX. It shall not be lawful for the holder of any right of preemption to raise from any land included therein any cereal root or other crop except for *bona fide* use on the run of which the land included in such right of preemption forms part or on any run which is being farmed in connection therewith Any person offending against the provisions of this section shall on conviction thereof before any two Justices of the Peace be liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty pounds.

Improvements on land included in pasturage licenses to be paid for

X. If the holder of any pasturage license shall have erected or made or shall hereafter erect or make any building fencing enclosure or other improvement on Crown Land included within his license but not included in any pre-emptive right and such land shall be purchased by any other person than such holder he shall be entitled to remove such building fencing enclosure or other improvement

when land purchased

within three months from the date of his receiving a written notice of such purchase from the Waste Lands Board.

XI. If any person shall have erected or shall hereafter erect any

Gateways to be provided in fences

fence upon any Waste Lands of the Crown within the said Province of Canterbury it shall be lawful for the Superintendent with the advice and consent of the Executive Council by writing under his hand to direct such person to make such gates or other openings at such places in such fence as shall be thought necessary and if such person shall not comply with such direction within one calendar month after the receipt thereof he shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty pounds to be recovered in a summary way.

XII. If any person shall wilfully injure or destroy any fence

Penalty for injuring fences

which has been or may hereafter be erected by the holder of a pasturage license upon Crown Lands included within his license such person shall on conviction thereof before any two Justices of the Peace be

liable to a penalty not exceeding ten pounds.

Appendix V.

Title

An Act to enable the Superintendent of the Province of Canterbury temporarily to Reserve from Sale certain Lands for Mining Purposes.

[3rd September, 1869.]

Preamble

WHEREAS by the twenty-second clause of the Canterbury Waste Lands Regulations it is provided that the Superintendent may upon the recommendation of the Provincial Council by proclamation in the *Government Gazette* reserve from the operation of the Waste Lands Regulations of the Province of Canterbury any tract of country in which precious metals may be found to exist And whereas it is expedient that the Superintendent should have power temporarily to reserve lands wherein there is good reason to believe that such metals exist pending the next Session of the Provincial Council or the proclamation of a Gold Field under "The Gold Fields Act 1866.

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows:—

Short Title

I. The Short Title of this Act shall be "The Canterbury Temporary Mining Reserves Act 1869."

Superintendent may temporarily reserve supposed auriferous land

II. It shall be lawful for the Superintendent of Canterbury by proclamation to temporarily reserve from sale any lands in which he shall have good reason to believe that precious metals exist Provided that no such reservation shall continue in force beyond the end of the Session of the Provincial Council next after the issue of such proclamation Provided also that it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council at any time to remove such reservation if it shall to him seem fit.

Superintendent may grant prospecting licenses on temporary mining reserves.

III. It shall be lawful for the Superintendent after he shall have reserved any lands for sale under the authority of this Act to grant a prospecting license to any person or persons applying for the same and such prospecting license shall in the event of a Gold Field being proclaimed under "The Gold Fields Act 1866" over any part of the lands so reserved give to such person or persons in the event of a paying Gold Field being discovered by him or them a right to a special claim of larger area than ordinary and such special claim shall be determined as is provided in the twelfth section of "The Gold Fields Act 1866" Provided that not more than one prospecting license shall be granted on the whole for every six hundred and forty acres so reserved as aforesaid and shall be for such period and shall be issued under such Regulations as may be approved by the Governor in Council.

Appendix VI.

An Act to Amend the Waste Land Regulations of the Province of

Title

Canterbury.

[6th August, 1869.]

WHEREAS it is expedient to alter and amend the Regulations now in

Preamble

force in the Province of Canterbury for the sale letting or disposal of the Waste Lands of the Crown in the said Province

BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows—

I. The Short Title of this Act shall be "The Canterbury Waste

Short Title

Lands Act 1869."

II. The annual rent to be paid on and after the first day of May

Rental to be paid on runs not held under Act of 1864

one thousand eight hundred and seventy in respect of every run not held under the provisions of the "Canterbury Waste Lands Act 1864" hereinafter referred to as "the said Act" shall be determined by assessment as hereinafter provided.

III. The Superintendent of the said Province shall as soon as

Superintendent shall appoint persons to assess value of runs conveniently may be after the passing of this Act appoint one or more duly qualified persons to assess the value of all runs not held under the said Act and to determine the rent which shall be paid for the same on and after the said first day of May one thousand eight hundred and seventy.

IV. If the holder of a depasturing license not held under the Licensee may hold run at rent so determined

said Act shall on or before the said first day of May one thousand eight hundred and seventy give notice in writing to the Waste Lands Board of the said Province that he is desirous of holding his license at the rent determined as hereinbefore provided and shall on or before the said first day of May pay the first year's rent together with the cost of the assessment (to be fixed by the said Superintendent) such holder shall be entitled from thenceforth to hold his run as from the said first day of May at the rent so determined.

V. If the holder of any depasturing license for a run the rent of Upon non-acceptance of terms run to be forfeited

which shall have been determined as hereinbefore provided shall fail on or before the first day of May one thousand eight hundred and seventy to give the notice and to make the payments specified in the last preceding section the Waste Lands Board of the said Province shall immediately after the said first day of May one thousand eight hundred and seventy declare such run to be forfeited and such run shall then be put up to auction by the said Waste Lands Board.

Disputed assessments to be settled by arbitration

VI. If the holder of a depasturing license for a run not held under the said Act the rental of which shall have been determined by assessment as hereinbefore provided shall consider that such run has been assessed beyond its fair value it shall be lawful for him to refer the question of such value to a sole arbitrator to be appointed by the Governor and the decision of such arbitrator shall be final and conclusive All the expenses incidental to such arbitration shall be paid by the holder of the said license and pending the decision of the arbitrator as aforesaid the forfeiture of the said run under the provisions of section five of this Act shall be suspended but if the holder of the depasturing license shall fail within one month after the date of the award of the said arbitrator to give to the Waste Lands Board the notice and to make the payments specified in section four of this Act together with the cost of arbitration as hereinbefore provided the Waste Lands Board shall thereupon declare such run to be forfeited and it shall be put up to auction as hereinbefore provided Provided that in the event of the arbitrator deciding that the run was in the first instance assessed beyond its fair value the cost of the first assessment provided for in section four of this Act shall be paid by the Receiver of Land Revenue out of the land revenue of the Province and not by the holder of the depasturing license.

Course to be adopted with regard to runs generally in default of payment of rental

VII. If the holder of a depasturing license held under the said Act or this Act shall at any time fail or neglect to pay the rent due in respect thereof the said Waste Lands Board shall declare such license to be forfeited and the run shall then be put up to auction the upset rate of rental of such run being the highest rental payable before the passing of the said Act Provided that nothing in this section shall be construed to affect or repeal the provisions of the ninth section of "The Waste Lands Board Appeal Act 1867."

Rent not to be altered until 1st May, 1880

VIII. The rent of any run determined under the provisions of this Act whether by assessment or by auction shall not be altered until the first day of May one thousand eight hundred and eighty.

Township sites when not sold may be alienated for certain purposes

IX. Notwithstanding anything in the Land Regulations of the Province of Canterbury to the contrary it shall be lawful for the Superintendent and Provincial Council of the said Province by Ordinance to be passed by it in that behalf to enact that any lands which may have already been or shall hereafter be set apart and proclaimed as sites for towns in the said Province and which may not have been sold for the purposes for which such lands shall have been set apart or which having been so sold have been reconveyed to the Crown or to the Superintendent of the Province shall be reserves for endowments for educational or other purposes of public utility and such reserves shall not be alienated from the specific purposes to which they shall have been severally dedicated except under the provisions of "The Public Reserves Act 1854" and the notice and delineations upon the authenticated maps shall be published and made in every such case as required by the nineteenth clause of the said Regulations.

Acreage in excess of estimate in application to be paid for

X. Whereas by the fortieth clause of the Regulations aforesaid it is provided that should any section of rural land when surveyed prove to differ in any respect from that intended by the purchaser the Government will not be responsible for any loss or inconvenience which the purchaser may experience and whereas in many cases the descriptions of the boundaries given by purchasers of the land intended to be purchased by them have on survey proved to contain a larger area than that estimated to be contained within such boundaries and stated in

the license to occupy and in some cases Crown Grants have been prepared in accordance with such descriptions it is hereby enacted that in every such case the purchaser shall on the demand of the Commissioner of Crown Lands forthwith pay to the Receiver of Land Revenue the difference between the price of the land contained within the boundaries described and of the land for which payment has already been made whether the Crown Grant shall have been prepared or not Provided always that if the said purchaser shall not pay such sum on demand the section shall if necessary be re-surveyed and the Crown Grant if prepared shall be corrected and such purchaser shall forthwith pay to the Treasurer of the Waste Lands Board the cost of such re-survey of the section containing the excess of acreage and if the Crown Grant has been prepared he shall also pay in like manner the expenses incidental to such preparation.

Timber licenses may be refused in districts to be proclaimed

XI. It shall be lawful for the Superintendent of the said Province from time to time by proclamation in the *Gazette* of the said Province to define any district or districts in the Province which it shall not be lawful for the Waste Lands Board to include in any license to cut timber issued under the said Regulations after the publication of such proclamation and thereafter the said Board shall not issue any license to cut timber in such district nor shall any holder of a license to cut timber issued after the publication of such proclamation cut any timber in the said district under the authority of any such license The said Superintendent shall have full power from time to time by proclamation in the said *Gazette* to revoke or alter any such proclamation and the boundaries of any such district or districts to define and alter Provided always that no such proclamation as first afore said shall be made revoked or altered except upon a resolution of the Provincial Council of the said Province requesting the Superintendent so to do.

Appendix VII.

Title

An Act to provide for the more effectual determination of Differences and Disputes heard before Waste Land Boards.

[10th October, 1867.]

BE IT ENACTED by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows—

Short title

I. The Short Title of this Act shall be "The Waste Lands Boards Appeal Act 1867."

Decisions of Waste Lands Boards where no rehearing or appeal provided subjected to the provisions of this Act.

II. Whenever by the Acts Ordinances or Regulations in force in any of the Provinces of New Zealand affecting the administration of the Waste Lands of the Crown in such Province power is given to the Waste Lands Board of or in any such Province hereinafter collectively referred to as "the said Board" with or without the consent sanction or concurrence of the Superintendent of any Province or of any other person or authority to hear and determine applications for the purchase leasing occupation or other acquisition of land or for pasturage or for timber or other licenses or to hear and determine disputes between the holders of pasturage or timber or other licenses respecting boundaries of runs or of spaces or areas occupied under licenses or to hear and determine any of such matters then and in either of such cases the decisions of any such Board shall be subject to the following provisions—

Rehearing provided

III. Any Waste Lands Board of or for any Province may at any time within fifteen days after the making of any decision by it on any matter on which it is empowered to decide grant on the application of any person aggrieved by such decision a rehearing of the case decided by it if it shall think that justice requires it and on such rehearing may reverse alter modify or confirm the previous decision in the same case.

Appeal to Judge of the Supremo Court

IV. If any person consider himself aggrieved by any decision of the said Board such person may appeal to the Supreme Court provided that such person shall within thirty days after the giving of such decision give notice of such appeal to the Board and also to such persons if any as shall have appeared before the Board as opponents of the case or claim or application of such person and also give security to be approved of by the Registrar of the Supreme Court for the costs of the appeal and after hearing the parties the Court shall give its decision and cause the same to be certified in writing by the Registrar or Deputy-Registrar of the Court to the Board and the Board shall be bound to follow such decision and shall reverse alter modify or confirm their decision in accordance therewith and the Supreme Court may make such order as to payment of costs to either party as to it shall seem meet.

V. Such appeal shall be in the form of a case agreed on by such

Appeal to be by case stated if agreed on or the Court to hear and determine Board and the Appellant and if they cannot agree upon the case to be stated then such appeal shall not be in the form of a case but the Supreme Court shall hear such appeal and may receive evidence either orally or by affidavit and it shall be lawful for the Supreme Court if to the Court it shall seem fit instead of deciding any matter of fact in dispute upon affidavits or personal examination by it of witnesses to order any such question of fact to be found and determined by a jury and to settle an issue or issues for that purpose.

VI. The Board may either at the instance of a party or of their Question of law may be submitted by Board for opinion of Judge own motion in any case of doubt upon a question of law submit a case thereon in writing to a Judge or Judges of the Supreme Court who after hearing the parties or their counsel or without as to such Judge or Judges shall seem fit shall certify his or their opinion thereon in writing to the Board and the Board shall be guided by such opinion.

VII. The Judges of the Supreme Court or any two or more of Judges of Su-premo Court empowered to make rules them may from time to time make general rules for regulating the practice and proceedings on such appeals and on the hearing and deciding questions stated under the sixth section of this Act which rules shall be as valid us if included in this Act.

VIII. This Act shall apply to any Waste Lands Board of or in Application of Act not withstanding other provisions in Waste. Lands Act of any-Province any Province and to the decisions of such Board notwithstanding that in the Act Ordinance or regulations regulating the sale occupation or other disposal of the Waste Lands of the Crown therein special provision may be made for appeals from the decisions of such Board and any such provision so far as the same is inconsistent with or repugnant to the provisions of this Act or would prevent the operation of this Act with regard to any Waste Lands Board of or in such Province or the decisions of any such Board shall be deemed to be repealed.

XI. Where under any Waste Laud law in force in any Province Pastoral license or lease it is provided that any pastoral license or lease shall be forfeited or shall cease and determine upon any rent payable for under or in respect thereof not being paid at the time when such reht is payable it is hereby expressly provided that such forfeiture shall not accrue and such license or lease shall not cease and determine if within three mouths after the day on which such rent becomes payable the licensee or lessee shall pay the rent accrued due together with a sum of one shilling for every pound of rent due for each month or fraction of a month during which such rent shall be in arrear.

X. Nothing herein contained shall authorise or permit an appeal No appeal connected with the title of the Crown to lauds from the decision of any Waste Lands Board upon any question affecting the title of the Crown to any lands.

Appendix VIII.

Title

An Act for amending the Law relative to the Unlawful Occupation of Demesne Lands of the Crown and for appointing Commissioners of Crown Lands.

[15th September, 1862.]

Preamble

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend the Law relative to the Administration of the Waste Lands of the Crown in New Zealand:

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows:

Short Title

I. The Short Title of this Act shall be "The Crown Lands Act 1862."

Commencement of Act

II. This Act shall come into operation in each Province of New Zealand on and from a day to be fixed by the Governor in Council to be notified in the Government *Gazette* of the Colony and also of the Province to which such notification shall apply.

Ordinances repealed

III. The several Ordinances specified in the Schedule A hereunto annexed are hereby repealed: Provided nevertheless that such repeal shall not take effect in any Province until this Act shall come into operation in such Province as provided by this Act: Provided also that in any Province in which the provisions of the said

repealed Ordinances relating to the creation of Hundreds the granting of licenses the appointment of wardens of Hundreds and the assessment of stock shall be in force at the time of the passing of this Act such provisions shall continue in force within such Province until the same shall be duly repealed or altered by law and all contracts and agreements made or which may be made under such provisions shall remain in force in like manner as if this Act had not been passed.

Governor may appoint Commissioner

IV. The Governor may by warrant under his hand appoint in and for each Province of the Colony the Chief Commissioner of the Waste Lands Board or if there be no such Chief Commissioner then some Commissioner duly appointed under any Waste Land Laws or Regulations for the time being in force in such Province or if there be no such Commissioner then some fit and proper person to be a Commissioner to perform the duties and exercise the functions specified in this Act and who shall be termed "The Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Province of " and such person is herein referred to as "the Commissioner" Provided that every Commissioner appointed under any law repealed by this Act shall be deemed to be appointed under the authority of this Act.

Tenure of office

V. The Commissioner shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor or until he shall have ceased to be a Commissioner under the Waste Land Laws or Regulations of the Province.

VI. The appointment of the Commissioner shall be notified in

Notification of appointment

the Government *Gazette* of the Colony and also of the Province to which the same shall relate.

VII. The powers and duties of the Commissioner shall be as

Powers and duties of Commissioner

follows viz. for and on behalf of the Crown.

- To manage and superintend the custody preparation and issue of Crown grants leases licenses and other instruments of disposition relative to Crown Lands subject to such provision as is or shall be made by law relating thereto.
- To perform and exercise all such duties and functions as by any laws for the time being in force in any Province relating to the sale disposal or management of Crown Lands are required or authorised to be performed and exercised by a Commissioner of Crown Lands.
- To prevent unlawful trespassing or intrusion upon or occupation of Crown Lands.
- To remove and expel all trespassers and intruders on and persons unlawfully occupying Crown Lands and to remove or cause to be removed therefrom all cattle stock goods chattels and effects whatsoever of such persons and such cattle stock goods chattels and effects to impound in some public pound and sell by public auction if the same be not replevied or redeemed within twenty-one days after being so impounded by payment of all expenses incurred by the removal and impounding thereof and incidental thereto and also of all penalties which may have been incurred in consequence of the trespass or intrusion by such cattle stock goods chattels and effects and the proceeds of any sale after payment of the costs thereof of the removal and impounding of such cattle and incidental thereto and of all penalties aforesaid shall be paid to the party entitled thereto on application to the Commissioner.
- To ascertain the limits and define according to the laws in force relating thereto the boundaries of all Crown Lands held under or affected by any lease or license.
- To settle all disputes and differences whatever arising out of or in relation to leases or licenses of or affecting Crown lands or between lessees and licensees or persons claiming to be lessees or licensees of such lands in relation to such leases or licenses.
- To enter on any Crown lands in order to take possession thereof in the name of the Crown.
- To distrain sue for and recover money due to the Crown for rent or for use and occupation in respect of any Crown lands.
- To enforce contracts respecting sales leases licenses or other disposition of Crown lands and to compel payment of money due to the Crown in respect thereof.
- To determine any determinable contracts respecting Crown lands.
- To resume possession of Crown lands on non-performance of contracts.
- To recover and receive rents purchase moneys and other moneys due to the Crown in respect of any sales licenses leases or other dispositions of Crown lands.

Commissioner may prosecute or defend Crown Suits, &c.

VIII. All actions suits and proceedings by or on behalf of Her Majesty respecting Crown lands within any Province or respecting any contract relating thereto or any breach of any such contract or any trespass on such land or any damages accruing by reason of such trespass or for the recovery of any rents purchase moneys or other moneys in respect of such land or in respect of any damages or wrongs whatsoever in any way suffered by

the Crown in respect of Crown lands may be commenced prosecuted and carried on by and in the name of the Commissioner on behalf of Her Majesty and the Commissioner may be plaintiff or defendant as the case may require in any such action suit or proceedings.

Burden of proof to lie on Defendant

IX. In any action suit or proceeding against any person for or in respect of any alleged unlawful occupation trespass or use of or upon any Crown lands the proof that the occupation or use in question was authorised by the provisions of this Act or of any order or regulation made in pursuance thereof shall lie on the defendant: And the averment that any lands in question are Crown lands shall be sufficient without proof of such fact unless the defendant prove the contrary and all maps plans licenses certificates and office copies certified as true under the hand of the Chief or Principal Surveyor or of any Commissioner of Crown Lands shall in all matters relating to the said respective offices be sufficient evidence of their contents without production of original records and without the personal attendance of such officers or proof of their signature.

Decrees there-shall bind Crown

X. All decrees orders and judgments in any such last-mentioned proceedings shall be binding on her Majesty her heirs and successors.

Costs may be awarded

XI. The Commissioner in any such action shall recover and be liable to costs and damages as any plaintiff or defendant in ordinary course of law and the Commissioner may be indemnified in respect of such costs and damages by the Governor.

Penal rent for unlawful occupation

XII. In case any person at any time heretofore shall have un-lawfully intruded upon or occupied or shall hereafter unlawfully intrude upon or occupy any Crown lands every such person shall be liable to pay to Her Majesty for the use and occupation of such land during such unlawful occupation such sum of money as shall be fixed by the Commissioner for the Province not exceeding the sums specified in the Schedule B to this Act which sums so fixed shall be payable on demand to the Commissioner and shall be recoverable by distress and sale action or otherwise in like manner as rent in arrear: Provided that nothing in this clause shall be deemed to give any right or title to such land or to prejudice any other proceedings whatsoever.

XIII. Service of such demand in the same manner as is or may

Service of such demand

for the time being be provided for the service of writs of summons from the Supreme Court shall be deemed to be good service.

XIV. If in any action suit or proceeding touching or concerning

In questions of boundary Court may refer to Surveyors and adopt: their Report

any Crown Lands or any grant lease or license relating thereto any question shall arise as to the limits or extent or as to the boundary of any land comprised in any grant lease or license it shall be competent for the court before which such action suit or proceeding may be pending to order and direct that such question shall be referred to any person or persons whom the court shall think fit subject to such terms and conditions as the court shall think fit and the award order and determination of such person or persons shall be conclusive in such action suit or proceeding as to the matter so referred and shall be binding on the parties and may be enforced as a rule of the court and the court may make such rule or order as to it shall seem fit touching such reference or the costs thereof.

XV. All rents recovered under this Act shall be deemed to be

Rents recovered deemed Land Revenue of the Province

Land Revenue of the Province within which the same shall arise and shall be paid to the Receiver of Land Revenue thereof.

Schedules

SCHEDULES REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING ACT.

Schedule A

Ordinance and Acts repealed.

Schedule B

Rates payable.

The rate payable for *Town Land* shall be any sum to be fixed by the Commissioner not exceeding one hundred pounds per acre per annum and so in proportion for any quantity more or less than an acre.

For Suburban Land.

The rate of payment shall be any sum to be fixed as aforesaid not exceeding £5 per acre per annum and so on in proportion for any quantity more or less than an acre.

For Rural or Pastoral Land.

If the quantity shall be 100 acres or less the rate of payment shall be any sum to be fixed as aforesaid not exceeding £1 per acre per annum and so in proportion for any quantity more or less.

If the quantity shall exceed 100 acres but shall not exceed 500 acres the rate of payment shall be any sum to be fixed as aforesaid not exceeding 10s. per acre per annum.

If the quantity shall exceed 500 acres the rate of payment shall be any sum to be fixed as aforesaid not exceeding 5s. per acre per annum.

For Timber Land.

For every acre of land upon which timber or underwood shall be unlawfully cut the rate of payment shall be any sum to be fixed as aforesaid not exceeding £40 per acre and so in proportion for any quantity more or less and in addition thereto a sum not exceeding the sum of £2 for each tree cut of whatever kind whose girth in any part shall be 30 inches in diameter or upwards.

Appendix IX.

Title

An Act to regulate the appointment of Commissioners of Crown Lands throughout the Colony.

[3rd September, 1869.]

Preamble

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend the laws relating to the appointment of Commissioners of Crown Lands throughout the Colony

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows:—

Short Title

I. The Short Title of this Act shall be "The Commissioners of Crown Lands Act 1869."

Repeal clause

II. Sections four and five and sub-section six of section seven of "The Crown Lands Act 1862" and all provisions in any Act of the Legislature of New Zealand contained relating to the appointment of Commissioners of Crown Lands or Deputy Commissioners of Crown Lands are hereby repealed.

Commissioners of Crown Lands and Deputies to be appointed by Governor

III. The Governor in Council may in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty by warrant under his hand appoint to and for each Province or County of the Colony aforesaid some fit and proper person to be Commissioner of Crown Lands for such Province or County and also if needful some fit and proper person to be a Deputy Commissioner for such Province or County.

Their tenure of office and duties

IV. Every such Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor and every such Commissioner shall possess the powers perform the duties and exercise the functions specified in that behalf in "The Crown Land Act 1862" or in any other Act of the General Assembly of New Zealand now or hereafter to be made and shall also perform and exercise in and for the Province and County for which he shall be appointed all such duties and functions as by any Act or Regulations for the time being in force relating to the sale disposal or management of Crown Lands in such Province or County are required or authorised to be performed or exercised by a Commissioner of Crown Lands, or by a Chief Commissioner of any Waste Lands Board constituted for such Province or County by any of the Acts or Regulations aforesaid and every such Deputy Commissioner shall when and so long as specially authorised from time to time by the Governor to act possess all such powers and exercise such functions as are hereinbefore given to a Commissioner of Crown Lands.

Commissioners heretofore appointed

V. All persons holding the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands at the time of the passing of this Act shall be deemed to have been appointed under this Act.

VI. Every Commissioner of Crown Lands appointed under this

Commission-to be *ex officio* Members of the Waste Lands Boards

Act shall be *ex officio* a Member and Chairman of any Waste Lands Board constituted for the Province or

County for which such Commissioner has been appointed.

VII. No person holding the office of Commissioner or Secretary

Disqualification

of Crown Lands shall hereafter be eligible to be elected or appointed as a Member of the General Assembly or any Provincial or County Council or as Superintendent of any Province.

N.B.—So much of this Section as provides that no person holding the office of Secretary of Crown Lands shall thereafter be eligible to be elected or appointed as a member of the General Assembly or any Provincial Council, or as Superintendent of any Province, is repealed by "The Commissioners of Crown Lands Act Amendment Act 1873."

VIII. The salaries of Commissioners of Crown Lands appointed

Appropriation for their salaries

under this Act shall be determined by appropriation of the General Assembly and shall be paid out of the Land Fund of the Province or County for which such Commissioners have been appointed respectively and shall be paid by the Colonial Treasurer Provided that until such appropriation as aforesaid has been made the present salaries payable to the said Commissioners shall continue to be paid and shall be charged to the Province or County for which they have been respectively appointed.

IX. Except as to section seven of this Act this Act shall not

Commencement of Act

come into operation until the first of January one thousand eight hundred and seventy.

Appendix X.

Title

The Canterbury Waste Lands Act, 1873.

[29th September 1873.]

Preamble.

WHEREAS it is expedient to alter and amend the Regulations now in force in the Province of Canterbury for the sale letting or disposal and occupation of the waste lands of the Crown in the said Province:

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

Short Title.

I. The short title of this Act shall be "The Canterbury Waste Lands Act, 1873."

Interpretation.

II. The words "the Regulations" in this Act shall mean all Regulations Acts and Ordinances now in force in the Province of Canterbury relating to the sale letting disposal or occupation of the waste lands of the Crown in the said Province: The clauses herein after mentioned and denoted by their numbers shall refer to the clauses or that part of the Regulations which was brought into operation and enacted under and by the various Acts Ordinances Bills and Regulations mentioned in the Schedule to "The Waste Lands Act, 1858," as relating to the Province of Canterbury, and which the said Act declared should have the force and effect of law, and which part of the Regulations is contained in eighty-two clauses numbered consecutively.

Applications for rural land.

III. The clause numbered thirteen is hereby repealed, and the following provisions are made in lieu thereof:—All applications for the purchase of rural land shall be made and determined in the following manner, that is to say,—When the applicant, or any person authorized in writing or by telegram on his behalf, shall apply at the Survey Office either at Christchurch or Timaru for the purpose of purchasing any portion of rural land, the Chief Surveyor, or such person as he may appoint, shall prepare a form of application for the said applicant, or any person authorized in writing on his behalf, to sign, containing a description of the portion of land which the applicant desires to purchase, and shall initial the said form, and note thereon the precise time at which the application shall have been made; and the Commissioners shall during the sitting of the Board consider and determine all such applications in the order in which they shall have been received at the above-mentioned Survey Offices, up to such day and hour as may from time to time be fixed by the Superintendent on the recommendation of the Board: Provided that if two or more persons shall apply at the same time for the same piece of land, or any portion thereof, the Board shall determine the priority of right to be heard by lot. Applications for the purchase of rural lands shall have priority of hearing before any other applications.

IV. For all other purposes, a book, to be called the "Application

Application Book: to be kept open.

Book." shall be kept open during office hours at the Land Office, in which the name of every person

desiring to make any application to the Board shall be written in order by himself or any person duly authorized in writing on his behalf, and the Commissioners shall, during the sitting of the Board, consider and determine all applications made by such persons in the order in which their names shall appear in the Application Book, except where otherwise provided: Provided that if any person shall not appear himself or by some person duly authorized on his behalf before the Board when called in his turn, his application shall be dismissed until his name shall appear again in the book in order: Provided also that if two or more persons shall apply at the same time to write their names in the Application Book, the Chief Commissioner, or in his absence any other Commissioner or the Chief Clerk of the Board, shall bracket their names and shall initial the bracket, and when they shall appear before the Board the Board shall determine the priority of right to be heard by lot; and it shall not be lawful for the Board to hear any application except such as shall be made in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

V. The clause numbered nineteen is hereby repealed, and the Reserves, how to be made.

following provision is made in lieu thereof:—Reserves for the uses of the Provincial Government, and for other public purposes, may, upon the recommendation of the Provincial Council, be made by the Superintendent, and shall not be alienated from the specific purposes to which they shall have been severally dedicated, except under the provisions of an Act of the General Assembly intituled "The Public Reserves Act, 1854," and a full and complete description of every such reserve and of the purposes to which it shall have been dedicated shall, as soon as possible after it shall have been made, be published in the *Government Gazette* of the Province, and set forth on the authenticated maps in the Land Office: Provided that the Superintendent may, if the Provincial Council be not then sitting, temporarily reserve land for such purposes until the next Session of such Council. And if the Provincial Council shall not at its next sitting recommend the Superintendent to make the lands so temporarily reserved or any part thereof a reserve, the same or the portion not included in any such recommendation shall nevertheless not be open for sale except in the manner hereinafter provided.

VI. The Superintendent may nevertheless, immediately at the Disposal of lapsed reserves.

conclusion of every Session of the Provincial Council, again temporarily reserve any such land for any purpose until the next Session of such Provincial Council; or in case he shall not again temporarily reserve such land, he shall cause the same to be put up for sale by public auction at an upset price of forty shillings per acre, at such time and place of sale and in such mode of sale and payment of purchase money as he may think fit; and if such land be not sold at such auction, the same shall thereupon be open for sale as rural land.

Reserves for public highways, &c.

VII. Clause numbered twenty is hereby repealed, and in lieu thereof the following provision is made:—Reserves for public highways bridle-paths and footpaths shall be made at any time whatever by the Superintendent or the Board, or by the Chief Surveyor under the authority of the Superintendent, and shall be set forth on the authenticated maps in the Land Office. The Superintendent and the Provincial Council may by Ordinance alter the line of any such highways bridle-paths and footpaths, and dispose of the land thereto fore used for the same.

Sale of sections of land containing less than twenty acres.

VIII. An auction shall be held once in three months, by order of the Superintendent, at which all sections of land containing less than twenty acres of land, not having been already exposed for sale by auction, shall be put up at an upset price of forty shillings per acre, and if not then sold such section shall thereupon be open for sale on application at a uniform price of forty shillings per acre: Provided always that nothing herein contained shall prevent prior application for and the sale of any such land under and in pursuance of clause thirty-five of the said Regulations.

Frontage lines.

IX, Frontage lines for the purpose of selecting any rural land shall be taken to mean any road river or public reserve which may from time to time be set forth or indicated on any of the authenticated maps in the Survey Office of the said Province, or any such stream watercourse or natural feature of the country as the Waste Lands Board shall determine necessary or expedient to be a frontage line.

Land sold to be subject to roads.

X. All rural land in the said Province shall be sold subject to a right of laying out a road or roads over the same, if found necessary or expedient on survey; and a Crown grant shall issue to the purchaser or purchasers of any such land, excepting there out so much thereof as may be required for such road or roads.

Mills, Disk & Co Printers, Stafford Street, Dunedin.

Education Board. Province of Wellington.

Temporary

Rules and Regulations.

Education Board, Wellington.

Temporary Rules and Regulations.

I.—CONDUCT OF BUSINESS.

1. The Board shall meet for transaction of business, from time to time as may be agreed upon, by notice from the Chairman or Secretary.
 2. At every meeting, the Secretary shall keep accurate minutes of the proceedings of the Board, and such minutes shall be read over at the next subsequent meeting, and signed by the Chairman, on confirmation.
 3. It shall be competent for the Chairman, at any time to convene a special meeting of the Board, by notice of not less than 14 and not more than 21 days, stating the object of such meeting.
 4. On the requisition of any three members of the Board, the Chairman, or, in his absence the Secretary, shall, forthwith, call a special meeting of the Board, in accordance with the terms of rule three.
- In event of the inability of the Chairman to be present at any meeting of the Board, another member shall be elected as Chairman for that occasion only, with the same powers for the time being, as the Chairman of the Board.

II.—SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION.

1. The Board will establish Public Schools of two kinds :—(1.) Schools having not less than twenty-five children in attendance. (2.) Half-time Schools, in thinly populated districts, where not more than fifteen children may be able to attend, under regulations adapted to the requirements of the district. Itinerant Teachers will also be appointed in districts where no such schools can be established.
2. The teaching in the Schools shall be five hours daily, during five days in each week, one half-hour of which may be devoted to Religious Instruction. A time-table of the hours of teaching shall be hung up in the Schools, and Religious Instruction may be given in accordance with the 46th section of the Act. Where no such Religious instruction is given, the whole time shall be devoted to ordinary teaching.
3. The Vacations shall be as follows:—Four weeks at Christmas, and two weeks in mid-winter; and the Queen's Birthday, the Anniversary of the Province, Good Friday, Easter Monday and Tuesday, shall be observed as holidays.
4. Such Books only as are sanctioned by the Board, shall be used at the Schools established by the Board.
5. In every School established by the Board, Forms and Registers supplied by the Board, shall be kept by the Teacher.
6. Applicants for the office of Teachers will be required to produce certificates of competency, and moral character, and to undergo such examination as the Board may prescribe.
7. The course of instruction in the Schools shall include Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Composition, History, Geography, and Military drill: and one hour in each week shall be devoted to teaching the science of common things.

III.—DISCIPLINE OF SCHOOLS.

1. *Punctuality and Regularity.*—With a view to the proper training of their pupils, Teachers shall conduct the operations of their schools with punctuality and regularity.
2. *Cleanliness.*—Habits of personal neatness and cleanliness, are to be encouraged among the scholars, by precept and personal example of the teacher; and if necessary, may be enforced by his authority. The Teacher is also responsible for keeping the school rooms and furniture clean, and arranged in an orderly manner.
3. *Order.*—Proper measures shall be taken by the teachers to instil into the minds of their pupils the necessity of acquiring habits of orderly behaviour, obedience to Teachers and to the rules of the school, and for maintaining a modest and cheerful demeanour; pupils must also be trained to exhibit due respect for the property of others, whether public or private; to regard the feelings of their fellows; to be honest truthful, and conscientious in the discharge of any duty, and attentive and diligent while under instruction.

4. *Government of Pupils.*—In the Government of the pupils all degrading and injurious punishments are to be avoided. The Teacher's discipline must be mild but firm, his manner kindly, his demeanour cheerful and calculated to gain the confidence of his pupils, and his language marked by strict propriety. While he should overlook no offence, his aim should be to prevent the necessity for punishment by the improvement of the offender.

5. *Corporal Punishment.*—Corporal punishment shall be inflicted in extreme cases only; and the Teacher must keep a record of the time and place at which pupils were corporally chastised, the amount of such punishment, and the nature of the offence.

6. *Expulsion of Pupils.*—In case the Teacher shall find it necessary to expel or forbid the attendance of any pupil, he shall make a note of the same in the School Records, with his reasons for doing so, and shall forthwith report the circumstance to the district member of the Board.

7. *Play ground Supervision.*—The conduct of pupils in the play ground must be carefully supervised by the Teacher in person; and he must also see that in proceeding to School and returning therefrom, the behaviour of the scholars is well regulated. If possible, arrangements shall be made by which boys and girls will be kept apart during play hours.

IV.—INSPECTION OF SCHOOLS.

8. *Inspectors.*—Inspectors will be appointed by the Board, whose duty it will be to enforce the observance of the provisions of the Education Act, and the Regulations of the Board. They will be further empowered to examine into the condition of Schools, and all matters relating thereto, and to report thereon to the Board: to determine questions of school management, and to take the teaching of a class or of the whole School into their hands for a time, to show the teacher how defective methods may be remedied or improved.

9. In their intercourse with Teachers, Inspectors must be guided by a feeling of respect for their office, and of sympathy with their labours. They must manifest towards Teachers a spirit of true courtesy; treating them at all times with the kindness which the difficulties of their position render necessary

10. An "Observation Book" shall be kept in each School, as a School Record, in which the Inspector shall, or any visitor may enter such remarks as he may deem expedient. Entries therein are not to be erased or altered.

11. *Teachers.*—Teachers are required to carry out and obey the suggestions and instructions of Inspectors.

12. Teachers are required to give one month's notice in writing to the Board of their intention to resign their situations: such notice to be dated on the first day of any month. As a condition to the payment of the salary for the last month of their tenure of office, they are to hand over all the School property belonging to the Board, and are to make out in duplicate an inventory of the same.

13. Teachers in the service of the Board shall not engage in any occupation not having an educational character, without the approval of the Board.

14. Teachers will be classified in grades according to their attainments and practical skill in teaching; and will receive certificates accordingly, and may be promoted to higher grades in accordance with their after progress and good service, for which objects a revision of classification will take place at certain intervals.

Plan of Grey River

Report of the Proposed Improvement of the GREY RIVER.

By E. O. Moriarty, M.A., M. INST. C.E.,

Engineer-in-Chief for Harbours and Rivers. N.S.W.

S. T. Leigh & Co. Sydney: Hunter Street. 1874.

To His Worship W. F. Smith, Esq., Mayor of Grey Mouth.

SIR,

In attention to your request that I should "Examine and report upon the best plan of improving the bar and entrance of the Grey River, and fixing the channel in a permanent position, and to show by what means a

maximum depth of water can be maintained from the entrance, from deep sea water, to the full extent of the present wharf accommodation—the report to be accompanied by plans and estimates of the cost." I now do myself the honor to report as follows:—

I have made a very careful examination of the channel and banks of the river from the "Gorge," above the Town, to its embouchure; and have caused soundings to be taken to ascertain the depths of water available for vessels lying at the wharves, or navigating the channel approaching it.

I have also examined the bar and the beaches for some distance on each side of the entrance of the river; and have caused numerous soundings to be taken on the bar, and as close into the surf on either side of it, as it was considered safe to venture with the steamer. I have likewise made myself acquainted with the various changes which have taken place from time to time on the bar, and at the river's mouth, since the settlement of the place—as they have been described by Capt. Allardice, the Harbour Master, and other persons who would seem to have given close attention to the subject—and are shown on the very interesting plan, recording those changes, which has been compiled in the Survey Office, and which, taken in conjunction with the reports as to the condition of the bar at the different periods at which those surveys were made, justify me, I think, in stating that I have acquired sufficient acquaintance with the natural features and peculiarities of the place, to warrant my arriving at an opinion as to the measures that should be undertaken for the improvement of the Port.

The soundings on the bar and on the adjacent banks, as well as those inside the river from the entrance to the upper part of the wharf, are shown on the accompanying general plan. The changes which have taken place on the banks within the river and on the shingle spits on either side of its entrance from 1865 to 1873, are also shown on the accompanying plan, which has been partly compiled from one in the office of the Survey Department.

The Grey is a torrent river which, taking its rise in the lofty and precipitous ranges of mountains of the Southern Alps, has a very rapid descent to the sea, and is subject after heavy rains, or from the melting of the snows, or from both combined, to sudden floods of great height and force, and the velocity of the stream in its descent is so great, that it sweeps along in its course, vast masses of boulders, shingle and sand.

From the place called the Gorge, at which the river breaks through the limestone hills, the shingle and boulders, ejected with great force, and meeting the counteracting influence of the sea waves, have spread out on either side, forming extensive beds, which in the progress of ages have gradually encroached on the sea. On these shingle banks the town of Greymouth now stands, and the contest between the encroachments of the shingle on the sea, and the resisting action of the waves which tends to throw it back again on the beach, is now transferred to the present mouth of the river and the bar.

A marked difference may be observed in the character of the material forming the north and south beaches at the entrance of the river. On the latter, and extending from the spit for many miles in a southerly direction, the beach is composed mainly of sand from high-water mark downwards, but with a belt of shingle about high-water mark, and occasional patches of shingle strewn here and there, the sand deposit however largely predominating;—about low-water mark, the beach becomes flattened out, and is composed of a dark coloured fine sand. Extending, out in a westerly direction from the present sand spit there is a long stretch of shallow water on which a heavy surf is constantly breaking; and the signal man, who has been at his present station for about nine years, states that within his observation this bank on the south side has never been absent, while there has been frequently bold water off the north beach and spit.

On the north beach, and extending as far as Elizabeth Head, the character of the beach is different from that last described, being composed mainly of boulders and large shingle, mixed with but a small proportion of sand.

This difference in the character of the deposit on the northern and southern beaches is due to the prevalence of the south-westerly swell, which for the greater part of the year rolls in on the coast, and which is aided by the prevailing current setting along shore from south to north. The sand coming from the bed of the ocean is thrown up on the beach by the action of the waves, but is partly held in check close in shore, by the outflow of the river, hence the formation of the extensive banks on the south-western side of the entrance. But the shingle, which is of river origin, after its ejection is thrown up by the south-westerly swell and the current, along the north beach. Thus there is always a tendency of the sand spit to grow across the mouth of the river, and force it in a northerly direction. But there are times when other forces come into operation to counteract this tendency: the melting of the snows or heavy rains send down floods, which taking the most direct course to the sea, force their way through the sand spit, and form for themselves new channels, to be again filled up and again reformed, as one force on the other, the south-west swell, or the land floods, prevail.

These ever recurring changes, of course, render the navigation uncertain and dangerous, and while the channel is shifting from south to north, or back from north to south, the bar is always bad.

On this part of the subject, Admiral Richards, the Hydrographer, who surveyed this coast, remarks of the Grey River: "It has a bar at the entrance constantly shifting; the navigation depending on local pilotage. After a

heavy fresh, when the channel breaks out straight in a westerly direction, it is safe and easy of access for vessels drawing 8 or 9 feet water; but in the absence of any fresh in the river, the channel makes either to the north or to the south, but usually to the north, running for a short distance parallel with the coast line, and at such times the entrance to the Grey is dangerous." He also observes, "There is a constant heavy westerly swell, rolling in on this portion of the coast."

An illustration of the frequency of the changes in the direction of the channel over the bar, has been furnished since my arrival here. Coming in on Friday the 20th instant, we took the Northern Channel over the bar, which has been in use for some short time back, but by Saturday (the following day) it had changed, and the steamer entering was directed by the signal man to take another channel which, in the interim, had opened considerably to the southward of that by which we entered. This mere element of uncertainty, even in fine weather, would be of itself, a source of considerable danger to vessels trading to the Port; of course it is greatly aggravated by bad weather, and when the normal depth, due to a continuance of the channel in one direction, has not been attained. In general it is found that the depth of water on the bars of tidal harbours is maintained by the tidal action; the ceaseless flow and reflux of the tide tending to keep down the accumulation of sand thrown in by the action of the waves; here, however, it is not so, there is no alternating action of the tide, for on the third day after the spring, I found that at half flood, and after a long continuance of dry weather, when the river was unusually low, that there was still an outward set between the heads. Towards high tide there would probably be a slight indraught of sea water flowing beneath the fresh, but it cannot be very great, for I am informed that the river is nearly always drinkable at the town. It is obvious therefore that there can be no beneficial influence exercised on the deepening of the channel by the indraught of the flood tide, the only forces acting on it, tending to keep open the mouth of the river and counteract the tendency of the surf to throw back the sand and shingle on the beach and bar being that due to the ebb, when there is a steady and considerable discharge of fresh water, and to the action of the land floods, and freshets.

This will be made more apparent on reference to the longitudinal section of the river. The section shows that the fall of the surface of the river in times of flood from the Gorge to the embouchure is 5 feet, and from thence outwards to mean tide level the fall is over 9 feet. At an ordinary time when there is no fresh in the river, the fall of surface at low water springs was nearly 18 inches from the Gorge to the entrance, and at half-flood tide it was about 2 inches higher at the former than at the latter place, but at the top of high water it rises one foot higher at the heads than at the Gorge, and there would then be, without doubt, a slight indraught from the sea, but it can only be for a very short time at high water, and must be so trifling as to have no influence on the channel. At no stage of tide is there any upward current at the wharves.

Were the entrance to be sufficiently widened and deepened to admit the free flow of the flood tide into the harbour, there is no doubt but that the level of high water at the Gorge would become equal to that at the heads, and the whole area of the inner part of the harbour and the lagoons, on the south-west of the town, being filled to the extent of one foot higher than at present, not only would a scour on the bar be caused to some perceptible extent by the indraught of this large body of water; but on the ebb the full benefit of the scour resulting from the larger body of water to be discharged would materially increase the action on the bar and consequently tend to deepen the channel through it.

The Harbour Master states, and in this he is supported by the concurrent testimony of the masters of steamers, and all other persons with whom I have spoken on the subject that, the bar is always at its best state when the channel through it is open in a W.N.W. or N.W. direction, and that it continues open for a longer time, and with a more uniform depth while in this direction than in any other; it is also said to be more easily and safely taken by vessels entering or leaving the port. But all are agreed that the bar is bad, and the entrance difficult and dangerous—when the river opens in a direction anything to the south of west; and that it must be so is obvious from an inspection of the localities, which shows extensive banks lying out in a westerly direction from the southern spit, on which a heavy surf is constantly breaking. These facts have to be carefully borne in mind when devising works for the improvement of the entrance, and fixing the direction of any proposed channel over the bar, the object of which should be to direct the channel by artificial means, and maintain it permanently in that course, which experience has shown to have been most in consonance with the resultants of the natural forces operating at this place.

The evidence of Captain Allardice and other persons with whom I have spoken, quite bears out the statement of Admiral Richards, to the effect that for nearly nine months of the year there is a south-westerly ocean swell setting in on the coast and bar, and that the heaviest gales blew from S.W., W., and N. W., the two former driving in on the bar a heavy and long continued swell, but with N.W. winds the seas are short, comparatively harmless, and soon run down; these circumstances at once amount for the observed fact to which I have referred of the entrance to the river, and the bar being more permanent and in their best states when the river opens in a N.W. or W.N.W. direction.

I have been informed that in the year 1864 during a heavy flood the river broke out in a westerly direction,

cutting through the south spit near the slaughterhouse and discharging across the long flat bank, which may be seen to extend out for a considerable distance at this place. And at that time and so long as the outlet continued in the same direction, the bar was bad, but as the channel began to work to the northward through the joint action of the south-west swell, and northerly current which packed the sand in on the southern side, the bar improved and continued to do so till the channel got to about N.W., when it was at its best state. The progressive movements of the channel northward, in the years 1865-66-68-71-73-74, are shown on the accompanying plan. Latterly the channel had gone too far to the northward, and a long spit extended from the south shore to the northward, overlapping the entrance, and running parallel with the beach. This spit forms the inner and shallower bar; and the navigable channel ran for some distance to the northward, between it and the shore line, till it ultimately turned out seaward.

When the channel opens too far to the northward, as it has recently done, the navigation becomes difficult and dangerous; as vessels, after crossing the bar, have to haul round broadside to the waves, and run in on a course parallel and close to the beach, till they come to the entrance of the river, when they have again to alter their course nearly at right angles to enter the river; this is at all times a difficult manoeuvre, and sometimes would be impracticable, when there happened to be a strong out-run of current from the river.

If the channel across the bar ran fair in and out, in continuation of the present channel at the entrance of the river, the navigation would be rendered easy and safe to the extent of its available depth of water; but, at present the shallowness forms but one element of the danger; the tortuosity of the channel being another and greater.

Any works, therefore, which may be undertaken, for the improvement of the entrance to the Grey, must have primarily for their object, the fixing of the channel at the entrance of the river and across the bar in one direction, and maintaining it therein. This direction to be such as experience has shown to have been most permanent, under the normal conditions of the river, the currents, and the waves. Another object should be, while leading the mouth of the river into deep water, to protect it from the influence of the south west swell, so that vessels entering or leaving would have the protection the works afforded while crossing the inner bar. It is has been stated that, after southerly, and south-westerly gales, which send in a heavy sea accompanied by a strong northerly current, the south spit rapidly extends, and the north beach is washed away; while, after a north-westerly gale, the south spit recedes, and the north beach follows it. A further object therefore should be to arrest this oscillatory movement of the shingle and gravel across the entrance, and obtain the same condition of things—by artificial means—as would have existed had nature placed a rocky headland on the southern side.

Whenever rivers discharge into the sea between rocky headlands the bars are rarely bad, but on the other hand, when rivers discharge on low sandy shores, the bars are always bad, and the channels uncertain. The engineer, therefore, when designing works for the improvement of the entrance of a river, endeavours to imitate nature in this respect, and to produce artificially a similar condition of things to that which is observed to follow from natural causes. All bar improvements have this broad principle for their basis, but success, or failure, in the attainment of the desired results, in each individual case, depends on the skill and judgment with which it is applied.

As regards the improvement of the inner portion of the river at the town, and the maintenance of deep water alongside of the wharves, much will depend on the curve to which the line of the wharf shall be formed, and I would recommend that it be as flat as possible. When a river sets into a bend, the greatest force of the water is exercised on the concave side, and the sharper the bend, the greater the force with which it acts on the bottom and sides of the channel, deepening the water close inshore, and washing down the bank—while on the convex side, the water travels with less velocity, or may even have a reverse current; hence the shingle or sand brought down by the river in its course is always deposited in banks on the convex side. But the flatter the curve and the more nearly it approaches to a straight line, the less is the tendency of the river to seek either shore, and the greater the force of the current towards the centre of the channel where the friction is least. In the instance under consideration, the flatter we make the curve of the line of wharfs, the less will be the tendency to cut away the bank on the Grey-mouth side. The river will discharge more freely in times of flood, and there will be less danger of inundation. A perfectly straight line, however, would not be desirable in this instance, as it will always be an object to preserve a sufficiently strong run of current along the face of the wharf to prevent the accumulation of shingle, and maintain a sufficient depth of water for vessels of moderate draught. The improvement of the entrance by widening, straightening, and deepening the channel will also tend towards the prevention of inundation of the town by the land floods, and the deposition of shingle in the channel near the wharfs.

The works which I would recommend for improving the bar and fixing the channel in a permanent position, are delineated on the accompanying plan which is taken from a survey made by your Town Surveyor, Mr. Johnston. They consist of an internal training wall, commencing at the wharf and continued in a gentle curve to the south spit, being a length of 3,300 feet, and a breakwater extending thence outwards in a north-westerly direction for a further distance of 2,100 feet, which will bring the head of the breakwater into 12 feet at low

tide. The effect of the breakwater would be to protect the entrance from the break of the S.W. swell, and arrest the northerly trend of the sand which would be retained in the groin at the base of the breakwater. I would propose to carry the head of the breakwater outwards in a more westerly direction than the body of the work, so as to present greater resistance to the breaking waves which will roll in on its end, and thus diminish the danger of its being washed down across the channel: this would also have the effect of giving the northerly coast currents a direction more off shore at this point, and therefore more in the direction of the currents setting out from the river, which would tend to prevent the formation of a spit at the end of the breakwater.

The stones for the breakwater should be in as large blocks as can be conveniently handled, and should average not less than ten tons weight. Stones of this size would not be shifted much by the waves, and with proper tackle and plant, and careful quarrying, there should be no difficulty in obtaining them of this size from the limestone quarries at the Gorge; the smaller material produced in quarrying the larger blocks for the breakwater can be used in the construction of the inner training wall; but in this the larger stones, weighing from one ton to half a ton, should be placed on the river side, the inferior materials being deposited on the inner or land side. The reclamation of the space between the training wall and the present bank may be done with gravel, quarry rubbish, or any other material which may come cheapest.

If a large coal trade is to be done at this port (and from what I have myself seen of the seam at the pit and read of it in the parliamentary papers as to the excellence of the quality of the coals, and its practically inexhaustible quantity, I believe that there is every reasonable prospect of a great and rapidly increasing trade), it will be necessary to provide at the wharf, and about the cranes, or whatever other appliances be adopted for loading, a considerable extent of standage room for the trains of full and empty coal trucks—the present area abutting on the streets would be too limited. It will be necessary, therefore, to widen out the space below Chapman-street on which to form sidings, but this, I have pointed out in another place, will be rather beneficial than otherwise to the navigable channel as tending to flatten the curve at this point, and I have little doubt but it will also be followed by the recession of the shingle on the opposite side.

I would propose leaving an opening in the training wall to admit of the lagoon being filled and emptied every tide, (so as to act, in some measure, as a sluicing reservoir), conveying the stone for the breakwater across it on a pile bridge :—the area of the lagoon is about 650 acres, and the water received and discharged from it every tide must increase in some measure the intensity of the ebb scour on the bar.

I would not propose at present carrying out any works on the north side of the entrance—they may not be required at all, but if they be, it would be better to defer them till the effect of those on the south side shall have been seen—until the river shall be allowed to establish its regimen under the altered conditions which will result from the construction of the southern breakwater.

I think, that after the works I have indicated have been in operation some few years, you may confidently look to have an available depth for navigation—of about 15 or 16 feet at H.W. neaps, on the bar and in the channel leading to the wharves. This would not of course be sufficient for very large vessels; but, such would not be necessary, to command a very large coal trade, which is, in the present day, carried on for the most part in screw steam colliers, or small class sailing vessels. The natural capabilities of Grey mouth are not great; and too much must not be expected from any works which may be undertaken for its improvement, but if those which I have suggested be carried out, I have no doubt of the port being rendered safe, and comparatively easy of access, for vessels of the class I have named. At present it cannot be considered as safe or easy of access to any vessel, The plan which accompanies this report is a general plan of the river from the Gorge to the bar, showing the present wharves and their proposed extension, the training walls and breakwater, with soundings in the river and on the bar and adjoining banks.

The cost of the works I have proposed would be about £94,998 made up as follows:—

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,

E. Moriarty.
S.T. Leight & Co., Hunter-street, Sydney.

**Extract from Minutes of the General Meeting of
the Proprietors, Held at the Banking House,
High Street, Dunedin, On Wednesday, The 28th**

July, 1875.

W. J. M. Larnach, ESQ., in the Chair.

The MANAGER, Mr. Beal, read the Advertisement calling the Meeting, also the Minutes of the General Meeting, held on the 27th January, 1875, and the Special Meeting, held on 26th May, 1875, which were duly confirmed.

The Report of the Directors and Balance Sheet for the past half-year were then read and submitted, and on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by John Reid, Esq., of Merton, unanimously adopted.

The Meeting then proceeded to the Election of a Director, vice A. W. Morris, Esq., who had resigned to assume the management of the London Branch. The Manager read the Advertisement giving the requisite Notice, upon which A. C. Strode, Esq., the only Candidate, was unanimously declared elected.

After various questions had been put and answered to the satisfaction of the Meeting, it was proposed by R. H. Leary, Esq., seconded by H. S. Chapman, Esq., that a hearty vote of thanks be given to the Directors and Officers of the Bank. Carried by acclamation.

W. J. M. Larnach, *Chairman*.

The Colonial Bank of New Zealand.

Second Report of the Directors, at the Half-Yearly General Meeting of the Proprietors, held at the Banking House, Dunedin, on Wednesday, 28th July, 1875.

THE DIRECTORS have pleasure in presenting to the Shareholders the accompanying Statement of Accounts, for the past six months ending the 30th June, and congratulate them upon the support and confidence of the public, as evidenced by the large increase in the Deposits, and in business generally.

The Profit and Loss Account, which shews a balance of / 4,723 18s. 10d., after paying all expenses, providing for bad and doubtful debts, and for accrued interest to date on Fixed Deposits, it is recommended should be carried forward to next half-year.

Branches of the Bank are now open in the Colony at

A Sub-Branch has been opened at Green Island, and the support already accorded promises success.

Mr. A. W. Morris left by the last San Francisco Mail, on the 3rd inst., to open the London Branch, in regard to which a Special Meeting of the Shareholders was held in May last.

M. HOLMES, *President*.

Dunedin

22nd July, 1875

The Colonial Bank of New Zealand.

The second half-yearly general meeting of the proprietors of the Colonial Bank of New Zealand was convened to be held at the Banking House, Dunedin, on Wednesday, but an adjournment was made to the City Council Chambers, where the business was disposed of. Mr W. J. M. Larnach occupied the chair, and there were about 50 shareholders present.

Minutes.

The minutes of the general meetings held on the 21st and 28th May last were read and confirmed.

The Half-Yearly Report.

The CHAIRMAN called on the Manager to read the balance-sheet and report for the past six months.

Mr BEAL read the report and balance-sheet, which will be found over our leading column.

The CHAIRMAN had only to regret to day that the hom gentleman, who was President of the Bank, was not

present in the place occupied by him (the Chairman), to give them the satisfactory intelligence that the Bank was progressing in every way that they could desire—in fact, beyond their anticipations. He had only to call their attention to this balance sheet and the former one to show them the progress the Bank was making. On the 31st December, after the Bank had been in operation three months, the total note circulation was L8560. Now the amount of notes in circulation was L31,862. The deposits on the 31st December were L52,619 15s 9d. On the 30th June they were L182,707 17s 10d. Of that amount L125,000 was bearing no interest, and there was only an amount of about L59,000 on which the Bank was paying interest. The accounts to the 31st December numbered 400; now they reached nearly 1600. He thought that was sufficient evidence to show them how substantially the Bank was progressing throughout the Colony. Apart from Dunedin, at each locality where the Bank had been established it had met with the greatest encouragement, and it no doubt would grow with the future prosperity of the Colony—and it was sure to grow with it—and be a great success. In fact, it would require only ordinary careful management to ensure it to be what the promoters originally promised—a substantial and useful institution in the Colony. The number of shares taken up originally was over 169,000, upon which calls of 30s had been paid, which amounted to L254,000. He might tell them that out of that large sum there was only about L14,000 of unpaid calls at the present date, and that amount was being reduced every day. No doubt if the Directors had pressed every shilling would have been paid, but it was not considered prudent, and they had had no difficulties where people had been requested seriously to pay their calls; so at the present period there was only an amount of about L14,000 or L15,000 unpaid calls. The balance-sheet showed them that they had 10 establishments, including the sub-branch at Green Island, and they were all promising to do satisfactorily. It was contemplated, in the course of a few days, that there should be two more branches of the Bank in operation. Arrangements had been made to open a branch at Oamaru, in the north of the Province, and one at Outram and Mosgiel in the West Taieri; and in these localities, from the number of local shareholders, he thought they would have every support and do prosperously. Oamaru is a most thriving district, and from having secured a gentleman well known in that district to take the management there, there was no doubt that under his management the Bank would get a large amount of business—at any rate, would get its share. They were also aware that the Directors found it necessary to take steps to open a branch in London. The business of the Bank was increasing so fast in Dunedin, and the accounts were becoming of so important a nature, that it was found absolutely indispensable to have a London branch, to do justice to customers in Dunedin—importers and others who had to pass bills through their Banks, and no time had been lost in the way of opening a branch in London. The Directors made arrangements with Mr Morris, and he was now on his way to commence operations. Mr Morris was also authorised to place shares on the market in London, and he (the Chairman) had no doubt that, with the name that the Bank had achieved for itself, there would be no difficulty in selling the shares in London to useful shareholders. It was anticipated that Mr Morris would open the branch by the end of the year, and the Bank would then take over accounts which it was at present not desirable to take, from not being able to give those facilities which it could not afford until the London office was in operation. So that, by the end of the present year, it was anticipated that the business would be increased by a very paying addition—that of exchanges, which was carried on so considerably in London. It was anticipated that their branch opening in London would enable them to acquire an extra capital, of perhaps a quarter of a million, by the amount of shares which they would be able to float there, and also through the aid of one of their large accounts (the Harbour Board), whose debentures they were entrusted with to the amount of £100,000, and they had already evidence that these debentures would be taken up. By that step alone the Bank would have an increased capital, without taking into account increase of deposits of nearly a quarter of a million; and notwithstanding the growth they had already made, they anticipated like compound interest to be growing larger in a short time. Every step they took gave them additional strength to take farther and larger strides. They would notice in the balance, and perhaps it occurred to many of them, that the preliminary expenses of the Bank were large. It had been thought prudent to give them in detail, and they now appeared in this state. When they took the amounts for advertising and the commission on the sale of shares—items which the Directors had no control over, and were compelled to submit to in order to force the Bank into a position—and take the balance, the meeting would not consider them unreasonable. He might tell them that since the 30th of June no less than 66 new accounts have been opened with the Bank, and that in four weeks. In fact, the only thing now keeping the Bank from doubling its strength, and which was in the way of its progress, was the want of more capital, and capital could only be acquired by time. The promoters made the promise to the shareholders that the calls would only be made by certain dates. The Directors were aware of this; and while they would have studied the shareholders' interests to make calls now, they would not do so, as it would be a breach of faith, and calls would only be made in terms of the prospectus. However, another call could be due in about three months, which would give an addition to the capital of about L50,000; and when this sum and the L100,000 he had already referred to came in, the business of the Bank could be considerably extended. And it was not only the business that the Bank had already, but promises had been made to it of the

best accounts in their midst, apart from those in other localities. It might be well for him to point out to them that both on the 30th of December and on the 30th of June the Bank was very strong in coin. Now, it might be supposed that the Bank might have made more if it had not kept so high a reserve; but it was deemed prudent—considering it was a new institution, and might meet opposition—to have a strong reserve and not invest too much. That was the reason why the Manager and the Directors considered it advisable to work slowly but surely. If they calculated the difference between the dates of the 31st December and the 30th June, with the comparatively small amount of money that the Bank had at the former date to use and to invest, and compare it with what the Bank had at the present time, it would give them, even at seven per cent., the difference between £8000 and £25,000 per annum, so the enormous strides the Bank had taken showed clearly that at the next half-year they might fairly anticipate a dividend. He thought the meeting would quite agree with the Directors that at the present time it was prudent to reserve the profits accrued. Although the profit seemed small, the Bank had done a careful business, and was not anxious to push it at first. The profit had been small, but he thought on the whole they would reasonably consider it was a fair profit. The only bad debt was a very small amount. It amounted to L250, and he thought this fact reflected credit on the Manager, and the shareholders would have no cause to find blame on that score. He did not know there was anything else he had to say to them. Really things were going on so satisfactorily that it was only taking up time to keep the meeting to further explain. He might mention that a vacancy occurred at the Board by Mr Morris going home, and the Directors, as they had power to do by the deed of settlement, had invited Mr Strode, who had had previous experience in that way, to a seat. Mr Strode would be before the meeting for re-election, and was the only candidate. It might be interesting to them to know that the Bank had sent home for note forms. The first note forms were printed in Dunedin. The first instalment had arrived from home, and they would be issued as soon as a proper supply arrived. They did credit to the Bank—they were a very nice note—and he hoped all those present would be able to obtain lots of them. He begged to move the adoption of the report, and should be glad to answer any questions.

In answer to Mr. WALTER, it appeared that the interest chargeable on overdue calls was 10 per cent.

Mr REID, of Merton, seconded the motion.

The report was unanimously adopted.

Election of Director.

The MANAGER read the notice of the candidature for the Directorship. Mr Strode, who was the only candidate, was unanimously elected to the vacancy in the room of Mr A W. Morris.

Further Discussion.

Mr REEVES: Would it be convenient to state what the gross profits of the Bank have been for the last six months?

The CHAIRMAN : Certainly. The Chairman then read a statement from which it appeared that the gross profits for the half year were £11,746, leaving a net profit of £3322. There were many charges that would not occur again, and these charges he would have them particularly to bear in mind, had almost reached their limit—that was to say, the Bank could do four or six times the amount of business with the same charges.

Mr. R. WILSON said there was a good deal of small talk about the Bank having entered into a compact with the other Banks. It was always understood that the Bank should take its own course; but there was no doubt it had entered into a compact, and why he should like

The CHAIRMAN was very glad Mr Wilson had asked the question, as it was better to have these things explained. He could only say it had been the intention, and still was the intention, of the Directors of the Bank to go as much alone as was prudent; but he need not tell them that no Bank in the Colony was able really to go alone. In fact, it would be most detrimental to the interest of any Bank to do so, and certainly for a new Bank and a weak Bank, which they might have considered themselves to be till they had got fairly under way. And when the agreement was talked of, and it was proposed to the Colonial Bank to enter into it, it received careful consideration. Any Bank could withdraw from this agreement at any time, and in justice to Mr Holmes and Mr Tolmie, he must say that they did not support the agreement.

Mr REEVES : It was reported some time ago that the Directors intended to appoint a highly salaried officer.

The CHAIRMAN replied that no such appointment had been made, and so far as he knew, was not intended to be made. He might say in justice to their present Manager, that the Directors—and, he was sure, the customers—were perfectly satisfied that that gentlemen had given entire satisfaction.—(Hear, hear.)

Mr LEARY proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Directors and to the officers of the Bank—particularly to the Manager (Mr Beal). Mr Beal was a gentleman in whom the shareholders had very great confidence, and

many had invested their money solely through his connection with the Bank.

Mr H. S. CHAPMAN seconded the vote. He should be sorry indeed if Mr Beal were forgotten in the usual distribution of thanks. Speaking as a customer, and not as a shareholder, he (Mr Chapman) felt sure from what he heard and from what he knew that Mr Beal had given considerable satisfaction, and he felt sure that a very considerable proportion of the success of the Bank had been due to the very excellent reputation which Mr Beal enjoyed before he joined them.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

Mr BEAL responded on behalf of himself and the officers of the Bank.

The proceedings concluded with the customary compliment to the Chairman.

PRINTED AT THE "DAILY TIMES" OFFICE, RATTRAY STREET, DUNEDIN.'

Balance Sheet of the Colonial Bank of New Zealand, 30th June, 1875.

£ s. d. Capital paid up to date ----- 239,112 12 0 Notes in Circulation ----- 31,802 0 0 Bills in Circulation ----- 41,061 3 6 Deposits ----- 182,707 17 10 Profit Reserved for Interest accrued on Fixed Deposits - - - - . 702 8 8 Profit and Loss Account----- 4,723 18 10 £500,170 0 10 £ s. d. Coin ----- 100,272 17 10 Bullion ----- - - - 4,149 17 8 Notes and Balances due by other Banks - - 7,739 10 7 Landed Property and Bank Premises - - - 5,383 7 4 Bank Furniture and Stationery - - - 4,377 19 6 Bills Discounted, Bills Receivable, and other debts due to the Bank - - - 372,017 12 3 Preliminary Expenses— Advertising----- £2.206 0 0 Commission 011 sale of shares 1,067 0 0 Fees to Local Provisional Committees throughout N.Z. 597 0 0 Salaries, Allowances, and Ex- penses at the various centres 1,119 0 0 Legal Expenses - - 677 0 0 Rent, Stationery, Telegrams, Postage, &c. - - 562 15 8 6,228 15 8 £500,170 0 10 Dr. Cr. PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT. £ s. d. To Balance - - - - - 4,723 18 10 £4,723 18 10 £ s. d. By Balance Profit and Loss at 31st Dec., 1874 1,101 0 3 Net Profit for Half-Year (after making provision for bad and doubtful debts and interest accrued on Fixed Deposits) - - - - - 3,322 13 7 £4,723 18 10 By Balance at 30th June, 1875 - - - - - 4,723 18 10 We have examined the Cash Bills and General Balances, and hereby certify the foregoing statement to be correct— E. SMITH, W. D. MEARES, Auditors

The Colonial Bank of New Zealand,

Incorporated by Act of the General Assembly.

Capital £2,000,000

In 400,000 Shares of £5 Each.

Subscribed Capital £850,000.

Directors:

- HON. Matthew Holmes, M.L.C., PRESIDENT.
- W. J. M. Larnach, ESQ.
- Donald Reid, ESQ., M.H.R.
- A. C. Strobe, ESQ. W. A.
- John Reid, ESQ., of Elderslie.
- John Reid, ESQ., of Merton.
- Tolmie, ESQ., M.H.R.

Auditor:

J. Edmund Smith, ESQ.

W. D. Meares, ESQ.

Solicitors:

MESSRS. Haggitt, Brothers, and Brent.

Head Office

- L. O. Beal, Manager.

Dunedin Otago.

- J. T. Warren, Branch Inspector.

BRANCHES:

PROVINCE OF OTAGO—

- Invercargill JOHN DALGLISH, Manager.
- Palmerston and Hampden GEO. STEPHENSON, Manager.
- Cromwell C. E. GUDGEON, Manager.
- Green Island S.C. WORTH, Acting Agent.

PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY—

- Christchurch JNO. C. MORRIS, Manager.
- Rangiora JAMES W. GRAY, Acting Agent.

PROVINCE OF WELLINGTON—

- Wellington FRED COOK, Manager.
- Palmerston North WM. BURTON, Manager.

PROVINCE OF HAWKES BAY—

- Napier E. J. UPHAM, Manager.

PROVINCE OF AUCKLAND—

- Auckland M. MORRISON, Manager.

AGENCIES:

- Victoria—THE BANK OF VICTORIA.
- New South Wales. THE ORIENTAL BANK CORPORATION.

In Tasmania—THE BANK OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

- In London—THE BANK OF VICTORIA.
- In Scotland—THE BRITISH LINEN COMPANY.

List of Shareholders in THE COLONIAL BANK OF NEW ZEALAND.

Otago.

- Abel, Henry John, Lawrence.
- Adam, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Adams, Charles Lewis, Invercargill.
- Adams, Charles William, Lawrence.
- Adkins, John, Dunedin.
- Aitken, Henry, Dunedin.
- Aitken, Thomas, Mosgiel.
- Aitken, William, Oamaru.
- Aitchison, Alexander, Milton.
- Aikenhead, Andrew, Oamaru.
- Alexander, Thos., Longbush, Southland.
- Allan, James, East Taieri.
- Allan, Joseph, East Taieri.
- Allen, George Edmund, Blackstone Hill.
- Allan, Barbara, Dunedin.
- Allan, Jessie, Dunedin.
- Allan, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Allan, Colin, Dunedin.

- Allen, Charles Stavely, Oamaru.
- Allan, John, Balclutha.
- Allan, John, Naseby.
- Allan, John, Alexandra.
- Anderson, Andrew, Dunedin.
- Anderson, John, Dunedin.
- Anderson, John, Caversham.
- Anderson, Peter, Dunedin.
- Anderson, George, Dunedin.
- Anderson, Gilbert, Dunedin.
- Anderson, Charles, Invercargill.
- Anderson, Henry, Waipori.
- Anderson, George Patterson, Totara.
- Andrew, John, Hampden.
- Andrew, David, jun., Mosgiel.
- Andrew, David, Green Island.
- Ancell, William Cleaver, Waikouaiti.
- Appleby, John Henry, Dunedin.
- Archibald, Alexander, Matura.
- Arkle, James, Palmerston.
- Alridge, Frederick Jacob, Palmerston.
- Armstrong, William, Dunedin.
- Armour, Hugh, Dunedin.
- Arndt, Hermann, Cromwell.
- Armstrong, Alexander, Invercargill.
- Ashcroft, James, Oamaru.
- Atkinson, James Henry, Dunedin.
- Atkinson, John James, Dunedin.
- Atkins, George, Queenstown.
- Austin, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Baillie, Mackray, Dunedin.
- Baird, Borthwick Robert, Cromwell.
- Baillie, Thomson, Teviot.
- Bain, James Walker, Invercargill.
- Baker, William, Dunedin.
- Baker, George, Dunedin.
- Baker, John William, Arrowtown.
- Baldwin, William, Dunedin.
- Banks, Robert, Dunedin.
- Barron, John, Dunedin.
- Barr, William, Kaikorai.
- Barclay, Thomas, Hamiltons.
- Barron, Henry William, Dunedin.
- Barr, Alexander, Milton.
- Barron, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Barham, William, Invercargill.
- Barr, James, Dunedin.
- Barratt, William John, Naseby.
- Barr, Archibald, Dunedin.
- Barclay, John, Oamaru.
- Barton, George Barnett, Queenstown.
- Bastings, Horace, Dunedin.
- Basstian Christopher, Southland.
- Bathgate, John, Dunedin.
- Bathgate, Thomas, West Taieri.
- Butement, Elizabeth Curry, Milton.
- Bauchop, Robert, Port Chalmers.
- Baxter, Robert, Caversham.

- Baxter, Joseph, Dunedin.
- Baxter, David, Dunedin.
- Bayley, Frederick, Dunedin.
- Beaven, Alfred, Brooklyn.
- Beattie, James, Invercargill.
- Beattie, Jane Martin, Alexandra.
- Beck, Philip, Port Chalmers.
- Beck, Henry, Dunedin.
- Bee, James, Oamaru.
- Bee, William, Oamaru.
- Beetham, Richmond, Queenstown.
- Beighton, James, Teviot.
- Beighton, John, Teviot.
- Bell, Walter. Dunedin.
- Beresford, William, Alexandra.
- Berwick, Henry, Dunedin.
- Bett, Andrew, Tapanui.
- Betts, Thomas George, Queenstown.
- Beverley, Arthur, Dunedin.
- Bielfeld, Heinrich, Dunedin.
- Birch, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Birknes, Charles Christian, Serpentine.
- Black, James Gow, Dunedin.
- Black, James, Dunedin.
- Black, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Black, Peter, Dunedin.
- Black, James, Dunedin.
- Black, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Black, James, Dunedin.
- Black, James, Dunedin.
- Black, Robert, Queenstown.
- Blacklock, James, Invercargill.
- Blackmore, Henry, Waipori.
- Blair, John, Green Island.
- Blair, William Newsham, Dunedin.
- Blair, John, Dunedin.
- Blauey, John, Dunedin.
- Blues and Co., James, Waiholo Gorge.
- Blyth, jun., John, Dunedin.
- Blyth, John, Dunedin.
- Bolton, Robert, Port Chalmers.
- Booth, Nicoll, Leitli Valley.
- Borrie, Donald, West Taieri.
- Botting, Robert Peter, Naseby.
- Bowie, John, Dunedin.
- Bowman, Samuel, Palmerston.
- Boyle, Peter, Queenstown.
- Boyd, Donald, Waipori.
- Boyd, John Theodore T., Melbourne.
- Boyne, James, Queenstown.
- Braid, Charles Barnes, Dunedin.
- Bray, jun., Benjamin, Waikouaiti.
- Brass, jun., James, Invercargill.
- Brent, Daniel, Dunedin.
- Brebner, sen., Thomas, Port. Chalmers.
- Bretherton, Henry, Waihopia.
- Brewer, Charles Vincent, Balclutha.
- Bremner, Joseph Reid, Hampden.

- Brebner, Adam G., Port Chalmers.
- Bremner, John Gould, Nasebv.
- Bridgeman, William, Caversham.
- Brown, John Marshall, Dunedin.
- Brown, Robert, Cromwell.
- Brown, John, Mosgiel.
- Brown, sen., James, Dunedin.
- Brown, Alexander McGill; Invercargill.
- Brown, John, McGill; Invercargill.
- Brown, James, East Taieri.
- Brown Thomas Dunedin.
- Ewing, Ralph Dunedin.
- Brown, Alexander, Green Island.
- Brown, Edward, Dunedin.
- Bruce, John, Milton.
- Bruce, Henry, Oamaru.
- Brunton, David, Merlon.
- Buchanan, Noel Lee, Dunedin.
- Buchanan, Thomas, West Taieri.
- Bulfin, John,. Waitahuna.
- Bullied, William, Dunedin.
- Burnett, David, Waihemo.
- Bums, Samuel, Kakanui.
- Burns, Robert, Dunedin.
- Burnside, John Arthur, Moorland.
- Burnside, William, Dunedin.
- Burton, Alfred Henry Dunedin.
- Burton, Walter John Dunedin.
- Burwell, Frederick Wm., Invercargill.
- Butement, John, Lake Wakatip.
- Butler, William, Arrowtown.
- Buttars, James, Dunedin.
- Butterworth, James, Waipori.
- Butterworth, John Leach, Dunedin.
- Burt, Alexander and Thomas, Dunedin.
- Burt, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Butson, Hemy, Dunedin.
- Cable, Henry, Waipori.
- Cadzow, Robert, Anderson's Bay.
- Calder, Hugh, Caversham.
- Caldwell, Edward, Otepopo.
- Caldwell, James, Dunedin.
- Calder, William Henderson, Invercargill.
- Cameron, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Cameron, Kenneth Forbes, Shag Valley.
- Cameron, John Council, Dunedin.
- Cameron, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Cameron, James Muir, Port.
- Chalmers. Cameron, Andrew, Port.
- Campbell, John, Dunedin.
- Campbell, Norman Stewart, Invercargill.
- Campbell, John, Invercargill.
- Campbell, Daniel, Dunedin.
- Campbell, John, Queenstown.
- Campbell, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Campbell, John, Green Island.
- Campbell, Duncan, Popotunoa.
- Campbell, James, Dunedin.

- Campbell, Christina Dunedin.
- Campbell, Edward, Dunedin.
- Campbell, William, Mornington.
- Campbell, Robert, Keihiku.
- Campbell, John, Halfway Bush.
- Campbell, John, Dunedin.
- Campbell, Robert, Hampden.
- Campbell, James William, Bendigo.
- Campbell, Hector McNeill, Waikouaiti.
- Campbell, jun., Robert, Oamaru.
- Carew, Edgar Hall, Lawrence, Oamaru.
- Cargill, Edward Bowes, Dunedin.
- Cargill, Madeline, Dunedin.
- Cargill, Charlotte E., Dunedin.
- Carmichael, Angus, Invercargill.
- Carnie, Henry, Dunedin.
- Carr, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Carr, John, West Taieri.
- Carmichael, Duncan, Wallacetown.
- Carruthers, William Ross, Invercargill.
- Carter, Thomas, Caversham.
- Cash, Daniel Patrick, Queenstown.
- Cassels, John, Cromwell.
- Candwell, Samuel, Waipori.
- Chalmers, James, Lawrence.
- Chapman, Joshua Rheuben, Dunedin.
- Chapman, George Carr, Oamaru.
- Chapman, Frederick Revans, Dunedin.
- Chapman, Martin, Dunedin.
- Chapman, George Albert, Naseby.
- Chapman, Charles Robert, Dunedin.
- Chapman, Robert, Dunedin.
- Chapman, Henry Samuel, Dunedin.
- Chapman, Ernest Arthur, Eden Creek.
- Ching, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Christie, James, North East Harbour.
- Christie, Clifford, Balclutha.
- Christie, Annie, West Taieri.
- Christie, William, Oamaru.
- Clapp, Lewis Frederick, Riverton.
- Clark, Henry Roberts, Dunedin.
- Clark, Alexander Mackintosh, Southland.
- Clark, Duncan, Southland.
- Clark, Archibald, Southland.
- Clark, Charles. Port Chalmers.
- Clarke, Charles, Dunedin.
- Clarke, Joseph, Moa Flat.
- Clarkson, William, Blueskin.
- Clayton, James Henry, Dunedin.
- Cleave, Robert, Invercargill.
- Clowes, Thomas Arthur, Oamaru.
- Clyde, Thomas Burnside, Nevis.
- Coates, George, Dunedin.
- Cochrane, William, and Blackwood, William Invercargill.
- Coffey, Richard, Milton.
- Coghill, Robert, Havelock.
- Colelough, Charles, Cromwell.
- Collis, Edwin, Oamaru.

- Collett, George, Naseby.
- Colihan, John, Blueskin.
- Connelly, Savage, Invercargill.
- Connelly, Phillip Augustus, Naseby.
- Connell, John Aitken, Dunedin.
- Connell, Henry, Oamaru.
- Cochran, Margaret Tenent, Invercargill.
- Cochran, Helen Hastie, Invercargill.
- Cook, Joseph Girwood, Dunedin.
- Cook, Henry, Arrow town.
- Coombe, George, Milton.
- Cooper, Thomas N., Marewhenua.
- Cooper. Uriah, Marewhenua.
- Cooper, Matthew N., Mount Ida.
- Cook, Cunningham, Invercargill.
- Copley, Joshua, Skippers.
- Corsan, David, Milton.
- Cormack, John, Port Chalmers.
- Corrigal, James, Black's No. 1.
- Cox, Joseph, Waipori.
- Cox, William Henry, Lawrence.
- Cowan, William, Waikouaiti.
- Cowie, William, Dunedin.
- Craig, James, Dunedin.
- Crawford, George Dunedin.
- Crawford, William Dunedin.
- Crawford, Robert Dunedin.
- Crockett, George, West Taieri.
- Cross, Frederick, Dunedin.
- Crossley, Herbert, Dunedin.
- Crump, Charles, Palmerston.
- Cuiss, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Culling, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Cunningham, James, Dunedin.
- Cunningham, William, Dog Island.
- Cuthbertson, John Robert, Invercargill.
- Carnie, Alexander, Switzers.
- Curie, James, Dunedin.
- Cossens, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Cossens, James, Balclutha.
- Cotter, Timothy, Cardrona.
- Cowper, George, East Taieri.
- Couzens, William Edward, Dunedin.
- Court, Louis, Dunedin.
- Coutts, John, Palmerston.
- Dale, Mark, Milton.
- Dale, Richard, Invercargill.
- Dall, Thomas, Milton.
- Dallas, James Taylor, Te Houka.
- Dalgleish, Robert, Dunedin, Te Houka.
- Dalgleish, John, Invercargill.
- Dalgleish, James, Dunedin.
- Dalrymple, William jun., Dunedin.
- Dalrymple, William, Port Chalmers.
- Daniel, Frederick Henry, Queenstown.
- Darling, William, Dunedin.
- Davidson, William, Dunedin.
- Davidson, David, Dunedin.

- Davie, John, Dunedin.
- Dawson, Henry, Dunedin.
- Dawson, Alfred Frederick, Invercargill.
- Deane, James, Dunedin.
- Dempster, John, Green Island.
- Denniston, George Lyon, Dunedin.
- Denniston, Thomas, Invercargill.
- Dewar, John Shiels, Bendigo.
- Dey, Peter, Mosgiel.
- Diamond, Annie, Dunedin.
- Diack, John Gordon, Caversham.
- Dickson, Margaret, Waipori.
- Dick, Peter, Roslyn.
- Dick, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Dickson, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Dickson, John, Switzers.
- Dodson, George, Dunedin.
- Donald, James, West Taieri.
- Donald, Peter, Waitaliuna.
- Donaldson, John, Dunedin.
- Doran, Owen, North Dunedin.
- Douglas, John, Palmerston.
- Douglas, James, Frankton.
- Douglas, John Torry, Dunedin.
- Douglas, Wm. S., and Falconer, George, Dunedin.
- Douglas, Charles, Invercargill.
- Dow, James and John, West Taieri.
- Dow, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Dow, Peter, West Taieri.
- Dow, Isabella, Dunedin.
- Dow, Robert, Dunedin.
- Downes, Walter Gregory, Dunedin.
- Dove, John, Clyde.
- Dreaver, James, Dunedin.
- Drew, jun., John, Palmerston.
- Drumm, Joseph, Dunedin.
- Drummond, Duncan, Waipori.
- Drysdale, John, Port Chalmers.
- Duncan, Samuel, Dunedin.
- Duncan, John, Waikouaiti.
- Duncan, William, Dunedin.
- Duncan, George, Waikouaiti.
- Dunlop, Daniel, Invercargill.
- Dunlop, Francis, Mataura.
- Dunn, William, Invercargill.
- Dunne, John, Balclutha.
- Duthie, William Ogilvie, Lawrence.
- Eagle, John, St. Bathans.
- Eagle, Francis, St. Bathans.
- Easthope, Wm. Miller, Hampden.
- Easton, Robert, Mornington.
- Eccles, Joshua, Dunedin.
- Eckhold, William, Lawrence.
- Edmonds, William, Hamiltons.
- Edmund, John, Dunedin.
- Edmond, David, Lake Waipori.
- Elder, James Robertson, Maheno.
- Elliott, George William, Dunedin.

- Ellison, Daniel, Port Chalmers.
- Elliott, John, Southland.
- Emery, James, Dunedin.
- Esther, George, and Low, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Evans, Jenkin, Blue Spur.
- Evans, Thomas, Waitahuna.
- Evans, Sarah Eliza, Invercargill.
- Fairley, Thomas, Oamaru.
- Fair, Patrick Thomas, Dunedin.
- Falconer, John, Mornington.
- Falconer, David, Lawrence.
- Falconer, Thomas, Oamaru.
- Falconer, Thomas, Queenstown.
- Falck, Ferdinand, Queenstown.
- Fale, David, Invercargill.
- Farnie, William, Dunedin.
- Farrer, William E., and Lawrence.
- Stewart, Alexander Lawrence.
- Farra, Joseph, Dunedin.
- Farquhar, Grant Preston, Dunedin.
- Feger, John William, Caversham.
- Fenwick, Lewis Gordon, Oamaru.
- Fenwick, Charles L. C., Oamaru.
- Fenwick, George Thomas, Oamaru.
- Ferguson, Daniel, Dunedin.
- Ferguson, Duncan. Southland.
- Fidler, William, Dunedin.
- Field, George, Ida Valley.
- Findlay, John and Charles, North Taieri.
- Finlay, Robert, Alexandra.
- Fish, Henry S., Invercargill.
- Fish, Henry S., jun., Dunedin.
- Fisher, Richard Hill, Tapanui.
- Fisher, Daniel, Milton.
- FitzGerald, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Fleming, Alexander Allan, Oamaru.
- Fleming, John, Oamaru.
- Fleming, Neil, and Hedley, Allan, Oamaru.
- Flint, William, Dipton.
- Floyd, Joseph Matthew, Palmerston.
- Floyd, James, Palmerston.
- Fogo, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Forbes, William Grant, Naseby.
- Forsyth, James, Dunedin.
- Forsyth, James, Port Chalmers.
- Forsyth, William Moses, Dunedin.
- Forsyth, Anne, Dunedin.
- Forsyth, David, Dunedin.
- Fowler, John, Invercargill.
- Fraser, William, Clyde.
- Fraser, John, Dunedin.
- Fraser, John, Dunedin.
- Fraser, Robert Campbell, Kakanui.
- Frazer, John Dawson, Dunedin.
- Fraser, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Frederick, Charles Lane, Invercargill.
- Friedlich, Harris, Dunedin.
- Fulton, James, West Taieri.

- Fulton, William, Switzers.
- Fyfe, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Fynmore, Charles, Dunedin.
- Galbraith, Christopher, Oamaru.
- Galloway, Alexander, North Dunedin.
- Garden, Alexander, Riverton.
- Gardiner, Walter, Queenstown.
- Gardiner, David, Waikouaiti.
- Garven, James, Invercargill.
- Gartland, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Gardiner, Frederich Crombie, Dunedin.
- Garden, James, Clinton.
- Gartly, James, Alexandra.
- Gartly, William, Alexandra.
- Gairns, Andrew, Dunedin.
- Gawn, Thomas, West Taieri.
- Gay, George, Dunedin.
- Geddes, William, Palmerston.
- Geisow, Franz W.F., Queenstown.
- Gellibrand, William St. Paul, Dunedin.
- Gerrie, James, Oamaru.
- Gibb, William Alexander, Dunedin.
- Gibb, Walter, Taieri Beach.
- Gibbs, Samuel, Oamaru.
- Gibson, Edmund, Oamaru.
- Gibson, Peter, Dunedin.
- Gifford, Algernon, Oamaru.
- Giftord, John, Oamaru.
- Gillies, David, Green Island.
- Gilchrist, William, Dunedin.
- Gilroy, George Hay, Balclutha.
- Gill, Alfred Hogarth, Waikouaiti.
- Glen, Adam, Dunedin.
- Glen Elizabeth Dunedin.
- Glendinning, Robert, Dunedin.
- Glenn, Robert, Naseby.
- Godso, Edmond Venable, Opoho.
- Goddard, William, Oamaru.
- Goldie, William, Port Chalmers.
- Golding, Francis, Morton.
- Goldstein, Edward. Dunedin.
- Goodger, George Wellington, Cromwell.
- Goodlet, William, Dunedin.
- Goodall, James, Milton.
- Goodsir, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Goodsir, James Tod, Queenstown.
- Gordon, John Carnagie, Milton.
- Gordon, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Gore, Hugh, Dunedin.
- Goudie, William, Dunedin.
- Gould, John, Dunedin.
- Goudie, Basil H., Dunedin.
- Gould, Caroline M. A. Dunedin.
- Grace, Thomas, Skipper's Point.
- Graham, Alexander, Oteraia.
- Graham, George, Waipori.
- Gray, Joseph, St. Bathans.
- Gray, James, Dunedin.

- Gray, John, Dunedin.
- Gray, Alexander, Queenstown.
- Gray, David, Irvine, Scotland.
- Grant, David and Peter, West Taieri.
- Grant, Peter, West Taieri.
- Grey, Alexandrina, Dunedin.
- Grey, John George, Waiholo Gorge.
- Grey, William, Roslyn.
- Gregg, Henry, Invercargill.
- Gregg, William, Dunedin.
- Green, James Francis, Invercargill.
- Green, Isaac and George, Dunedin.
- Green, George, Dunedin.
- Greenfield, George, Dunedin.
- Greenslade, Charles Fredk, Dunedin.
- Gresham, William, Invercargill.
- Gregson, Thomas, Hamilton's.
- Grieve, Robert, Southland.
- Grigor, Douglas, Mrs., Balclutha.
- Grigor, Alexander, Balclutha.
- Growney, Simon, Cardrona.
- Gudgeon, Cyril Edwin, Cromwell.
- Gunn, William, Hamiltons.
- Gunn, Peter, Dunedin.
- Gunn, Jessie, Dunedin.
- Gunn, Donald, Naseby.
- Guthrie, Walter, Dunedin.
- Guthrie, Henry, Dunedin.
- Guthrie, Robert, Dunedin.
- Grumitt, William, Mount Ida.
- Gunn, Rose, Lawrence.
- Guthrie, Walter, and Dunedin.
- Larnach, Wm. J. M. dunedin.
- Hackett, John, Oamaru.
- Hadden, James, Waitepeka.
- Haggitt, Bryan Cecil, Dunedin.
- Haines, John Eaton, Queenstown.
- Hale, Edward Hunter, Dunedin.
- Hall, George Brodie, Dunedin.
- Hallenstein, Bendix, Queenstown.
- Hall, William, Hamiltons.
- Hall, William Horatio, Invercargill.
- Hamann, John, Dunedin.
- Hamilton, John, Invercargill.
- Hands, Jane, Dunedin.
- Handy, John, West Taieri.
- Hansen, Lars, St. Bathans.
- Hartley, John, Dunedin.
- Harrison, James, East Taieri.
- Harris, George, Dunedin.
- Harrington, Peter, Blacks.
- Hardie, George, Southland.
- Harvey, Henry Vincent, Invercargill.
- Hams, John Hyde, Dunedin.
- Harrop, Jonas, Lawrence.
- Hare, Henry Howard, Palmerston.
- Hastie, Matthew, Dunedin.
- Haswell, Hugh, Dunedin.

- Hast, Otto G. W., Switzers.
- Hastie, Richard, Hamiltons.
- Hastie, Alexander, West Taieri.
- Hassell, James Lloyd, Oamaru.
- Hawkinson, E. N., Invercargill.
- Hawson, Henry, Switzers.
- Hayes, William, Lawrence.
- Hayes, Timothy, Kensington.
- Hay, Alexander, Invercargill.
- Hayes, John David, Invercargill.
- Hagen, Henry, Waitahuna.
- Hazlett, James, Clyde.
- Healey, John, Blacks.
- Heeles, Matthew G., Dunedin.
- Helm, George, Invercargill.
- Holmes, Allan, Dunedin.
- Hendersan, John, Oamaru.
- Henderson, John, Mornington.
- Henderson, William, Dunedin.
- Henderson, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Henderson, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Hepburn, Andrew, Pleasant Valley.
- Hercus, sen., Peter, Dunedin.
- Herbert, Edward, Lawrence.
- Heron, James, Dunedin.
- Hetherington, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Hill, John, Dunedin.
- Hislop, John, Dunedin.
- Hislop, Thomas William, Oamaru.
- Horring, Niels Peter, Naseby.
- Hocken, Thomas Morland, Dunedin.
- Hodgkins, William Matthew, Dunedin.
- Holmes, Henry, Dunedin.
- Holmes, Matthew, Dunedin.
- Honywill, John, Clyde.
- Hood, John, Oamaru.
- Horder, George, Dunedin.
- Horten, George, Dunedin.
- Houghton, E. P., Dunedin.
- Houston, William, Manuka Creek.
- Howden, Charles R., Dunedin.
- Howard, Henry, Wallace Town.
- Howlison, Robert, Dunedin.
- Howard, Peter, Eden Creek.
- Howie, John, Dunedin.
- Howorth, Henry, Dunedin.
- Howell, George, Riverton.
- Hudson, Charles, Port Chalmers.
- Hughan, Thomas, Taieri Beach.
- Hughes, Edwin, Teviot.
- Hughes, Patrick, Kensington.
- Hughes, John, Manuka Crook.
- Hulland, Edward Nicholls, Dunedin.
- Hulme, Edward, Dunedin.
- Humphrey, Eden, Waipori.
- Hume, Louis, Invercargill.
- Hume, Marcus, Dunedin.
- Hunt, Michael James, Arrow town.

- Hunter, William, Dunedin.
- Hunter, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Hunter, James, Hampden.
- Hunter, Archibald, Dunedin.
- Hunter, Charles, Dunedin.
- Hutton, James Donaldson, Dunedin.
- Hussey, H. B., Dunedin.
- Hyams, Moses, Dunedin.
- Ingle, Frederick Augustus, Dunedin.
- Ingle, Mary Ann, Dunedin.
- Inder, Walter, Naseby.
- Inglis, William, Anderson's Bay.
- Iimes, William M., Port Chalmers.
- Innes, John, Queenstown.
- Instone, Matthew, Riverton.
- Isdale, Alexander, Oamaru.
- Jaap, Margaret, Dunedin.
- Jack, Robert, Kensington.
- Jacob, William, Naseby.
- Jackson, Peter, Upper Waitaki.
- Jackson, James, Dunedin.
- Jack, Archibald H., Dunedin.
- James, William, Waikouaiti.
- James, James, Dunedin.
- Jamieson, William, Lawrence.
- Jeffreys, William Richard, Dunedin.
- Jeffrey, George, Lawrence.
- Jenkins, John, Wallace Town.
- Jenkinson, John H., Port Molyneux.
- Jenour, George, Cromwell.
- Johansen, Carl, Waitahuna.
- Johnston, John, Kaihika.
- Johnston, Thomas Gibson, Dunedin.
- Johnston, Charles E., Campbelltown.
- Johnston, William, Port Chalmers.
- Johnson, Charles, Dunedin.
- Johnstone, Robert, Blackstone Hill.
- Johnstone, William, Invercargill.
- Johnstone, Francis Grant, Milton.
- Johnson, Robert, Queenstown.
- Jones, John Maitland, Dunedin.
- Jones, Enoch, Wyndham.
- Jopp, Andrew, Waipahi.
- Jordon, John, Shag Valley.
- Joyce, Michael, Port Chalmers.
- Joyce, John, Dunedin.
- Julius, Edric Adolphus, Oamaru.
- Kaye, Robert, Invercargill.
- Kaye, jun., John, Dunedin.
- Kahu, Henere, Otago Heads.
- Keating, Mary, Dunedin.
- Kee, Ah, Dunedin.
- Keenan, Henry, Kaikorai.
- Keligher, Patrick, Dunedin.
- Kempthorne, Thomas W., Dunedin.
- Kennedy, William, Dunedin.
- Kennard, Thomas, Palmerston.
- Kerr, William, Invercargill.

- Kett, Roger, Kakanui.
- Kettle, William, Port Chalmers.
- Kilgour, James, Roslyn.
- Kilgour, George. Dunedin.
- Kingswell, Charles Boucher, Invercargill.
- Kings well, William Henry, Invercargill.
- Kingsland, John Invercargill.
- Kingswell, William B., Invercargill.
- Kirkland, John, East Taieri.
- Kirkwood, Alexander, Teviot.
- Kirkpatrick, James, Queenstown.
- Kitching, John Fry, Moa Flat.
- Knight, Ann, Waipori.
- Kroon, Johannes C., Dunedin.
- Kuglemann, Carl F. H., Dunedin.
- Kuminich, Frederick Chas., Alexandra.
- Kyle, Alexander, Oamaru.
- Lafranchi, Guachimo, Cardrona.
- Laidlaw, John, Invercargill.
- Lamont, Hugh, Eden Creek.
- Lambert, James Hall, Dunedin.
- Landels, Adam, Lovell's Creek.
- Lane, William, St. Kilda, Victoria.
- Lange, Charles Frederick, Dunedin.
- Landrebe, Martin, Oamaru.
- Lane, John James, Milton.
- Larnach, William J. M., Dunedin.
- Larnach, W. J. M., and Stanford, R. L.
- Lawson, Robert Arthur, and Stanford, R. L.
- Lawson, Charles, and Stanford, R. L.
- Lawton, James Hardy, Queenstown.
- Law, David, Port Chalmers.
- Lawson, Albert, Blueskin.
- Lawrence, William, Switzers.
- Lazarus, Caroline, Dunedin.
- Leask, Samuel, Blacks.
- Leary, Richard Henry, Dunedin.
- Leckie, Archibald Campbell, Waipori.
- Leek, Alexander, Port Chalmers.
- Leijon, Charles G. V., Port Chalmers.
- Lennon, Mary Agnes, Dunedin.
- Levi, Lewis Lyon, Dunedin.
- Lewis, Frederick, Dunedin.
- Liddell, John W., Oamaru.
- Liddell, John, Dunedin.
- Lindsay, Robert. Oamaru.
- Livingston, William, Lawrence.
- Livingston, Henry, Duuedin.
- Livingston, William, Dunedin.
- Livingston, A. R. Dunedin.
- Lockhart, James, Milton.
- Logan, John, Dunedin.
- Logan, Henry, Dunedin.
- Logan, Thomas, Bendigo.
- Logan, James, Tapanui.
- Logan, George, Green Island.
- Logan, Peter, Dunedin.
- Loughnan, Ignatius, Cromwell.

- Lovell, John, Dunedin.
- Low, jun., Thomas, Switzers.
- Low, sen., James, Dunedin.
- Low, John, Balclutha.
- Low, Robert Alexander, Dunedin.
- Lowen, William Edward, Dunedin.
- Luckie, Thomas, Queenstown.
- Lyons, Edward, Dunedin.
- Maben, James, Matura.
- Macedo, Joseph A., Dunedin.
- Machin, Ephraim, Dunedin.
- Madigan, William, Clyde.
- Mains, John, Otepopo.
- Maitland, David, Balclutha.
- Maher, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Malaghan Michael John, Queenstown.
- Malloch, Donald, and Waikouaiti.
- Malloch John Waikouaiti.
- Mansford, Herbert Lawrence, Dunedin.
- Mansford, Thomas A., Port Chalmers.
- Mansford, William H., Dunedin.
- Mangan, Patrick, Hyde.
- Mann, Allan, West Taieri.
- Manning, Francis Richard, Dunedin.
- Manning, James, Dunedin.
- Manning, Mary Anne, Waiau.
- Manning, John Slade, Waiau.
- Margetts, Frederick S., Tuapeka.
- Marks, R. M., Dunedin.
- Marshall, James, Lawrence.
- Maryatt, Edward, Milton.
- Martin, Richard Bowden, Dunedin.
- Martin, Isaac, Dunedin.
- Martin, William Bishop, Lawrence.
- Massey, Joseph Morgan, Dunedin.
- Mason, Peter, Balclutha.
- Mason, George Wm., Port Chalmers.
- Matheson, Thomas Crerar, Dunedin.
- Matheson, Glibcrt Crerar, Dunedin.
- Matheson, John, Dunedin.
- Mathieson, John, Peninsula.
- Matthews, William, Balclutha.
- Mathison, Donald, Sunnyside.
- Mathieson, Donald L., Invercargill.
- Matthews, John William, Riverton.
- Maude, W. J. A., Oamaru.
- May, Mary, Oamaru.
- Mayo, Henry, Invercargill.
- Mears, William Devenish, Dunedin.
- Meenan, Francis, Dunedin.
- Meenan, Michael, and Meenan, Joseph.
- Mcikle, Robert, Joseph.
- Mellor, John, Tinkers.
- Melville, William, Dunedin.
- Menelaus, William, Port Chalmers.
- Menlove, Edward, Oamaru.
- Merrilees, Alexander, Taieri Beach.
- Mercer, Andrew, Dunedin.

- Messenger, Thomas Arklev, Oamaru.
- Metcalf, Frank Robert, Dunedin.
- Michie, James, Dunedin.
- Middleton, Thomas, Oamaru.
- Millar, John, Dunedin.
- Millar, James, Dunedin.
- Mill, John, Port Chalmers.
- Miller, David, Oamaru.
- Mills, John, Green Island.
- Miller, Walter, Glenore.
- Mills, James Neill, Dunedin.
- Mill, Robert, Waikouaiti.
- Mill, William, Waikouaiti.
- Mills, James, Dunedin.
- Miller, John, Port Chalmers.
- Mills, John Robert, Riverton.
- Miller, James Mc Pherson, Oamaru.
- Mitchell, David, Port Chalmers.
- Mitchell, James Ross, Waiwera.
- Mitchell, John, Dunedin.
- Mitchell, James, Waikouaiti.
- Mitchell, James, Dunedin.
- Mollison, James, Dunedin.
- Mollison, James S., Dunedin.
- Mollison, Annie, Dunedin.
- Moller, Carl, Dunedin.
- Mollison, Alexander Dunedin.
- Mollison, James Dunedin.
- Mollison, Benjamin Dunedin.
- Monson, John Robert, Port Chalmers.
- Moodie, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Moore, Samuel, Clyde.
- Mooney, James Augustine, Tapanui.
- Moore, Joseph, Waipori.
- Moody, William, Kakanui.
- Morrison, W. Duguid, Lawrence.
- Morgan, John, Queenstown.
- Morton, Edward, Clyde.
- Morisey, Henry, Dunedin.
- Morkane, James, Dunedin.
- Morris, John, Havelock.
- Morgan, John, Port Chalmers.
- Morrison, Samuel, Dunedin.
- Morris, Arthur W., Dunedin.
- Morrison, Andrew, Oamaru.
- Morris, William, Invercargill.
- Morris, Charles, Alexandra.
- Mosan, Ralph Steftenson, Serpentine.
- Mosan, Steffen Stcffenson, Serpentine.
- Moss, Henry Vincent, Dunedin.
- Mowat, Andrew, Oamaru.
- Moves, Henry and David, Oamaru.
- Milton. Muir, James, Dunedin.
- Muir, Robert, North Taieri.
- Muir, John Boyd, Cromwell.
- Muirhead, Thomas, Nokomai.
- Mulrooney, John, Dunedin.
- Munton, Joseph Dally, Kensington.

- Munro, Donald, Hampden.
- Munro, William Grant, Otemata.
- Murray, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Murray, John Randolph. West Taieri.
- Murray, William, Port Chalmers.
- Murray, Richard Hall, Dunedin.
- Murcott, William, Hampden.
- Murcott, Henry Thos, Hampden.
- Murray, John Patrick, Hampden.
- Murray, Hugh, Milton.
- Murray, John, Lawrence.
- Murray, James, Milton.
- Murphy, William, Milton.
- Murchie, David, Riverton.
- MacKay, Hector, East Taieri.
- Mackay, Robert, Dunedin.
- Mackay, John, Dunedin.
- Mackay, George Forbes, Teviot.
- Mackay, Robert, Dunedin.
- Mackay, John, Dunedin.
- Mackay, Henry A., Dunedin.
- Mackay, William B., Port Chalmers.
- Mackay, Donald, Switzers.
- Mackay, James, Dunedin.
- Mackenzie, Roderick, Otepopo.
- Mackeclnie, Jane, Dunedin.
- Mackenzie, Tertius Hay, Oamaru.
- Mackersy, John, Alexandra.
- Mackie, George, Milton.
- Macfarlane, John, Port Chalmers.
- Macfarlane, Andrew, Dunedin.
- Macfarlane, John, Dunedin.
- MacGinnis, Michael Joseph, Alexandra.
- MacNeil, Hugh, Dunedin.
- Macquaid, Robert, Dunedin.
- Mactavish, Lockhart, Blacks.
- McArthur, Peter Gilchrist, Nevis.
- McArthur, James A., Invercargill.
- McBrearty, James, West Taieri.
- McBride, John, Queenstown.
- McBride, Alexander, Queenstown.
- McClusky, Adam John, Naseby.
- McColl, Angus, Cromwell.
- McColl, Alexander, Dunedin.
- McCorley, John, Balclutha.
- McCallum, Daniel, Port Chalmers.
- McRae, John, Bendigo.
- McDonald, Robert, Kakanui.
- McCulloch, Henry, Invercargill.
- McCulloch, James Birbeck, Dunedin.
- McDiarmid, Francis, Woodside.
- McDiarmid, Angus, Dunedin.
- McDonald, Donald John, Tuapeka.
- McDonald, John, Balclutha.
- McDonough, Thomas F., Dunedin.
- McDonald, Simon, Dunedin.
- McDonald, Alexander, Port Chalmers.
- McDonald, John, Palmerston.

- McDonald, Henry, Dunedin.
- McDonald, Donald, Alexandra.
- McDougal, William, Waikouaiti.
- McDowell, William, Matura.
- McEuerncy, Kate, Switzers.
- McEachen, Archibald, Hampden.
- McEwan, Peter, Invercargill.
- McFadzieu, James, Green Island.
- McGann, Thomas, Blacks No. 1.
- McGill, Peter, Milton.
- McGregor, Angus, Port Chalmers.
- McGregor, N. Joseph, Bruce.
- McGregor, Alexander, Dunedin.
- McGregor, David Ure, Quartzville.
- McGruer, Alexander, Dunedin.
- McHardy, William, Wakatipu.
- McInnes, Myles, Dunedin.
- Mcintosh, John Suttie, Naseby.
- McJennett, John, Oamaru.
- McKay, David, Invercargill.
- McKay, James, Lake Waipori.
- McKay, James, Teviot.
- McKay, John, Lake Waipori.
- McKechnie, Archibald, Milton.
- McKellar, Peter, Invercargill.
- McKenna, Charles, Bannockburn.
- McKenzie, James, Dunedin.
- McKejizie, George, Mornington.
- McKenzie, John, Mornington.
- McKenzie, David, Waiwera.
- McKey, Michael, Dunedin.
- McKillop, James, Invercargill.
- McKinlay, Archibald, Lawrence.
- McLaren, Andrew, Milton.
- McLaren, Mary, Milton.
- McLaughlin, William, Port Chalmers.
- McLean, John, Oamaru.
- McLean, George, Dunedin.
- McLean, John M., Morven Hills.
- McLean, William, Milton.
- McLeish, Peter C. C., Riverton.
- McLeod, John, West Taieri.
- McLeod, Donald. Waikouaiti.
- McMichael, William, Invercargill.
- McMillin, Noble, Tapanui.
- McNab, Alexander, Invercargill.
- McNab, James, West Taieri.
- McNaughton, Alexander, Riverton.
- McNaughton, John, Bum side, Riverton.
- McNaughton, Walter, Bendigo.
- McNiveu, Dugild, Inch Clutha.
- McPherson, James, Invercargill.
- McPherson, Agnes, Invercargill.
- McRae, George, Bendigo.
- Naylor, Benjamin, Clyde.
- Neale, William Henry, Dunedin.
- Neil, Thomas, Port Chalmers.
- Neill, John, Macrae's Flat.

- Neill, Robert, Waipori.
- Nelson, John, Port Chalmers.
- Newman, William, Naseby.
- Nichol, George, West Taieri.
- Nicol, Francis, Lawrence.
- Nicourt, Victor Benjamin, Dunedin.
- Nichol William, Jun., West Taieri.
- Nichols, Maude, Dunedin.
- Nichols, Charles, Dunedin.
- Nicholson, John Carruthers, Dunedin.
- Nimmo, Robert, Dunedin. Nimon, James, Dunedin.
- Nisbitt, Richard, Queenstown.
- Niven, John, Dunedin.
- Noon, John Martin, Otepopo.
- North, James, Portobello.
- North, Henry, Dunedin.
- Nutsford, Thomas, Milton.
- Nutt, John Thomas, Dunedin.
- Oakden, Phillip, Waiwera.
- O'Donnell, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Ogilvy, William, Waitaki.
- Oliver, Richard, Dunedin.
- O'Meara, John, Queenstown.
- O'Meagher, Joseph, Oamaru.
- O'Neill, Luke, Balclutha.
- O'Neill, Patrick, Dunedin.
- O'Neill, Bernard, Palmerston.
- Orbell, Macleod Clement, Waikouaiti.
- Orbell, Henry, Waikouaiti.
- Orr, James, Sydney.
- Ott, Jacob, Invercargill.
- Oudaille, Francis, Havelock.
- Outram, John, Dunedin.
- Owens, Richard David, Arrowtown.
- Palmer, Edwin, Otakaia.
- Park, James, Matura.
- Park, Robert, Dunedin.
- Park, William, Dunedin.
- Parry, Joseph S., Dunedin.
- Parker, James, Waipori.
- Park, John Brown, Dunedin.
- Patterson, John Cochran, Queenstown.
- Patterson, Andrew William, Invercargill.
- Paterson, James, Dunedin.
- Paul, James, Invercargill.
- Powell, Richard, Invercargill.
- Patrick, William, Dunedin.
- Paterson, James, Palmerston.
- Paterson, James, Caversham.
- Paterson, James, Dunedin.
- Patterson, James, Dunedin.
- Paterson, Thomas, Invercargill.
- Pearson, William, Hamiltons.
- Peach, Charles, Oamaru.
- Pearson, Robert, Waikouaiti.
- Pearce, Martin, Caversham.
- Pearson, Richard, Dunedin.
- Pedlow, William, Port Chalmers.

- Pennycook, James, Palmerston.
- Perrelle, Elias de la, Arrowtown.
- Perkins, Thomas, Invercargill.
- Peterson, John, Dunedin.
- Pettit, Edward, Milton.
- Petchell, John, jun., Riverton.
- Petrie, Donald, Dunedin.
- Philips, James, Waikouaiti.
- Pirie, Alexander, Otepopo.
- Pirie, Peter, jun., Dunedin.
- Pitches, John, Blacks.
- Pitchers, Robert James, Teviot.
- Pizey, Harry Filby, Waikouaiti.
- Poison, John, Bendigo.
- Ponton, James, Dunedin.
- Porteus, John, Waitepeka.
- Powell, Dennis, Queenstown.
- Powis, Thomas, Macrae's Flat.
- Poynter, George F. Boyes, Tapanui.
- Price, Joseph George, Dunedin.
- Price, William Henry, Dunedin.
- Price, Albert Henry, Dunedin.
- Price, Robert, Waikouaiti.
- Prentice, Norman, Dunedin.
- Pritchard, Robert, Arrowtown.
- Proctor, John Grimshaw, Dunedin.
- Prosser, Evan, Dunedin.
- Proudfoot, David, Dunedin.
- Pryde, Patrick Gunn, Dunedin.
- Puddy, William, Waikouaiti.
- Purdie, William, Dunedin.
- Purdie, John Wm. Mitchell, Queenstown.
- Purnell, Chas. W., Dunedin.
- Pyle, William, St. Bathans.
- Quick, William Hitchins, Dunedin.
- Quick, Edmund E. Colston, Dunedin.
- Quinlan, Henrietta, Anderson's Bay.
- Quiun, Patrick, Arrowtown.
- Rae, Joseph, Dunedin.
- Ramsay, Keith, Dunedin.
- Ramsay, John, Dunedin.
- Rattray, James, Dunedin.
- Reany, Joseph, Dunedin.
- Reeves, Chas. S., Dunedin.
- Reade, Lawrence Edward, Oamaru.
- Reeves, Thomas S., Dunedin.
- Reid, James, Dunedin.
- Reid, John, Elderslie.
- Reid, John, Merton.
- Reid, John, Dunedin.
- Reid, James, Oamaru.
- Reid, Charles, Dunedin.
- Reid, George F. Dunedin.
- Reid, James, Milton.
- Reid, George, Alexandra.
- Reid, Donald, North Taieri.
- Rennie, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Reynolds, William Hunter, Dunedin.

- Rhodes, James, Dunedin.
- Richardson, Thomas, West Taieri.
- Richardson, Frederick Hall, Dunedin.
- Richards, John, Bannockburn.
- Richmond, James A. L., Dunedin.
- Risk, Alexander Spiers, Dunedin.
- Ritchie, James, Waipori.
- Ritchie, William, Dunedin.
- Ritchie, Robert, Port Chalmers.
- Ritchie, Matilda, Port Chalmers.
- Ritchie, James, Flag Swamp.
- Ritchie, John Macfarlane, Dunedin.
- Robins, Joseph Thomas, Palmerston.
- Robertson, James, Lawrence.
- Robson, Walter, Balclutha.
- Robin, Robert, Dunedin.
- Robin, James, Dunedin.
- Robertson, Alexander, Lawrence.
- Robertson, Mary, Oamaru.
- Robertson, Charles J. Harris, Dunedin.
- Roberts, John S., Dunedin.
- Roberts, Robert, Dunedin.
- Roberts, Charles, Dunedin.
- Roberts, Frederick, Dunedin.
- Roberts, Wm. Henry Sherwood, Dunedin.
- Robb, Walter, Dunedin.
- Robertson, Thomas, Port Chalmers.
- Robertson, George Logan, Invercargill.
- Robertson, Thomas Gillespie, Lawrence.
- Rogers, Joseph, Dunedin.
- Rollings, Joseph, Dunedin.
- Rooney, Thomas, Cromwell.
- Ross, George Mico, Queenstown.
- Ross, Catherine, Queenstown.
- Ross, John, Dunedin.
- Ross, Henry Thomas, Invercargill.
- Ross, David, Hamiltons.
- Ross, Alexander, Milton.
- Ross, Jessie, Balclutha.
- Ross, Donald, Invercargill.
- Ross, Angus, Balclutha.
- Ross, Alexander, Cardrona.
- Ross, Charles Williamson, Kingston.
- Roseveare, Charles, Hamiltons.
- Rout, Henry Albert, Invercargill.
- Roxburgh, Daniel, Oamaru.
- Russell, David, Dunedin.
- Runciman, James, Green Island.
- Russell, John, Dunedin.
- Russell, Thomas, Cromwell.
- Russell, Andrew, Dunedin.
- Russell, Frederick, Dunedin.
- Salomon, Nathan, Dunedin.
- Samuel, Joseph, Dunedin.
- Samson, James, Alexandra.
- Samson, William, Dunedin.
- Sanderson, William, Anderson's Bay.
- Sandilands, John, Waitipeka.

- Sandilands, Thomas, Waitipeka.
- Souter, William, Waikouaiti.
- Sanders, William, Kyeburn.
- Santie, Jorgen J., Dunedin.
- Saunders, Robert, Dunedin.
- Scott, James, Waiwera.
- Scott, John, Pigroot.
- Scott, Matthew, Invercargill.
- Scott, William, Dunedin.
- Scoullar, Arthur, Dunedin.
- Scoullar, W. and J., Dunedin.
- Scrymgeour, W. F., Port Molyneux.
- Sewell, William, Oamaru.
- Shanks, Charles Barnes, Dunedin.
- Shanks, William, Otaria.
- Shand, James, West Taieri.
- Shanks, James, Flag.
- Swamp. Shaw, James, Invercargill.
- Shaw, Mark, Winton.
- Shaw, John, Balclutha.
- Sheath, William, Lawrence.
- Shennan, John, Oamaru.
- Short, Christopher John, Dunedin.
- Shipton, Francis O., Dunedin.
- Shirley, Paul, Dunedin.
- Sibbald, John, Dunedin.
- Sievwright, Basil Dunedin.
- Sim, John, Bendigo.
- Simmons, Alfred, Dunedin.
- Simpson, George, Hamiltons.
- Simpson, William L., Clyde.
- Singer, Bela, Dunedin.
- Sinclair, Gilbert, Blacks.
- Sinclair, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Sinclair, John, Oamaru.
- Sinclair, Donald, Oaklands.
- Sinclair, Henry, Woodlands.
- Sinclair, Donald, Port Chalmers.
- Skelton, William, Dunedin.
- Skene, George, Dunedin.
- Switzers. Slater, Joseph, Dunedin.
- Sligo, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Smeaton, David, Dunedin.
- Smeaton, Peter, Dunedin.
- Smillie, Alexander, Oamaru.
- Smith, William Absolon, Dunedin.
- Smith, Alexander, East Taieri.
- Smith, John Gibson, Balclutha.
- Smith, Alfred Kenelm, Dunedin.
- Smith, John, Waikouaiti.
- Smith, Ellen, Atherton, England.
- Smith, Duncan, Dunedin.
- Smith, James Chapman, Lawrence.
- Smith, James, Lawrence.
- Smith, John Martin, Lawrence.
- Smith, William Digby, Dunedin.
- Smith, Alfred William, Dunedin.
- Smith, William Douglas, Dunedin.

- Smith, James, Dunedin.
- Smith, John Edmund, Dunedin.
- Smith, Thomas Melmoth, Palmerston.
- Smith, William Turnbull, Kaitangata.
- Smith, Thomas, Roseneath.
- Smith, Nellie, Balclutha.
- Smith, Aaron Young, Oamaru.
- Smith, John Henry, Invercargill.
- Smyth, David, Invercargill.
- Smith, Lin Ward, Milton.
- Snow, William, West Taieri.
- Snow, John, Nevis.
- Solomon, Abraham, Dunedin.
- Solomon, Saul, Dunedin.
- Solaman, Joseph, Dunedin.
- Somerville, James, Waitepeka.
- Somerville, John, Waitepeka.
- Somerville, Isabella, Waitepeka.
- Somerville, Eliza, Anderson's Bay.
- Somerville, Thomas, Anderson's Bay.
- Somerville, John, Dunedin.
- Speight, James, Dunedin.
- Spence, John Johnson, Oamaru.
- Sproul, John, Dunedin.
- Sprosen, Henry, Milton.
- Squires, John, Invercargill.
- Stavely and Co., William, Dunedin.
- Stephens. Samuel Beaumont, Otakaia.
- Stephen, David, Dunedin.
- Stephenson, George, Palmerston.
- Stevenson, Charles, Dunedin.
- Stevenson, Margaret, Havelock.
- Stevens, Sydney Pope, Dunedin.
- Stevens, Emma, Dunedin.
- Stevens, Laurence P., Port Chalmers.
- Stewart, Alexander, Lawrence.
- Stewart, James, Blacks.
- Stevens, William, Waiau.
- Stewart, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Stewart, James, Dunedin.
- Stewart, William D., Dunedin.
- Stewart, James, Naseby.
- Stobo, Andrew Hamilton, Invercargill.
- Stock, Joseph, Invercargill.
- Stoddart, John Walter, Green Island.
- Stoddart, Richard, Green Island.
- Stowe, John Solomon, Hamiltons.
- Strauchon, John, Matura Bridge.
- Street, William Parker, Dunedin.
- Strode, Alfred Chetham, Dunedin.
- Strong, Samuel, Dunedin.
- Stronach, William, Dunedin.
- Stuart, Annie N., Dunedin.
- Stuart, Alexander, Anderson's Bay.
- Stuart, William, Dunedin.
- Sumpter, George, Oamaru.
- Sutherland, Duncan, Oamarama.
- Sutherland, James, Glenore.

- Sutherland, Olof Adam, Tuapeka Flat.
- Sutherland, Peter, Port Chalmers.
- Sutherland, John, Waitahuna.
- Sutherland, William, Lawrence.
- Sutherland, David, Invercargill.
- Swanston, Charles Lambert, Dunedin.
- Swan, Robert, Dunedin.
- Taiaroa, Hori Kerei.
- Taiaroa Heads Talboys, William.
- Thomas, Cromwell.
- Tape, Wong, Dunedin.
- Tarlton, Annie, Invercargill.
- Tarlton, Alice C., Invercargill.
- Taylor, John Boswortli, Port Chalmers.
- Taylor, George, Port Chalmers.
- Taylor, James Alfred, Invercargill.
- Taylor, John, Dunedin.
- Taylor, James, Dunedin.
- Taylor, James, Dunedin.
- Taylor, William, Dunedin.
- Taylor, William, Milton.
- Telfer, John, Milton.
- Thompson, Dunedin.
- Telford, Robert, Roxburgh.
- Tennant, John, Dunedin.
- Tennet, William L., Dunedin.
- Teschemaker, Charles de Vere, Maheno.
- Theyars, William, Alexandra.
- Thomson, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Thomson, John Bell, Dunedin.
- Thomson, Murray G., Dunedin.
- Thompson, Thomas J., Invercargill.
- Thomson, John, Oamaru.
- Thompson, Robert, Maheno.
- Thomson,; John, Dunedin.
- Thomson, Peter, Dunedin.
- Thomson, Alexander T., Clyde.
- Thomson, Alexander, Kakanui.
- Thomson, James Wyllie, Dunedin.
- Thomson, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Thomson, Andrew, and Port Chalmers.
- Thomson, John, Port Chalmers.
- Thomson, Alexander, Dunedin.
- Tipping, Charles Augustus, Bluff.
- Todd, Alexander, jun., East Taieri.
- Todd, William Cuthbert, East Taieri.
- Tofield, Frederick, Dunedin.
- Tolmie, William A., Dunedin.
- Toshach, Andrew, Waikside, Southland.
- Tosh, William, Balclutha.
- Townshend, Alfred, Dunedin.
- Townshend, Frederick, Waikiri.
- Townshend, Charles, Oamaru.
- Townshend, Edwin, Invercargill.
- Treby, Samuel, Hamiltons.
- Tregoning, Michael, Blue Spur.
- Tregoning, Minnie, Blue Spur.
- Treseder, Peter, Dunedin.

- Tribe, Agnes Mary, Dunedin.
- Trotter, William Sinclair, Kingston.
- Trumble, Thomas, Southland.
- Truscott, John, Ida Valley.
- Tulley, James Francis, Queenstown.
- Tubman, Stephen, Dunedin.
- Turnbull, William, Lawrence.
- Turnbull, Alexander Stupart, Dunedin.
- Turnbull, Sydney, East Taieri.
- Turnbull, George, North.
- Taieri. Turnbull, George, Dunedin.
- Turner, Samuel, St. Bathans.
- Venning, John, Oamaru.
- Waddell, Francis, Dunedin.
- Waddington, Leonard J., Invercargill.
- Wade. Frcderich Wentworth, Dunedin.
- Wain, Job, Dunedin.
- Wain, Job, sen. Dunedin.
- Wait, John Stubbs, Oamaru.
- Wallace, Robert, Dunedin.
- Wales, N. Y. A., Dunedin.
- Wallace, James Dunedin.
- Wallace, John, Dunedin.
- Wallace, Wm. H., Dunedin.
- Walter, Henry John Dunedin.
- Walker, George Gregory, Blacks No. 1.
- Waldie, John. Lawrence.
- Walker, Peter, Dunedin.
- Walker, Benjamin, Arrowtown.
- Wallace, William, Caversham.
- Walker, Henry, Dunedin.
- Walker, William Henry, Otago Heads.
- Walls, James, Dunedin.
- Warren, George James, Port Chalmers.
- Ward, William Thomas, Woodlands.
- Warren, John Thomas, Dunedin.
- Washer, Benjamin, Dunedin.
- Watson, John, Port Chalmers.
- Watson, Isabella, Queenstown.
- Watson, Robert, Dunedin.
- Watson, William, Kakanui.
- Wenkheim, Julius, Queenstown.
- Webster, George Murray, Oamaru.
- Weber, Adolph, Milton.
- Webb, Joseph Sykes, and Murison, William Dick. Dunedin.
- Weir, Archibald Campbell, Hampden.
- Weir, Emma Burns, Hampden.
- Weir, David, Dunedin. Wellen, Henry Dunedin.
- Welton, William, Luggate, Cromwell.
- Weldon, Thomas King, Dunedin.
- Wenlock, George, Portobello.
- Wentworth, Joseph C., Invercargill.
- West, William Hautrie, West Invercargill.
- William, Dunedin.
- Wharton,. John, Kakanui.
- White, Daniel, Dunedin.
- Wilson, Robert Bell, Caversham.
- Wilson, George Alexander, Dunedin.

- Williams, Peter, Oamaru.
- Wilson, John William, Dunedin.
- Williamson, Henry Dunedin.
- Wilmott, Henry Francis, Cromwell.
- Wilson, Charles, Dunedin.
- Wilson, Thomas, Dunedin.
- Wilson, Alexander, Maori Hill.
- Wilson, Robert, Oamaru.
- Wilson, James Harker, Lake.
- Waipori. Wilson, John, Hampden.
- Williams, Richard W., Otautau.
- Wilkinson, Charlotte Alice, Dunedin.
- Wilson, Robert, Dunedin.
- Williamson, John Mackie, North Taieri.
- Wilson, John Mackie, Dunedin.
- Wilson, Flora, Maori Hill.
- Wilson, George, Dunedin.
- Wilson, James, Cromwell.
- Wilson, John, Hampden.
- Williams, George, Luggate, Cromwell.
- Wilson, Hugh, Mount Ida.
- Wilkinson, Thomas Merrett, Dunedin.
- Winchester, William Thos. Dunedin.
- Wingfield, James Burt, Queenstown.
- Woodhill, Joseph Henry, Naseby.
- Wood, William, Invercargill.
- Wood, James Moms, Dunedin.
- Wood, David, Dunedin.
- Wood, Margaret, Nevis.
- Worth, Samuel Corter, Dunedin.
- Worthington, John Scott, Queenstown.
- Worley, Walter. Oamaru.
- Wright, John, Dunedin.
- Wright, Robert, Dunedin.
- Wright, George, Dunedin.
- Wright, Joseph, Waiwera.
- Wright, John Thomas, and Stephenson, John, Dunedin.
- Wright, John Thomas, Dunedin.
- Wright, Charles, Walduck, Cromwell.
- Wyber, William, Milton.
- Yates, William Augustus, Dunedin.
- Yorath, Edmund Williams, Invercargill.
- Young, Walter, Dunedin.
- Young, John, Dunedin.
- Young, Matthew, Naseby.
- Young, John, Kyeburn Diggings.
- Young, David, Dunedin.
- Young, William, West Taieri.
- Young, William Alfred, Pilmerston.
- Young, William, Dunedin.
- Young, George, Dunedin.
- Young, Henry, Alexandra.
- Yule, Robert Duncan, Invercargill.

Omissions in Alphabetical List.

- Campbell, John, Hampden.
- Gibson, Margaret Isabella, Palmerston.
- Matheson, Robert, Palmerston.

- McAdie, James, Palmerston.

Canterbury.

- Alington, Albert E., Christchurch.
- Anderson, John, Christchurch.
- Armitage, Herbert, Lyttelton.
- Armitage, Wm. Henry, Lyttelton.
- Armstrong, George, Akaroa.
- Austin, Thomas, Lyttelton.
- Aylmer, Sarah Anne Corkell, Akaroa.
- Back, Alexander, Christchurch.
- Bain, John, Christchurch.
- Bain, Robert Preston, Christchurch.
- Bailey, Thomas, Lyttelton.
- Bailey, Jecoliah, Lyttelton.
- Bainton, Alfred, Springston.
- Barter, Stephen, Templeton.
- Bass, William, Christchurch.
- Beaver, Thomas, Christchurch.
- Beharrell, John, Kaiapoi.
- Belfield, Herbert, Timaru.
- Biggs, Walter George, Christchurch.
- Biggs, Frederick, Lyttelton.
- Bing, Morice, North Avonside.
- Black, Henry, Christchurch.
- Blake, Robert, Rangiora.
- Blake, Walter, Ashburton.
- Blackett, jun., Henry, Rangiora.
- Blakiston, Augustus F. N., Christchurch.
- Blakiston, Charles Robt., Christchurch.
- Boag, William, Findalltown.
- Boddington, Joseph C., Lyttelton.
- Boggis, Sarah, Christchurch.
- Bourn, Charles, Southbridge.
- Bower, Andrew Joseph Hume, Timaru.
- Bowker, Henry Loyton, Christchurch.
- Bridge, Charles Joseph, Southbridge.
- Brooks, Daniel Moore, Hororata.
- Brooke, Thomas Motley, Kaiapoi.
- Brown, John Evans, Swananoa.
- Brown, William A., South Rakaia.
- Brown, George, Waimate.
- Bruce, Ellen, Christchurch.
- Bruce, Thomas, Christchurch.
- Bruce, Thomas, Coe, John, Christchurch.
- Buckley, George, Waitaki.
- Budua, John, Pigeon Bay.
- Bulloch, Thomas, Ashburton.
- Burnett, Henry.
- Brown, Ashburton.
- Burnett, James, Kaiapoi.
- Burnett, William, Kaiapoi.
- Caldwell, Thomas, South Rakaia.
- Cameron, Edward Hume, Waimate.
- Cameron, Alexander, Saltwater Creek.
- Cameron, Duncan and Donald, Saltwater Creek.
- Campbell, John, Christchurch.

- Campbell, Edward, Waimate.
- Carder, Joseph, Lyttelton.
- Carl, John, Christchurch.
- Carrick, Alexander, Christchurch.
- Carter, John, Ashburton.
- Caverhill, John Scott, Highfield.
- Chapman, Thomas, Timaru.
- Chisholm, James Baird, Geraldine.
- Choatt, Christopher C., Christchurch.
- Clephane, Robert, Walthen.
- Cliff, William Edward Ingle, Timaru.
- Clifford, Daniel John, Christchurch.
- Coatman, jun., Joseph, Woodend.
- Conway, John, Joseph, Woodend.
- Cooper, Edward John, Christchurch.
- Cooper, Martha, John, Christchurch.
- Cooper, Charles, John, Christchurch.
- Cooper, Thornhill, John, Christchurch.
- Cordy, John, Hororata.
- Cordy, Eleanor, Hororata.
- Cotterill, George, Christchurch.
- Coutts, John, Rangiora.
- Cowlshaw, William P., Christchurch.
- Craig, Thomas Brown, Christchurch.
- Craig, David, Christchurch.
- Craig, Ann, Temuka.
- Cramond, John, Timaru.
- Cuff, Albert, and Christchurch Craham, Frank Christchurch.
- Cullinann, Frederick, Timaru.
- Cumming, Margaret, Christchurch.
- Curry, Edward, Christchurch.
- Dalzell, Joseph Steel, Waitaki.
- Davenport, William H., Christchurch.
- Davidson, William S., Timaru.
- Davis, David, Timaru.
- Davie, William Peterson, Christchurch.
- Davison, John Hawdon, St. Leonard's.
- Day, Sidney, Christchurch.
- Deacon, Rogers, Christchurch.
- DeLapasture, G.G. D., Christchurch.
- Denham, Emily, Christchurch.
- Dobson, Arthur, Mount Hutt.
- Donald, William, Lyttelton.
- Doolan, Eliza, Christchurch.
- Duke, John Marshall, Springston.
- Duncan, George, Heathcote.
- Dymock, William, Christchurch.
- Ellen, John Wesley, Kaiapoi.
- Ellis, Nicholas, Christchurch.
- Ellisdon, Edward S., Christchurch.
- Emms, Frank, Southbridge.
- Enys, John Davis, and Christchurch.
- Enys, Charles Christchurch.
- Fairburn, Robert, Christchurch.
- Farr, Samuel Charles, Christchurch.
- Fereday, Mary Ann Parker, Christchurch.
- Findalltown Ferguson, Robert, Southbridge.
- Ffitch, Francis, Ashburton.

- Ffitch, Henry, Templeton.
- Finnis, Henry, Kaiapoi.
- Firmston, Henry, Pigeon Bay.
- Fisher, Alfred, Timaru.
- Fisher, William John, Christchurch.
- Fooks, Charles Edward, Ashburton.
- Forbes, Robert, Lyttelton.
- Ford, Edward John Tite, Christchurch.
- Fraser, Charles, Christchurch.
- Fraser, William, Kaiapoi.
- Fuhrmann, Hermann, Christchurch.
- Fussell, Austin, Christchurch.
- Fyfe, Alexander Christian Christchurch.
- Fyfe, Thomas Webster, Timaru.
- Gardner, John, Timaru. Garrick.
- Francis James, Christchurch.
- Gaitt, Frederick, Waimate.
- Gee, Thomas Major, Christchurch.
- Gee, Alfred, Christchurch.
- Gilmour, Robert Stevenson, Christchurch.
- Gillanders, Murdoch K., Greendall.
- Gladstone, Henry John, Otau.
- Good, Edward, Rangiora.
- Gordon, George, Christchurch.
- Gray, Charles Matthew, Christchurch.
- Graham, William, Southbridge.
- Grossman, Jacob, Kaiapoi.
- Grierson, John, Christchurch.
- Grubb, John, Lyttelton.
- Guild, James, Flaxton.
- Gunderson, Albert, Christchurch.
- Haddrell, Walter H. Christchurch.
- Hale, Benjamin Christchurch.
- Hales Francis William Christchurch.
- Hall, Jesse Horace Christchurch.
- Hall, George Williamson, Addington.
- Hancock, Albert, Newton.
- Hanmer, Philip, and Christchurch.
- Harper, Leonard, Christchurch.
- Harris, Maurice, Christchurch.
- Hart, Andrew, Timaru.
- Harvey, William Henry, Christchurch.
- Hassel, Thomas M., Christchurch.
- Hassall, William, Kaiapoi.
- Hay, James, and Pigeon.
- Orr, Thomas Pigeon Bay.
- Hay, Marion Taylor Bay.
- Hay, Hannah L. Bay.
- Hay, John, Temuka.
- Heilewell, John Dyson, Christchurch.
- Hellewell, James Henry, Addington.
- Hellewell, Thomas, Christchurch.
- Henderson, James, Christchurch.
- Henderson, William, Christchurch.
- Hennah, Henry Hayes, Christchurch.
- Herdson, Jonathan H., Christchurch.
- Hey wood, Joseph M., Christchurch.
- Hill, Matthew, Waiau.

- Hockley, Elizabeth.
- Horsley Down.
- Holderness, Robert F., Christchurch.
- Holt, Bessie, Christchurch.
- Howson, Thomas B., Moeraki Downs.
- Hunter, John, Christchurch.
- Hurley, Edward S., Christchurch.
- Hyde, George, Christchurch.
- Inglesby, James, Christchurch.
- Inwood, James, Southbridge.
- Jenkins, Thomas G., Lyttelton.
- Johnston, George, Ashburton.
- Jonas, Moss, Timaru.
- Jones, James, Amuri.
- Jones, James, Ashburton.
- Jones, William, Christchurch.
- Jones, Joseph, Christchurch.
- Jones, Robert, Christchurch.
- Jones, Henry M., Christchurch.
- Jones, Frederick W., Christchurch.
- Joynt, Thomas Ingham, Christchurch.
- Kemp, Richard, Waiau.
- Kent, Edward, Amuri.
- Kerr, Peter, Sand Hills.
- Kerr, Edward George, Kaiapoi.
- Kessen, John, Woodend.
- King, James, Timaru.
- King, John, Timaru.
- Kirk, Andrew, Christchurch.
- Kiver, jun., Charles, Christchurch.
- Knight, Arthur C., Christchurch.
- Knight, James, Christchurch.
- Laing, John, Christchurch.
- Lance, William Henry, Lyttelton.
- Laine, Thomas Langa, Avonside.
- Lake, Henry, Christchurch.
- Lake, Charles, South Rakaia.
- Lane, William Hannibal, Christchurch.
- Laurie, Andrew, Springston.
- Le Cren, Frederick, Timaru.
- Lee, George Leslie, Avonside.
- Lee, Samuel, Leithfield.
- Louisson, Alfred, Christchurch.
- Lowry, John, Woolston.
- Luxmore, Philip Bouverie, Timaru.
- Malley, Michael, Christchurch.
- Martin, Peter, Christchurch.
- Matheson, Dugald, Kowai Pass.
- Mathias, Geoffrey Selwyn, Christchurch.
- Matthews, Elizabeth, Amuri.
- Matthews, John, Kaiapoi.
- Matthews, Mary, Kaiapoi.
- Mellish, George Lillcy, Kaiapoi.
- Meldelson, Julius, Temuka.
- Midgley, Benjamin, Christchurch.
- Middleton, Helen Bell, South Rakaia.
- Miller, William James, Christchurch.
- Milsom, Joseph, Christchurch.

- Milsom, George Paget, Kaiapoi.
- Milsom, Henry Joseph, Christchurch.
- Milnes, Martha, Lyttelton. Milton.
- Michael, Rangitata.
- Milnes, John, Lyttelton.
- Mohr, John, Christchurch.
- Moffatt, William Jones, Ashburton.
- Mollett, Thomas, Christchurch.
- Money, Charles F., Christchurch.
- Moore, Henry, Christchurch.
- Mouldey, Edwin C., Christchurch.
- Morten, Richard May, Christchurch.
- Mossman, Edwin, Halswell.
- Muirhead, Hugh, Alford Forest.
- Murray, William, Lyttelton.
- McAdam, Robert, Southbridge.
- McBeth, William, Lyttelton.
- McBeth, William Nicol, Christchurch.
- McClatchie, Thomas, Lyttelton.
- McCormick, Charles S., Southbridge.
- McDonald, James, Waiau.
- McDougall, William E., Christchurch.
- McDowell, Thomas, Christchurch.
- McFarlane, John, Rangiora.
- McFarlane, Robert, Christchurch.
- McGregor, Robert, Burnham.
- McIlwraith, Hugh, Leithfield.
- McIlwraith, James A., Malvern.
- McIlroy, William John, Christchurch.
- McLean, Donald, Timaru.
- Mackie, Charles S., South Rakaia.
- McLachlan, Archibald, Christchurch.
- McLean, Hugh, Saltwater Creek.
- McLean, Joseph, Lyttelton.
- McLean, Andrew Fraser, Waimate.
- McLellan, Hugh, Lyttelton.
- McLennan, Donald, Timaru.
- McLennan, Alexander, Waimate.
- Nathan, Louis E., Christchurch.
- Newman, Richard Howard, Christchurch.
- Nicholas, Richard, Rangin.
- Norton, Charles James, Woodend.
- Olliver, Walter J., Christchurch.
- Oram, John William Christchurch.
- Osborne, Louisa Christchurch.
- Osborn, Alfred Christchurch.
- Oxford, Henry, Christchurch.
- Packer, Henry "William, Somerfeld.
- Paddy, Henry, Southbridge.
- Padget, William, Timaru.
- Palairt, Rowland, Christchurch.
- Pannell, George, Christchurch.
- Pasley, Robert Charles, Waiau.
- Paton, James Clephan, Lyttelton.
- Pavitt, Edwin, Christchurch.
- Pavitt, Thomas, Christchurch.
- Pavitt, Frederick, Christchurch.
- Paxton, John, Christchurch.

- Paxton, Joshua, Christchurch.
- Petherick, James P., Christchurch.
- Philpott, Edwin, Rangiora.
- Philpott, Adolpius Rangiora.
- Potts, James, West Coast Road.
- Pratt, Thomas William, Timaru.
- Prius, Henry Hosford, Christchurch.
- Pritchard, Charles A., Christchurch.
- Prudhoe, William, Christchurch.
- Quinn, Michael, Temuka.
- Reece, William, Christchurch.
- Reece, Edward, Christchurch.
- Reeves, William, Christchurch.
- Rhodes, R. H., Christchurch.
- Richardson, Mervyn W., Ashburton.
- Robinson, William, Lyttelton.
- Robinson, George, South Rakaia.
- Robinson, Charles, Timaru.
- Robinson, Isaac, Lyttelton.
- Rodger, William, Christchurch.
- Rogers, Alfred John, Lyttelton.
- Ross, Finlay, Ashburton.
- Rouse, John Thomas, Lyttelton.
- Russell, Philip Henderson, Timaru.
- Russell, Thomas G. R., Kaiapoi.
- Saunders, William, Christchurch.
- Scoon, John, Rangiora.
- Shanks, Robert, Christchurch.
- Sharpe, George Henry, Newton.
- Sharpe, James Hill, Ashburton.
- Sheannan, Robert W., Ashburton.
- Sheath, Austin Philip, Christchurch.
- Sibbald, William, Christchurch.
- Simpson, George Smith, Christchurch.
- Simpson, John, Timaru.
- Smith, Henry Hawson, Christchurch.
- Smith, John, Southbridge.
- Spencs, Robert, Palmerston.
- Spring, Emilie Clara, Christchurch.
- Stace, John, Christchurch.
- Stansell, Robert, Timaru.
- Stark, James, Christchurch.
- Steward, John, Lyttelton.
- Stocks, Benjamin, Christchurch.
- Stone, Alfred Oswin Gartside, Timaru.
- Strangman, John, Christchurch.
- Stringer, William, Christchurch.
- Stroals, Frederick, Christchurch.
- Stubbs, Francis Worcester, Temuka.
- Sutherland, Robert, Christchurch.
- Swinton, Thomas, Christchurch.
- Talbot, George, Lyttelton.
- Taylor, Robert Ross, Timaru.
- Taylor, Alexander, Rangiora.
- Thomson, Henry, and Christchurch.
- Smith, Francis James Christchurch.
- Thomson, William, Christchurch.
- Thomson, Kate, Ashburton.

- Threlkeld, Philip Collin, Flaxton.
- Tinker, John, Christchurch.
- Tippetts, Edward W., Christchurch.
- Tosswill, William, Christchurch.
- Travis, Edward H., Christchurch.
- Travis, William H.
- Vennall, Thomas G., Newtown.
- Wakefield, Chas. M., Findalltown.
- Ward, James, Halswell.
- Ward, Joseph Frederick, Lyttelton.
- Waters, Alfred, Christchurch.
- Waters, Henry, Christchurch.
- Watkins, Richard, Timaru.
- Wason, John Cathcart, South Rakaia.
- Watt, James McNeight, Christchurch.
- Wauchop, Thomas, Southbridge.
- Wymouth, Frederick, Christchurch.
- Weston, George, Kaiapoi.
- Whiteford, Caleb, Christchurch.
- Williams, Joshua S., Christchurch.
- Willis, Robert Bruce, Southbridge.
- Willisford, Diana M., Christchurch.
- Wildie George H., and Timaru King, John, Timaru.
- Willcox, John Smith, Lyttelton.
- Wilkin, Robert, Christchurch.
- Wilkin, James, Christchurch.
- Wilson, Alexander Lorimer, Temuka.
- Wilson, Clement, Christchurch.
- Wilson and Sons, Alexander, Temuka.
- Wilson, James Park, Temuka.
- Wilson, Andrew Dalgarno, Temuka.
- Wilson, Francis John, Timaru.
- Wilson, Isaac, Kaiapoi.
- Wilson, Thomas, Christchurch.
- Wilson, John, Christchurch.
- Wilson, Thomas, Mount Grey Downs.
- Wilson, William, Christchurch.
- Wray, Walter, Christchurch.
- Wright, Richard, Lincoln.
- Wright, Thomas, Ashburton.
- Wyllie, John, Saltwater Creek.

Wellington.

- Allen, George Benjamin, Wellington.
- Allen, George, Wellington.
- Anderson, David, Wellington.
- Anderson, Edward, Wellington.
- Anderson, John, Wanganui.
- Archer, Joseph, Wellington.
- Armstrong, Adam, Carterton.
- Asher, David, Wellington.
- Ashforth, Charles Hart, Wanganui.
- Austin, Charles, Johnsonville.
- Ayton, George, Wellington.
- Back, Frederick, Wellington.
- Bailey, Walter Henry, Wellington.
- Baird, William, Wellington.

- Baird, James Daniel, Wellington.
- Baker, Samuel M., Wellington.
- Ballinger, J. W. Ballinger, Thomas, Wellington.
- Ballance, John, Wanganui.
- Barraud, Charles Lewis, Wellington.
- Barraud, William F., Wellington.
- Barraud, Charles D. and Bishop, William, Wellington.
- Barraud, Edward Noel, Wellington.
- Barber, James, Wellington.
- Barber, Henry, Wellington.
- Barber, Edward, Wellington.
- Batchelar, Elizabeth Agnes, Marton.
- Batchelar, John Octavus, Marton.
- Beaver, Frederick, Rangatikei.
- Beeton, Samuel, Wellington.
- Bodley, George, Wellington.
- Bennington, George C., Masterton.
- Bennington, Charles R., Masterton.
- Bennett, Alfred James, Wellington.
- Bennett, Thomas Francis, Featherstone.
- Bertie, John, Wellington.
- Bett, Mary, Wanganui.
- Binns, Frederick Charles, Wellington.
- Bishop, William, Wellington.
- Bishop, jun., William, Wellington.
- Blair, Annie, Wanganui.
- Blair, Mary Maria, Wanganui.
- Blair, Gavin H., Wanganui.
- Blair, Jeannette, Wanganui.
- Blundell, John, Wanganui.
- Boddington, E. M. N., Wellington.
- Bodley, George, Wellington.
- Borlase, Charles Holmes, Wanganui.
- Bothamley, Arthur Thomas, Wellington.
- Bramwell, Rowland, Wanganui.
- Brandt, Henry Jacob C., Wellington.
- Bridge, James, and Wanganui.
- Ward, John, Wanganui.
- Brightwell, Thomas, Wellington.
- Bright, James, Wellington.
- Brady, John, Wellington.
- Brown, James, Wellington.
- Brown, William Keay, Wellington.
- Bull, Ellen, Wellington.
- Bull, James, Rangatikei.
- Bull, Frederick, Wellington.
- Burne, Joseph, Wellington.
- Burt, Thomas, Hutt.
- Cameron, Robert, Wellington.
- Campbell, Robert, Masterton.
- Champion, George Paling, Wellington.
- Cash, Thomas Richard, Marton.
- Cawood, George Smith, Marton.
- Chadwick, Joseph, jun., Wanganui.
- Chadwick, Joseph, Wanganui.
- Chavernes, Peter A., Wanganui.
- Chew, John, Wellington.
- Cimino, Salvatore, Wellington.

- Clapham, Thomas Henry, Wellington.
- Clapham, George Parkinson, Wellington.
- Clapham, William Henry, Wellington.
- Clapham, George John, Wellington.
- Cleland, Hugh, Hutt.
- Cleland, Robert, Hutt.
- Cleland, Joseph McG., Wellington.
- Coffey, Paul, Wellington.
- Compton, John, Wellington.
- Coutts, Donald, Patea.
- Cox, James George, Featherstone.
- Craighead, William, Hutt.
- Crawford, George, Wellington.
- Crease, Edwin Hilliard, Wellington.
- Cripps, Isaac, Seven Oaks.
- Cruickshank, James Duff, Tapper Hutt.
- Cummins, Thomas Dick, Wanganui.
- Cutler, Alfred, Wellington.
- Czerwonka, Henry, Wanganui.
- Davidson, Isabella M., Wanganui.
- Davidson, Louisa Sarah, Wanganui.
- Davidson, Mary Maria, Wanganui.
- Davidson, Alfred, Wanganui.
- Davidson, Emily Ann, Wanganui.
- Davidson, Susanna Jane, Wanganui.
- Davie, John Campbell, Wellington.
- Dellwood, Agnes, Masterton.
- Dick, jun., David, Wainuiomata.
- Dixon, Joe, Wellington.
- Dixon, Edward, Wellington.
- Donald, Robert, Masterton.
- Downes, Samuel Stacey, Wellington.
- Dreager, Alexander S., Masterton.
- Duncan, Henry B. A., Wellington.
- Earle, Joseph, Wellington.
- Easson, William, Marton.
- Easson, George, Marton.
- Eddie, Alexander, Wellington.
- Elliott, Huntley John H., Wellington.
- Ellerby, Marion Jane, Wellington.
- Evans, Frank Walpole, Rangitikei.
- Everett, William, Whareama, Wellington.
- Fife, William, Wellington.
- Finnimore, William, Wanganui.
- Flannagan, James, Wellington.
- Flyger, William Henry R., Turakina.
- Foster, Erasmus Robert, Wellington.
- Fox, James Graham, Wellington.
- France, Frederick, Wellington.
- Franklin, George, Turikina.
- Fraser, Donald, Lower Rangitikei.
- Fraser, Thomas, Wellington.
- Freeman, William, Wellington.
- Freeth, Joseph John, Featherstone.
- Furlong, William Joseph, Hawera.
- Garton, Edward, Wellington.
- Garrard, Thomas, Wellington.
- Gawith, Samuel, Karori.

- Gawith, Charles Frederick, Wellington.
- George, John Rees, Wellington.
- Gibson, William, Wellington.
- Goddard, Amos, Wellington.
- Golder, William, Hutt.
- Gordon, William, Wellington.
- Grace, Lawfence M., Wellington.
- Graham, William, Wellington.
- Grant, Alexander Innes, Wairarepa.
- Gray, David Sutherland, Wellington.
- Gray, Catherine, Wellington.
- Greathead, Robert, Greytown.
- Greenfield, Robert Mackay, Wellington.
- Griffiths, John, Wellington.
- Halley, John, Wellington.
- Halliwell, Luther, Wellington.
- Halse, William, Wellington.
- Hall, Henry, Wellington.
- Hammerton, Robert C., Wellington.
- Handley, John, Wanganui.
- Harris, Robert John, Marton.
- Harton, William Henry, Wellington.
- Hare, Francis Augustus, Wellington.
- Hare, Robert, Masterton.
- Hastwell, William R., Grey town.
- Haybittle, jun., W. G., Rangitikei.
- Haybittle, Richard Bugnell, Wellington.
- Hayes, John Edward, Wellington.
- Hewsony Charles George, Otakia.
- Hirst, William Lockwood, Wellington.
- Hogg, James Gordon, Wanganui.
- Hogan, Cornelius, Wanganui.
- Holdsworth, William G., Wellington.
- Holiday, John, Wellington.
- Hunter, George, Wellington.
- Hutchison, William, Wellington.
- Hutchison, George, Wanganui.
- Jack, Alexander, Wellington.
- Jackson, Walter, Wellington.
- Jackson, William V., Wellington.
- Jeffrey, Frederick, Wellington.
- Jensen, Mads, Grey town.
- Johns, Frederick George, Wellington.
- Jones, Henry Ireson, Wanganui.
- Jones, Leonard Henry, Wanganui.
- Jones, Lloyd, Wanganui.
- Kebbell,. George Mayo, Wellington.
- Kebbell, John, Wellington.
- Kempton, Thomas, Grey town.
- Kent, Robert, Wellington.
- Ketly, Arthur John, Wanganui.
- Kimberley, Benjamin, Masterton.
- Knowles, John, Wellington.
- Koch, Augustus, Wellington.
- Laing, Peter, Wellington.
- Ledbury, Frank James, Wanganui.
- Legg, Alfred C., Wellington.
- Lethbridge, George Yates, Turakina.

- Lewer, David Ross, Rangitikei.
- Levy, Benjamin, Wellington.
- Liffiton, Edward N., Wanganui.
- Lindsay, Alfred, Wellington.
- Little wood, Richard W., Wanganui.
- Livingston, John, Wellington.
- Lloyd, Charles, Wellington.
- Lockett, Jonas, Wanganui.
- Lockie, James, Wellington.
- London, Francis, Foxton.
- Lowe, Edward William, Wellington.
- Lucas, Robert, Grey town.
- Luxford, Charles Edward, Wellington.
- Mander, John, Hutt.
- Manley, William Mead, Wellington.
- Manson, Stewart Hare us, Wanganui.
- Martin, John, Wellington.
- Marchant, N., Wellington.
- Mason, John Bentley, Wellington.
- Middlemiss, John, Wellington.
- Miller, William, Wellington.
- Miller, Robert, Wellington.
- Miller, James, Masterton.
- Mills, Edward, William, Wellington.
- Mills, Thomas, Wellington.
- Milne, Alexander, Marton.
- Mitchell, James, Manawatu.
- Mitchell, James, Parrirua.
- Moeller, Philip, Wellington.
- Moffitt, John L., Wellington.
- Moir, Elizabeth J., Wellington.
- Moir, Margaret, Wellington.
- Moorhouse, Wm. T., Wellington.
- Morgan, John, Wanganui.
- Mowlan, John, Wellington.
- Mowbray, William, Wellington.
- Muir, Alexander, Wellington.
- Muir, John, Wellington.
- Muir, Mary Ann, Hawera.
- Mulligan, Michael Joseph, Wellington.
- Munro, William.
- Munro, John.
- MacKie, Robert, Manawatu.
- McBeth, John, Marton.
- McBeth, Alexander, Marton.
- McCara, James, Masterton.
- McCarthy, Florence, Wellington.
- McDouall, William, Lower Hutt.
- McDonnell, Edward, Wanganui.
- McDowall, William, Wellington.
- McGlashan, John, Wellington.
- McIntyre, Daniel, Wellington.
- McKenzie, Thomas W., Wellington.
- McKenzie, John, Wellington.
- McKenzie, Roderick, Masterton.
- McKenzie, Donald, Masterton.
- McKirdy, Charles, Wellington.
- McLaggan, John, Wellington.

- McMaster, Angns, Greytown.
- McMaster, David, Hawera.
- Nancarrow, J., jun., Wellington.
- Nicol, James, Masterton.
- Nicholson, William, Wellington.
- Noake, Maillard, Wanganui.
- Ogg, Charles Simmers, Wellington.
- O'Hailon, Charles Patrick, Wellington.
- O'Rorke, George Maurice, Wellington.
- Orr, Andrew, Wellington.
- Oxley, Henry John, Wellington.
- Palmer, Samuel, Wellington.
- Parkes, Sydney George, Wellington.
- Paterson, Maggie, Wellington.
- Petterick, Frederick G., Wellington.
- Pharazyn, Charles, Featherstone.
- Phillips, Caroline, Featherstone.
- Palmerston North.
- Pilcher, Thomas William, Wellington.
- Plimmer, John, Wellington.
- Poison, Donald Gunne, Wanganui.
- Powell, Wilmot, Wanganui.
- Powle, John, Wanganui.
- Powles, Charles P., Wellington.
- Port, Robert, Wellington.
- Prideaux, William, Wellington.
- Prince, Thomas, Masterton.
- Quin, Morton, Wellington.
- Ranger, James, Wellington.
- Reading, John Brown, Karori.
- Reid, Richard, Wanganui.
- Renner, William Henry, Wellington.
- Rhodes, William B., Wellington.
- Richards, Joseph Manuel, Wanganui.
- Richards, Frederick, Wanganui.
- Riddell, James, jun., Waitotara.
- Roberts, Philip, Porirua.
- Rogers, Stephen, Palmerston North.
- Rockel, John Martin, Wanganui.
- Ross, Donald, Wanganui.
- Ross, William, Wanganui.
- Ross, John Horsborough, Tuitu.
- Rowley, Joseph, Wellington.
- Russell, Godfrey, Masterton.
- Rutherford, William G., Masterton.
- Rutherford, Alexander J., Masterton.
- Sample, George, Wellington.
- Saunders, Joseph, Wellington.
- Samuels, William R. G., Wanganui.
- Scott, William, Wellington.
- Scott, John, Wellington.
- Searling, Frederick, Wanganui.
- Sellar, James, Hutt.
- Seagar, Charles, Wellington.
- Scaly, Horace F., Wellington.
- Seagar, Edward, Wellington.
- Shaw, John Henry, Wellington.
- Sinclair, Duncan, Wainuiomata.

- Sinclair, John, Wainuiomata.
- Skeet, William, Greytown.
- Smith, Benjamin, Wellington.
- Smith, Francis Wilson, Paikakariki.
- Smith, Donald, Wanganui.
- Smith, William, Tawa Flat.
- Smith, Richard, Horokinoe.
- Smith, John Elisha, Wellington.
- Smith, Walter George, Wellington.
- Snelson, Henrietta S., Wellington.
- Somerville, Christopher, Wellington.
- Spreat, W. W. J., Wellington.
- Spray, Ellen, Wellington.
- Sproule, James, Wellington.
- Stains, Robert, Wellington.
- Stewart, James, Wellington.
- Stewart, Charles, Wellington.
- St. George, Louis E., Wellington.
- Stuart, Archibald P., Wellington.
- Swain, William Henry, Wellington.
- Swiney, Charles, Wellington.
- Tandy, Willinm, Hutt.
- Tattle, George, Wellington.
- Taylor, Wm. E., Wellington.
- Tnylor, Mary B., Wellington.
- Taylor, Thomas C., Wellington.
- Taylor, Arthm, Marton.
- Thompson, C. jun., Kai Warra Warra.
- Thompson, John Edward, Masterton.
- Thompson, William Edward, Masterton.
- Tocker, Josias, Tuhercnaknu.
- Toomath, Edward, Wellington.
- Toxward, Julias C., Wellington.
- Tringham, Charles, Wellington.
- Tuckwell, Eliza, Wellington.
- Tully, John, Wairarapa.
- Turnbull, Walter, Wellington.
- Tustin, William, Wellington.
- Urwin, Thomas, Wellington.
- Vennill, George H., Wellington.
- Wagg, Thomas, Pakiwatahi.
- Waiden, Johu, Wellington.
- Walkby, John, Wellington.
- Wallace, James, Featherston.
- Wallis, Elizabeth, Wellington.
- Wallis, Catherine, Wellington.
- Wallis, William, Wellington.
- Wall, Anthony, Pairua Ferry.
- Warburton, James K., Wellington.
- Warburton, Arthur, Wellington.
- Windley, Thomas, Wellington.
- Waters William Richard, Wellington.
- Watt, William George, Wellington.
- Watt, John Paton, Wanganui.
- Webb, Joseph John, Wellington.
- Webber, Henry, Otaki.
- Weeber, Joseph James, Wellington.
- Wellington. Weir, William, Wellington.

- Welch, William Read, Hutt.
- White, Joseph, Hutt.
- Whitehead, Caleb, Wellington.
- White house, Thomas, Wellington.
- Whittem, William, Wellington.
- Wilkinson, James, Wellington.
- Wills, Frank, Wellington.
- Willeston, Chas. E. W., Wellington.
- Wellington Willcox, Joseph, Wanganui.
- Wilkin, Henry, Joseph, Wanganui.
- Wilson, Anthony Dickson, Wellington.
- Wilson, Robert, Masterton.
- Wink, George Murray, Wellington.
- Wright, John F. E., Ohio.
- Wright, Edward, Wanganui.
- Young, Andrew, Wellington.
- Yule, Robert, Featherstone.
- Zohrab, C. E., Wellington.

Nelson.

- Adams, Wm. Acton Bleakway, Nelson.
- Adamson, Charles, Nelson.
- Baker, Joseph, Motueka.
- Bartlett, Charles, Washington Valley.
- Barton, James, Nelson.
- Best, Charles, Appleby.
- Bethwaite, William, Nelson.
- Blick, James, Nelson.
- Blick, George, Nelson.
- Blick, Benjamin, Nelson.
- Bolton, Samuel, Nelson.
- Brighten, Charles, Nelson.
- Brewen, Patrick Joseph, Westport.
- Bucholz, Simon, Motueka.
- Burns, David, Nelson.
- Cann, John, Nelson.
- Carruthers, John, Nelson.
- Cawthorn, Thos, Nelson.
- Chattock, Richard, Lower Wakefield.
- Collins, Arthur S., Wakepueka.
- Cooke, James Philip, Nelson.
- Cooke, Peter, Nelson.
- Crooke, Thomas C., Nelson.
- Crooke, Thomas B., Nelson.
- Crooke, Emily, Nelson.
- Cullen, William, Mahakipawa.
- Donald, Peter, Nelson.
- Dolamore, Decimus, Nelson.
- Disher, sen., Robert, Nelson.
- Disher, jun., Robert, Tarndale.
- Elliott, Charles, Nelson.
- Elton, William, Nelson.
- Erskine, Agnes S. S., Nelson.
- Evans, Caleb George, Charleston.
- Finlayson, John, Westport.
- Fletcher, George, Nelson Creek.
- Fleming, George, Nelson.

- Foy, Thomas H., Nelson.
- Frazer, Hannah, Nelson.
- Gibbs, James, Lower Wakefield.
- Good, Walter Thomas, Nelson.
- Graham, John, Nelson.
- Gully, Harry Vincent, Nelson.
- Gully, Philip Lewis, Nelson.
- Harley, William Charles, Nelson.
- Harper, George, Nelson.
- Hartmann, Charles, Nelson.
- Hayns, Henry James, Spring Grove.
- Henry, James, Nelson.
- Hird, William J., Nelson.
- Hodder, Thomas Riches, Richmond.
- Holdaway, Phoebe, Richmond.
- Hooper, George, and Nelson Dodson, Joseph Reid Nelson.
- Hooper, James, Wakefield.
- Hooper, Francis, Spring Grove.
- Hough, Emily Eva, Nelson.
- Hault, Joseph, sen., Upper Wakefield.
- Hault, Samuel, Upper Wakefield.
- Hughes, Andrew Berrell, Beachville.
- Hunter, Alexander, Nelson.
- Johnson, Ellen Mercy, Nelson.
- Johns, Israel, Nelson.
- Jones, Alfred Thomas, Nelson.
- Kerr, John, Waimea.
- Kingdon, Samuel, Nelson.
- Levy, Morris, Nelson.
- Levien, Philip H., Nelson.
- Lightband, Martin, Nelson.
- Loasby, David P., Nelson.
- Lucas, Robert S., Nelson.
- Mabin, John Row, Nelson.
- Moorhouse, Alice, Nelson.
- Moore, Ambrose E., Nelson.
- Morgan, Emily Sarah, Nelson.
- Montray, John C., Nelson.
- MacKay, Joseph, Nelson.
- McHardy, Liliias, Nelson.
- McNeale, John W., Nelson.
- Palmer, Albert John, Waimea West.
- Parmenter, Alfred, Nelson.
- Perrett, Edwin, Charleston.
- Reilly, James, Takaka.
- Richmond, Henry.
- Robert, Nelson.
- Rodgerson, William J., Nelson.
- Rowell, William.
- Runbold, John, Motueka.
- Russ, Thomas, Waimea West.
- Russ, William E., Waimea West.
- Russ, George, Waimea West.
- Russ, Job, Waimea West.
- Schroeder, F. J. C., Ranzau.
- Scott, John, Washington Valley.
- Sealy, William Byers, Nelson.
- Sheatlier, Lewis, Nelson.

- Short, Benjamin, Nelson.
- Simmons, Frank W. C., Nelson.
- Squires, William W., Nelson.
- Stringer, Thomas H., Waimea Road.
- Strong, Samuel Herbert, Nelson.
- Symons, John, Nelson.
- Sykes, John, Westport.
- Talbot, George, Richmond.
- Tarr, George, Washington Valley.
- Tennent, Robert Collings, Nelson.
- Thompson, George, Nelson.
- Trask, Francis, Nelson.
- Truman, Charles, Nelson.
- Tucker, William, Nelson.
- Turner, William Henry, Nelson.
- Usher, jun., Thomas, Nelson.
- Wastney, William, Nelson.
- Webster, Ann McLaren, Westport.
- Wells, William, Nelson.
- West, Burton, Nelson.
- Williams, George, Nelson.

Marlborough.

- Allen, John, Picton.
- Barleyman, John, Blenheim.
- Bushell, C. H. S.
- Brown, Alexander, Mahikipawa.
- Brownlee, William, Havelock.
- Craig, William Innes, Blenheim.
- Dalton, John Henry, Picton.
- Dive, William Evans, Havelock.
- Duncan, A. S., Queen Charlotte Sound.
- Elbeck, Henry Herman, Blenheim.
- Evans, William, Blenheim.
- Farmer, Frederick T., Blenheim.
- Godfrey, John, Picton.
- Goulter, Redwood Felix, Blenheim.
- Greensill, John A. R., Picton.
- Harry, Edwin, Blenheim.
- Healy, Martin, Blenheim.
- Hutcheson, John M., Blenheim.
- James, George, Picton.
- Jay, Joseph, Blenheim.
- Kennington, William, Okarimio.
- Kummer, Franz G. H., Picton.
- Laery, Robert, Picton.
- Litchfield, Frederick J., Blenheim.
- McHutcheson, William, Blenheim.
- Nosworthy, William, Blenheim.
- Nosworthy, John, Blenheim.
- Owen, Charles J. M., Havelock.
- Phillips, Juelena, Blenheim.
- Philpott, Thomas, Picton.
- Pickering, William, jun., Havelock.
- Pritchard, Evan, Blenheim.
- Pritchard, Henry, Blenheim.
- Robson, Charles H., Cape Campbell.

- Ronaldson, William, Picton.
- Smith, George A., Picton.
- Taylor, Joseph, sen., Blenheim.
- Taylor and Sons, Joseph.
- Ward, Austin J. C., Blenheim.
- Webster, Thomas, Picton.
- Welford, William, Picton.
- Western, Richard, Picton.
- Whitehorn, William, Havelock.
- Williams, Thomas,. and Picton.
- Williams, Turn Boswall Picton.
- Wrigley, Susannah, Blenheim.

Westland.

- Alcorn, Samuel Wesley, Hokitika.
- Airth, Alexander, Hokitika.
- Ashton, Edwin, Greymouth.
- Baass, Christian F. W., Hokitika.
- Badger, Francis, Greymouth.
- Barldey, James, Greymouth.
- Barron, William, Hokitika.
- Barrett John Bath, George, Hokitika.
- Black, James, Greymouth.
- Blakey, John G., Greymouth.
- Bonar, James Alexander, Hokitika.
- Bramwell, Tom, Hokitika.
- Buckley, C. and E., Greymouth.
- Buggy, Mary Buggy, Mary Ann.
- Bulstrode, John, Mary Ann.
- Caro, Margaret, Staffordtown.
- Carstens, Otho Peter, Staffordtown.
- Churches, Joseph, Hokitika.
- Collins, Thomas, Greymouth.
- Cooper, William Marshall, Greymouth.
- Crosbie, Robert Martin, Hokitika.
- Daly, Thomas, Ross.
- Dartnell, William Whitney, Cobden.
- Dartnell, Eliza, Cobden.
- Dermott, Fitzherbert, Hokitika.
- Duff, Mary Louisa Scott, Ross.
- Dyson, Benjamin, Hokitika.
- Eissenhardt, John A., Greymouth.
- Elliott, Henry, Hokitika.
- Evans, David J., Hokitika.
- Evans, William, Hokitika.
- Fieldman, Henry, Hokitika.
- Fletcher, William, Wallsend.
- Gardener, Richard L., Hokitika.
- Goulston, Martha, Hokitika.
- Grut, Alfred Thomas, Greymouth.
- Hall, John., Hokitika.
- Harris, John P., Hokitika.
- Hughes, Edward, Hokitika.
- Jeames, John Augustus, Waimea.
- Jones, James, Greymouth.
- Jones, Thomas, Brunnerton.
- Jones, Henry, Brunnerton.

- Kennedy, Margaret, Cobden.
- Kenny, W. M. G., Ross.
- Kirkpatrick, William, Staffordtown.
- Learmouth, Fredk. A., Hokitika.
- Linton, James, Hokitika.
- Looke, Thomas, Greymouth.
- Lovell, Walter, Staffordtown.
- Lynch, Daniel, Hokitika.
- Meyer, Hermann, Hokitika.
- Morice, Charles Lloyd, Greymouth.
- McBeth, John Francis, Greymouth.
- McLevie, William E., Hokitika.
- McRae, Alexander, Hokitika.
- McWeeny, Mary, Greymouth.
- Nancarrow, Richard, Greymouth.
- O'Brien, Michael, Greymouth.
- Ogilvie, Charles, Hokitika.
- Pearson, James, Hokitika.
- Porter, Milton Emerson, Hokitika.
- Robeck, Carl F. G., Hokitika.
- Scott, Archibald, Hokitika.
- Seddon, Richard John, Waimea.
- Simpson, George, Greymouth.
- Smith, George, Waimea.
- Sutton, Mary, Hokitika.
- Taylor, Sarah Ruth, Cobden.
- Thomas, Thomas, Greymouth.
- Thomas, John G., Greymouth.
- Tomlinson, Charles, Greymouth.
- Thornley, Andrew, Staffordtown.
- Trice, James, Hokitika.
- Watterson, John, Hokitika.
- Williams, Henry, Teremakau.

Auckland.

- Aldam, George, Panmure.
- Ansenne, James, Auckland.
- Andrew, Henry J. C., Onchunga.
- Asher, David, Tauranga.
- Beck, Richard, Auckland.
- Beetham, Albert, Auckland.
- Bell, James. Wairoa-by-Papakura.
- Bennett, Edward, Auckland.
- Bennett, John, Te Awamutu.
- Berry, Charles John, Onehunga.
- Binney, George William, Auckland.
- Browne, Michael, Thames:.
- Brown, Barrett, and Co., Auckland.
- Buchanan, John, Auckland.
- Burrows, Arthur Washington, Tauranga.
- Burke, Patrick, Thames.
- Bnshnell, Frederick William. Auckland.
- Butters, James, Auckland.
- Campbell, James Palmer, Cambridge.
- Carey, John, Gisborne.
- Cook, Edmund, Thames.
- Coombes, Samuel, Auckland.

- Craig, Joseph, Auckland.
- Corbett, Thomas, Tauranga.
- Crump, John, Shortland.
- Dennett, Phœbe, Auckland.
- Dornwell, Albert, Auckland.
- Eaton, Levi Wood worth, Auckland.
- Ehrenfield. Louis, Shortland.
- Floyd, William Henry, Auckland.
- Forgie, James. Thames.
- Fraser William, Auckland.
- Glendinning, David, Auckland.
- Goldwater, Meyer, Shortland.
- Grace, William Henry, Thames.
- Griffith, William. Auckland.
- Henderson & Macfarlane, Auckland.
- Henderson, Thomas, jun., Auckland.
- Holdship, George, Auckland.
- Jackson, Robert Dickson, Melbourne.
- Jaggar and Parker, Auckland.
- Johnston, David, jun., Parnell.
- Jones, Stannus, Auckland.
- Kelly, James Denis, Auckland.
- Keane, Bernard, Auckland.
- Lamb, Peter, Grahamstown.
- Lamb, Alexander, Grahamstown.
- La Roche, John, Auckland.
- Lawrence, James, Gisborne.
- Leckie, John. Auckland.
- Levy, Barnard and Auckland.
- Goldwater, Nathan, Auckland.
- Levy, Lawrence Arthur, Auckland.
- Levy, Barnett, Auckland.
- Lincoln, Robert Samuel, Auckland.
- Mason, Peter, Auckland.
- Meyers, Henry S., Auckland.
- Meyer, Elliott, Auckland.
- MacReady, Thos. Wallace, Auckland.
- MacCormick, John Charles, Auckland.
- MacShane, Charles, Auckland.
- McCabe, John, Shortland.
- McCabe, James, Shortland.
- McCallum, John, Auckland.
- McDonald, Ronald, Shortland.
- McGregor, John, Whapu Kaipara.
- McKellar, Dugald, Tauranga.
- McKenzie, Donald Hugh, Auckland.
- McNab, Duncan, Shortland.
- Nelson, Charles Moseley, Auckland.
- Niccol, Thomas, Devonport.
- Pilkington, John, Wot Tamaki.
- Preece, Captain George A., Tauranga.
- Ratjen, Wilhelmine, Tokatea.
- Rees, William Joseph, Auckland.
- Renton, Robert, Riverhead.
- Roberts, Charles Nathaniel, Tauranga.
- Rosie, Sinclair Bain, Coromandel.
- Rosie, James, Coromandel.
- Scott, William, Paterangi.

- Sherlock, George, Hape Creek.
- Skinner, William Henry, Parnell.
- Smith, Duncan, North Shore.
- Taylor, John, Auckland.
- Turner, Archibald Campbell.
- Tauranga Turrell, Thomas, Auckland.
- Wallace, James, Otahuhu.
- Walsh, Patrick, Grahamstown.
- Wilkinson and Horton, Grahamstown.
- Williamson, Annie, Auckland.
- Winter, Frank, Auckland.
- Wyllie, Thomas, Tamaki.
- Warren, John, Auckland.
- Yates, Michael, Tauranga.

Hawkes Bay.

- Abrahams, Abrahams W., Napier.
- A'Deane, John, Napier.
- Allen, Edmund Giblett, Waipukuran.
- Ashton, Edward, Napier.
- Auber, Henry, Napier.
- Annabell, Joseph, Te Mata.
- Bailey, Joseph James, Waipukuran.
- Baker, William Benjamin, Walling ford.
- Barrows, James, Port Ahuriri.
- Beaumont, Manoah, Napier.
- Bee, Frank, Napier.
- Begg, Agnes Rose, Napier.
- Begg, jun., John, Napier.
- Begg, Samuel, Napier.
- Bibby, Edward, Waipawa.
- Blake, Lawrence, Napier.
- Blake, Andrew H., Napier.
- Blythe, William R., Napier.
- Bowman, George, Napier.
- Boyle, James, Havelock.
- Boylan, Michael, Napier.
- Bradford, William, Waipukurau.
- Brydone, Robert P., Napier.
- Burgess, Samuel, Napier.
- Burness, James, Napier.
- Britten, William, Napier.
- Cable, Henry, Wairoa.
- Campbell, Hugh, Wairoa.
- Campbell, Mary, Wairoa.
- Campbell, Hugh, Te Atua.
- Campbell, John, Napier.
- Carlile, William Warren, Napier.
- Carlile, James Wren, Napier.
- Carlyon, George Richard G., Gwavas.
- Carlyon, Edward Augustus, Napier.
- Carlyon, Gwavas, Napier.
- Chalken, William W., Tapuaeharuru.
- Chambers, John, Te Mata.
- Cohen, Hyman Phineas, Napier.
- Coudie, Thomas, Maraekakaho.
- Cotterill, Arthur James, Napier.

- Cotterill, Henry John, Napier.
- Craig, James, Napier.
- Craig, John Wilson, Napier.
- Crane, John T., Waipukurau.
- Crosse, Thomas Ezekiel, Porongahau.
- Davidson, Robert, Waipukurau.
- Dewes, Alfred Clement, Napier.
- Dinwiddie, Peter, Napier.
- Dinwiddie, Peter, and Morrison, Thos. J.
- Drower, Frederick Howe, Waipukurau.
- Dunbar, James, Napier.
- Edgar, David, Waipukurau.
- Faulkner, George, Napier.
- Fleming, David S., Walling ford.
- Fletcher, William, Napier.
- Fletcher. Henry, Napier.
- Friberg, Bror. Eric, Waipukurau.
- Fulton, James Edward, Waipawa.
- Gascoigne, Mary C. H., Napier.
- Gascoigne, F. J. W., Taupo.
- Goddard, John, Te Mata.
- Goodwin, William, Hastings.
- Grant, Alexander, Burnside.
- Gully, Charles James, Napier.
- Guy, Duncan, Napier.
- Hamlin, Henry Martin, Napier.
- Hamlin, Josiah Pratt, Napier.
- Harding, jun., Thomas B., Napier.
- Harding, John, Napier.
- Heslop, William, Chesterhope.
- Heslop, George, Pariti.
- Hickey, Henry, Kaikora.
- Hill, Kenrick Jones, Napier.
- Hitchins, Thomas, Napier.
- Holder, Henry R., Napier.
- Irvine, James, Port Ahurir.
- Johnson, John Thompson, Napier.
- Jones, Alexander, Waipukurau.
- Keys, George Alfred, Opepe.
- King, George Alban, Waipukurau.
- Kinross, John Gibson, Napier.
- Knowles, Edward W., Napier.
- Liddle, Joseph, Napier.
- Lindsay, David E., Napier.
- Locke, Samuel, Napier.
- Lyndon, Edward, Napier.
- Large, James S., and Townley, John, Napier.
- Manoy, A., Napier.
- Margoliouth, Charles Lindsay, Napier.
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- Miller, Margaret, Napier.
- Miller Elizabeth, Napier.
- Mitchell, Thomas, Waipukurau.
- Mitchell, George B., Napier.
- Miller, William, Napier.
- Miller, Matthew R.
- Mitchell, Charles, East Clive.

- Monteith, Henry, Waipukurau.
- McGlashan, John, Napier.
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- MacKenzie, Charles W., Napier.
- McLean, Archibald, jun., Marakakaho.
- McLcan, Allan, Tuki Tuki.
- McVay, John C., Napier.
- Newman, Albert M., Waipukurau.
- Newton, Thomas K., Napier.
- Oliver, William, Napier.
- Page, William, Waipukurau.
- Peddie, Thomas, Napier.
- Poole, John, Napier.
- Powell, William, Napier.
- Pulford, William, Waipukurau.
- Rathbone, William, Waipawa.
- Renouf, John Thomas, Napier.
- Reynolds, James, Te Atui.
- Rich, Edwin Francis, Napier.
- Richardson, Thomas, Patene.
- Richardson, George E. G., Napier.
- Rochford, James, Napier.
- Ross, Donald, Waipukurau.
- Roulston, James, Napier.
- Rymer, George, Meanee.
- Scully, Thomas, Napier.
- Sidey, David, Napier.
- Smith, William, Napier.
- Smith, John A., Napier.
- Speedy, John C., Meanee.
- Spencer, William Isaac, Napier.
- Spriggs, Matthew D., Napier.
- Steven, John, Kaikoa.
- Stevens, Charles, "Waipukurau.
- Stuart, John, Napier.
- Sutton, Edmund, Napier.
- Sutton, Fredk., Napier.
- Swan, George H., Napier.
- Tiffen, Henry Stokes, Napier.
- Todd, Alexander, Waipawa.
- Torre, John James, Napier.
- Tuke, Edmund, Meanee.
- Tuxford, Franklin, Napier.
- Twigg, Henderson J., Patene.
- Waite, "William, Waipawa.
- Walmsley, Horatio A gars, Napier.
- Williams, Henry, Napier.
- Williams, Nathaniel, Napier.
- Williams, James Nelson, Hastings.
- Williams, Samuel, Te Autu.
- Williams, Sees Pavell, Clive.
- Wood, James, Meanee.
- Worgan, George, Milton.
- Young, Edward, Motutaira.

Taranaki.

- Chilman, Richard, New Plymouth.

- Cook, Thomas, New Plymouth.
- Douglas, Sarah T., New Plymouth.
- Dunn, Catherine, New Plymouth.
- Early, Hugh, New Plymouth.
- Furlong, Michael, New Plymouth.
- Gordon, George, Hawera.
- Grey, Charles, New Plymouth.
- Grey, William G., New Plymouth.
- Govett, Henry, New Plymouth.
- Halse, William, New Plymouth.
- Harris, Walter, New Plymouth.
- Honeyfield, James C., Tataraimaka.
- Hoskin, Arthur John, New Plymouth.
- Hughes, Robert, New Plymouth.
- Hughes, Robert C., New Plymouth.
- Inch, Thomas, New Plymouth.
- James, John, New Plymouth.
- Joll, Samuel, jun., New Plymouth.
- Joseph, Francis, New Plymouth.
- King, Newton, New Plymouth.
- King, Thomas, New Plymouth.
- Langman, Richard, New Plymouth.
- Newbegin, Reuben, New Plymouth.
- Newman, John Litchfield, Omata.
- Newman, W. Litchfield, New Plymouth.
- Newman, George John, New Plymouth.
- Oliver, James, New Plymouth.
- Parris, Robert, New Plymouth.
- Rennell, Clarence, New Plymouth.
- Rennell, Wilfred, New Plymouth.
- Revell, James Kingdon, New Plymouth.
- Rossiter, James, New Plymouth.
- Ryan, George, New Plymouth.
- Sampson, Charles, New Plymouth.
- Scotland, Sarah, New Plymouth.
- Scotland, Henry, New Plymouth.
- Selfe, Henry Joseph, New Plymouth.
- Shaw, James Thomas, New Plymouth.
- Sole, Thomas, New Plymouth.
- Watson, Freak. J., New Plymouth.
- Webster, Frederick Lewis, New Plymouth.
- Webster, Wm. Dawson, New Plymouth.
- Wright, Walter, New Plymouth.
- Young, George.

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The Address of Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,

Delivered in the Choral Hall, Symonds Street, Auckland, Monday, March 22, 1875;

The Address to the Electors of the Province of Auckland,

Delivered From the Hustings on the Nomination for the Superintendency, *Wednesday, March, 24, 1875;*

The Address to the Electors of Auckland City West,

Delivered in the Hall of the Young Men's Christian Association, on the Nomination of a Member of the General Assembly, Saturday, March 27, 1875 .

Leading Article from *New Zealand Herald*, Tuesday, March 23,

1875.

NOT one of the thousand people who listened to Sir George Grey last night, but must have felt that a new power had arisen, and that they saw before them a man destined to influence the fortunes of the colony in the future as he had done so largely in the past. The enthusiastic, ringing cheers which greeted Sir George at the conclusion of his speech were the heart-felt expression of this feeling. They were a tribute to the earnestness, the single-mindedness and the patriotism manifested in every thought to which such eloquent utterance was given.

The whole address was so different in style, matter, and treatment to anything usually heard on our political platforms that it must have taken many by surprise. Rising above the merely local topics which generally form the substance of speeches on such occasions, Sir George devoted himself to the higher politics of which he is a master. In handling his subject from this point he paid a compliment to the intelligence of those whom he was addressing which they were not slow to appreciate. He unveiled before them the mysteries of statecraft and office. He told them how they were really governed both in England and in the colony and illustrated his views with anecdote and cases in point. Beginning with the Colonial Office he pointed out how little the Minister for the Colonies had to do with them, and that they were really under the control of the clerks in the Office on whom that Minister was dependent. He told them how Governors were made, and how that which was an appointment closely scanned by parties in the Imperial Parliament in the olden days, had degenerated merely into a comfortable place to which was consigned political friends or inconvenient opponents whom it was desirable to get out of the way. As a natural consequence, Governors so appointed had become mere machines doing the behests of the Colonial Ministry for the time being. It was a question under such circumstances whether the time had not come, in the interests of the colony and of the Empire, that Governors appointed by the Colonial Office should cease.

He was sarcastic in his description of the Life Peers with their life pensions of £120 a-year, forming our Upper House and representing nothing but the Minister to whose particular favour they owe their appointment. He was equally happy in his comments on the new Order of St. Michael and St. George, which had been revived by the Colonial office as a new means of power over colonial statesmen. If colonists were to be honoured, let them be enrolled in the great orders which commanded respect and which were known throughout the Empire. Let them scorn a paltry rank which was only recognised in the colony itself and which they could only exhibit in England with a sheep-facedness that neither elevated the wearer in his own esteem nor raised the character of colonists generally who could be supposed to rest contented with such toys. The revival of this Maltese order was not only unworthy as separating the colonists by a marked line from the people in the home country to whom it was unknown, but it had a political significance to which public attention could not be too earnestly directed. If the people of New Zealand were worthy of self-government they would jealously guard their Legislature from all external interference and would not countenance the existence of rewards bestowed by others than themselves, when those rewards were not recognised by the Empire at large. Let colonists who have done good service to their own colony, and through it to the Empire, be enrolled in the great Imperial orders of which all Englishmen were justly proud. There would then be the safeguard that public vigilance at home would see the honors worthily bestowed. But with new orders—for colonial circulation only—the safeguard did not exist, and honors were given at the mere recommendation of a Governor who was thus endowed with a means of influencing colonial men and colonial politics, illegitimate because one which the people who were governed had no means of controlling. We cannot follow Sir George through his admirable remarks on these questions to which a large part of his speech was devoted. The speech itself will be widely read and receive the consideration which the greatness of its topics and its lofty treatment merit. The land question and the Resolutions of last session were also dealt with.

Sir George shewed how unfair the whole management of the Crown lands had been, and how especially Auckland had suffered. Commenting on the first Resolution for the abolition of the North Island provinces, he referred to the argument used that they had not been successful in the conduct of local affairs while those of Canterbury and Otago had been. Now, admitting this for argument sake, said Sir George, what is the inference to be fairly drawn? Canterbury and Otago are in that case eminent examples of the benefits of local management when proper funds are provided. If Auckland has failed, it is not that local management is a mistake or that her people are inferior to those of the South. It is that Auckland has been deprived of the funds which the latter, by the misappropriation of the land sales, possess. A statesman, especially if a representative of City East, should not say therefore that the remedy was to abolish these local institutions in the North, but should set himself to work to find these institutions with the funds required and which the Constitution Act provided until tampered with by legislation which had been imposed on the people by a series of surprises in the Assembly, and at its instigation, in the Imperial Parliament. If the Government were in earnest now in providing a landed estate for this province, do not let them set a number of agents at work competing with each

other as they were doing, but let them hand over the money to the Provincial Governments to be expended under the watchful control of the Councils and the people. Then they might hope gradually to acquire a valuable estate and good land suited for settlement. He had no such hopes under the present irresponsible system and in the conflict of agents dependent on the extent of their purchases—whether the land be good or bad—for the commission which formed their chief remuneration.

Finally, Sir George sketched out a scheme of Government so novel in its features, yet so grand and broad, that it is sure to command the attention of other colonies as well as of New Zealand. His two chief objects were to bring the colony into direct communication with the Crown and to avoid as far as possible all legislation or any system which could tend to reproduce the strong class distinctions; and the inequalities of wealth and fearful misery largely consequent upon them, that England had inherited from bygone times.

He would effect the former object by abolishing the now useless office of Governor and substituting for it a Secretary of State for the Colony, appointed by the colony and resident in London. The Secretary would be a member of the Privy Council, a Right Honorable all the world over, a man of high position able to do by right for colonists going home that which they were now obliged to seek as a favour in the ante-rooms of a colonial Minister. The Queen would herself welcome such an officer and be pleased to grant him the right of direct communication on all matters connected with the colony he represented. Her Majesty's natural desire to bind the Empire together and guard it for her children would induce her to grant this favour, apart from the benefit which it would confer on the colonists and the independence of the position in which it would place them. The Secretaries of State for the various colonies, if this system were adopted, would be a powerful body in London and the office would form a new and lofty object of ambition. The second great object he would seek, by guarding to the uttermost against the absorption of power and patronage by any single class or section of the community. It was for this reason that he so highly valued the Provincial Institutions which were under the direct control, in every element, of the whole of the people and would be their best safeguard against undue usurpation by any particular class. He valued them also as schools for political training and as giving openings for laudable ambition to every man of ability, in every class, who could command the confidence of his fellow-colonists. We refer to the speech itself for Sir George Grey's further opinions on this and on other subjects. It was a speech unequalled in breadth of view, in grasp of principle and in clear exposition, by anything yet heard in Auckland and it marks a new era in the politics both of the province and the colony.

Sir George Grey's Address.

SIR GEO. GREY met the electors on March 22, in the Choral Hall, and addressed them upon the political position of the province and colony. The meeting was announced to commence at eight o'clock, but as early as seven o'clock there was a crowd collected in front of the building. At half-past seven o'clock the large Hall was filled, and at the time fixed for taking the chair the building was crowded in every part. Punctually at eight o'clock Sir George Grey entered the Hall, and was received with loud and prolonged cheering. He was attended by a large number of the leading gentlemen of the province.

Mr. SWANSON was the first to address the meeting. He wished to remind those present that it was not merely an assemblage of the citizens of Auckland. It was a meeting of the electors of the province: a meeting of those who were settled in every part of the province. It was therefore considered by the committee appointed to secure the Election of Sir George Grey that the chairman of the meeting should be one not necessarily a city man, one who would represent the electors both town and country throughout the province. He proposed therefore that the chair should be taken by James Thomas Boylan, Esq., who resided at some distance in the country, and came in for the purpose. (Cheers.)

Sir GEORGE GREY, who, on coming forward, was received with enthusiastic and repeated cheers, said,—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it would be very unbecoming of me to address you upon any one of the points to which I, this night, wish to call your attention until I have expressed the deep and sincere regret I feel at the cause which has brought me before you this evening—I mean the death of your late most estimable Superintendent. (Hear, hear.) You must all of you be aware that for many years I have known Mr. Williamson—that I entertained for him a very strong regard, and that it is impossible for me to see a man who had devoted so many years and so much energy to the service of this Province, pass away from us without deeply regretting such a melancholy event. (Hear, hear.) You must pardon me for relieving my mind upon this subject in the first instance, and, as I have done so, I would venture to allude to one circumstance which the other day, passing his old house in Shortland Crescent, His late place of business, recalled to my mind a scene, apparently trifling in itself, but really of the greatest possible significance in the present state of affairs. Most of you probably are aware that formerly the late Mr. Williamson kept a shop in Shortland Crescent; that he raised himself from that position to the one he afterwards occupied, is one of the circumstances which most strongly draws me towards the man and towards his memory now. (Cheers.) Well, one day, passing down Shortland

Crescent, I saw looking into that shop-window a very intelligent boy. His dress was so neat, his appearance so intelligent, that I was altogether struck by the circumstance, and watched him as he intently gazed into the window. About a-quarter of an hour afterwards I returned, and the same boy was still there. I walked up to him, and asked him what he was looking at. He told me he saw two little cannons in the shop-window, and that he had just been building a boat, and that the thing that occupied his mind was what a treasure they would be to him, but that he had no money. (Laughter.) Well, I took the boy in and I bought the little cannons for him. (Cheers.) I asked him who his father was, and he said, "a mechanic." And the boy's whole aspect and demeanour convinced me that his father must have been a mechanic of no very common order. The boy passed out of the shop. Months—or rather years—passed on, and I went to Nelson in the performance of my duty. After the lapse of two or three years—possibly as many as four or five years—I was met in the street there by a lad, grown up almost to be a young man. He stopped me, and he produced from his waistcoat pocket two little cannons. He said—"Sir, I never parted with these, and never forgot what you did for me in giving them to me." (Cheers.) I said—"Is your father here?" He replied, "Yes, he is; he is Mr. Robinson, the Superintendent of Nelson." (Loud cheers.) Well, now, what did take place? The owner of the shop had become the Superintendent of this Province, the father of the boy who was looking into the window had from availing himself of the benefits of truly representative institutions, raised himself to the position of Superintendent of another Province. (Renewed cheers.) Well, I confess I felt proud of the institutions which I had introduced into this country, and I still think that any man who would prevent such events occurring within the limits of New Zealand, is not a friend of the happiness of the human race, or of his own happiness either. (Loud cheers.) I say that any man who attempts to destroy such openings to the people of this country, will find when old age creeps upon him that he regrets what he has done, and that when he is approaching that other world where all must be equal, whether they like it or not, he will be sorry that he has thrown any obstacles in the way of virtue and ability raising itself to eminence in this world. (Cheers.) Human intellect and human goodness are the greatest blessings perhaps, next to religion, that God has given to man, and he who shuts out intellect and goodness from their true position in the world, and prevents their being used, for the benefit of the human race, robs all mankind of an inestimable treasure, and is neither a friend to his fellows nor to his Maker, in my belief. (Hear and cheers.) Trifling as that incident was, I think you will all feel with me the significance of it. And I for one in my heart earnestly desire that one of the distinguishing characteristics of New Zealand through all time should be that every mother, looking at a clever son, may believe that the time will come when all his fellow-citizens will recognise his worth, and he may be a blessing to the country in which he was born. (Cheers.) And I hope that many mothers may still see such aspirations realised, and enjoy the happiness that flows from them. And, I say more, that I hope that this may ever be a country in which the young wife, when she looks at the studious husband, and sees him still cultivating his intellect and doing his best to perform his duty to his fellow-men in every respect, may believe that the time will come when his worth and merit will be acknowledged, and that others will recognise those virtues and that goodness which she sees in him, and at last the ineffable pleasure may burst upon her of seeing that her predictions have been fulfilled, and that he has been dragged out by his fellow-countrymen and chosen to hold positions of which he has shewn that he is worthy. (Cheers.) Entertaining these views, what I would propose to-night to do is this: I would propose not to dwell upon mere provincial matters—to explain those, and to explain their relations to the form of Government that you have, you have the most excellent speech of Mr. Swanson to refer to; you have Mr. Rees' pamphlet, and hundreds of writings on the subject, and several most able letters which I have seen in your newspapers treating of those great constitutional questions upon which your whole welfare and your whole prosperity depends, and which I have seen sufficiently dwelt upon. But what I would ask you to do to-night is really to consider these questions, and when they have been considered, and have been debated, let us all determine upon some common line of policy which the great majority may feel is for the benefit and for the good of all. (Hear and cheers.) Now, in the remarks I make, I wish to assail no one; what I attack is institutions. Many men are in office or in positions in this country who may not approve of the very institutions which have placed them there, and might to the best of their ability be discharging the duties imposed upon them. With such men we can find no fault. I wish in no way to blame them for what is wrong in the Government of the country at the present time—what interferes with the prosperity of its inhabitants—what must interfere with their future happiness—what must entail misery upon millions—wealth, perhaps, upon a very few. Such institutions we have a right to criticise—such institutions we have a right to consider—and such institutions, if we dislike them, we have a right to sweep away. (Loud and continued cheers.) Now, first, to begin at the very head of all in this country, let me point out to you with regard to the office of Governor, that the rule throughout the British Empire for many years upon the whole has been this,—I think there have been few departures from it: When Great Britain paid the expenses of a colony, was responsible for its debt, provided it was a military post, Great Britain nominated the Governor, and that Governor was virtually to a certain extent nominated by the British Parliament—that is, it was impossible for the Ministry at home to place a mere follower or dependent in any

important office where real duties were to be performed, because every such appointment was discussed in the most deliberate manner in the British Parliament, and the Government, if they were doing what was found questionable, had an enormous amount of opposition to meet. I would instance my own case. Thirty-five or thirty-six years ago, when I was first appointed Governor, there was a keen debate upon the subject in the British Parliament. Thirty years ago, when I first came to this colony, there was a debate which lasted for three days before the question was determined. When Great Britain ceased to pay any expenses for a colony, the usual rule, not only in ancient times, but in modern days, has been that the Governor was elected by those persons who paid the expenditure. (Cheers.) For example, until I went to South Australia the whole expense of the colony of South Australia was borne by a Board of Commissioners in England as a Board of shareholders in a Company. They nominated the Governor, and presented him to the Queen; and the Queen, as a matter of course, issued her commission to him. Even in the case of New Zealand, when the Auckland Islands were constituted a separate colony, and were paid for only by a Whaling Company, the Whaling Company nominated the Governor, presented him to the Queen in the same way, they being responsible for the expenditure, and the Queen appointed the Governor. The East India Company when responsible for the Civil and Military expenditure of our Great Indian Empire, nominated ten Governors of that country, or exercised a control over their appointment. When your own Constitution Act was drawn, the Act was so drawn that the General Assembly can make what law they please for the appointment of a Governor, and send it home to the Queen. That is the existing law of New Zealand to the present day. Now, whether that system is to be adopted or not is of course a question for consideration. What I would ask you to do is to consider the effect of the present system—the existing state of things,—where there is a hereditary monarchy, the Crown for the time being has a strong personal interest in the conduct of public affairs. There a large number of subjects are from tradition, from the habit of years, strongly attached by personal ties to the reigning Sovereign. The reigning Sovereign takes the greatest possible care to commit no mistake that may injure its subjects, or alienate their affections, for the sake of their descendants. But in our circumstances, situated as we are here, the Governor who may be nominated from time to time has, in point of fact, no interest of that kind in the country, and the one object that necessarily he must pursue—I say this without the least reflection upon the person who does it of necessity, for it is a necessity,—is, if possible, to stand well with the Ministry of the day in the colony, to meet all their views, and, if possible, to avoid coming in any way into collision with the inhabitants of the country in which he governs—to escape, in point of fact, without having any disturbance or any difference with the people and the Government managing affairs at the time. Therefore, it is almost impossible for him to make a stand against what he may think wrong, and appeal to the country regarding what he may disapprove, as the Crown may do at home, and certainly would do at home, and he becomes in these respects a mere machine. (Hear, and loud cheers.) Then, further, consider this other view of the case. The Governor is absolutely dependent upon the persons in power at home. The Governor is not appointed now by the Queen,—the Governor is appointed by the Government of the day, for their own peculiar purposes, whatever they may be. If you attempt here to reduce the salary of your Governor, as was done some few years ago—if an Act is passed for that purpose by the Assembly, and it is sent home, the Act is disallowed—the answer is—"The Governor holds his office for six years; our consciences are so tender that we could not commit a breach of contract with him. We cannot assent to it. Pardon us, therefore, for advising the Queen to disallow it." (Laughter and cheers.) That is the language used to the people of the colony who would seek to have power over their Governor in that direction. What is the language that Mould be used by the Ministry of the day to the Governor? His commission appointing him to be Governor states that it is during the Queen's pleasure—not for six years—and he may be removed at a moment's notice. Within the time that I have lived one Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was removed at a moment's notice for refusing to give a pension of £400 a year from the civil list to a lady. (Laughter.) He was removed at once. I have known other Governors removed for simply differing in opinion from the Queen's advisers. I have known a Governor instantly removed for refusing to appoint to an office a relative of a Minister of the Crown who happened to be Premier of England at the time, because he believed that it would not be right to make such an appointment. There was no "six years" given to him there, and the Ministers at home had taken from him his whole income and all that he had laid out on his outfit: his whole income is taken from him, his outfit he must sell for what he can get, and go in a moment. That is the view which is taken of the matter when the Government view it in their own case at home; when they view it in the case of the colonies, the appointment is "for six years," and can be in no way interfered with. (Cheers.) Well, in 1867, another very curious circumstance took place. I intended to have a copy of the actual words, but I have forgotten the paper. I will tell them to you exactly as they stand. At the time the troops were all being withdrawn from the colonies, the whole expenditure of the colonists was being thrown upon themselves, the view taken up at home was almost precisely in these words : That no man was fit to represent his Sovereign in the colonies who had not been born in the purple. (Laughter.) That was the language used, that no person be appointed to the colonics as Governor, except in extreme instances, who was not the son of a Peer, which was called "being born in the

purple." The rule was frequently relaxed afterwards; and if a man had married the daughter of a Peer it was thought that that entitled him to be appointed. (Renewed laughter.) Then comes an extraordinary statement upon this subject. What was maintained was also this : That the colonists earnestly desired to be governed by people who had been "born in the purple, and that it was more easy to govern them in that way. Now that may be the case; I do not know. Some men may worship rank in that kind of way. That undoubtedly was the statement made, and that undoubtedly is the plea that existed, and it is the course which has, in as far as possible, been pursued. Well, now, I think that in that way the colonists stand in a very bad position, and the Governor himself stands in a very bad position. But I really take another and very serious objection to the system. It is this—that it places in the hands of the governing class at home a very large sum of money indeed, to be annually expended in rewarding persons who have given them political support, or in keeping opponents who have given adverse votes in the House of Peers out of the way in distant parts of the world. (Hear and cheers.) In truth, it places at the disposal of the Government a large sum of secret service money which in some instances is actually expended for electioneering purposes, and the whole of which sum of money is withdrawn from the cognizance of the British Parliament and of the British nation. And I do not think, in my own mind, that it is right that we should by our taxation continue to rivet the fetters more firmly upon our countrymen at home. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) If I am told it is not really used for electioneering purposes, I answer that, within my own knowledge, in two recent instances, members of the House of Commons who had damaged themselves by engaging in contested elections in which they were returned, and in which they obtained their return to support the Government in Parliament, were ultimately enabled to recoup their losses by being appointed to the position of Governors in distant possessions of the Crown. And I go a degree further than that, and state that there was an instance in which an Under Secretary of State who, having done, in conjunction with the Secretary of State at the head of his department, what was considered so injurious to the interests of his fellow-countrymen that they were both obliged to leave office at home, was rewarded by being sent out to one of the colonies as Governor, with a very large salary indeed. Such was the state of public feeling at that time in England that it would have been impossible to have given him any office under the Crown within the limits of Great Britain. (Cheers.) Well, for all these reasons, I think that this is a point which is very well worthy of the consideration of the people of this country. We have the power entirely in our hands. I recommend no particular system to you, but we have the power in our own hands to decide, conjointly with the Queen, what is to be done. Parliament and Her Majesty gave us that power, and we can exercise it in such a way as to offend nobody, but do that which we may deem, after consideration, to be the best for the interests of the whole of the entire community. (Enthusiastic cheers.) Such, indeed, is the magnitude of what I call this abuse, that to give you an instance of what I mean, I may state that very little disposal is given to us over our own revenue. Supposing the salary of a Governor here was £10,000 a-year, the Minister at home may give the Governor leave of absence for two years, any time he likes, and we should be required, during the whole time he was absent, to pay him £5,000 a year—a larger salary than the Premier of England, or as large a salary as the Premier obtains all the time he is performing most laborious duties. And we are not allowed to say whether he is to go or not; that is settled by the Government at home. Now, I think this is another reason why this state of things should be closely and carefully enquired into, and that the salary of the Governor should be fixed upon such a reasonable basis as not to give excuse for other exorbitant salaries in this country. (Loud cheers.) In all these respects we should carry with us the feelings and approbation of our fellow countrymen in Britain, they most unwillingly see such large sums placed at the sole control of the ministry, and they will no longer be taxed for the pensions they pay retired Governors. Well, then, the next thing that I would call your attention to is the constitution of the Legislative Council. Now, I have shewn you that in one instance—that of the Governor—you positively have no control whatever, and that you can exercise no influence upon him except such as his good nature may lead him to recognise, without your having a right to exercise upon him. But in the next—the Legislative Council—in point of fact you are still worse off. Now, I do not say a word against anybody, or that anyone is abusing the power they have in that Council. I have many friends there, and believe they have done their duty; but such a thing was never seen in the world before as that a Minister, as it is here, should have power to call men into the Upper House, and give them salaries to last for life. I only ask those who recollect the old rotten-borough system. Is it right that the Ministry should be able to take a man chosen by no constituency, representing no one but the Minister who put him into the Council, and then make him Governor of this great country, which is done now ?—because the Governor is in truth nobody here, he is under the advice of his Ministers. And, I say, it is not respectful to the community that an individual, representing, as I say, only the Minister who appointed him should be chosen and at once made Governor of this great community with absolute power over us all. With all my heart and soul I object to that, and think the whole of that institution is in point of fact a gigantic and most expensive sham. (Cheers.) In illustration of what I have said before, and of what I mean, it is in point of fact not created for our good or for our interest or for the interest of the people of great Britain, for their interest is the same as ours, but in the interest of a class at home, the governing class ! I

will give you one instance which will shew this. A Minister in England agreed with me that there should be an elective Upper House. I was promised this should be so, and the whole constitution was drawn with that view; but the question arose, "If they have an elective Upper House in New Zealand, all the rest of the other colonies of the empire would want them, and, if the rest of the empire was governed under elective Upper Houses,—often governed, perhaps better than by the hereditary Upper House of Great Britain,—how can an hereditary Upper House stand in Great Britain? It won't do." I say, if you entertain that view in favour of an hereditary Upper House, do not give us such an institution as we have here, and do not clog it with conditions hurtful to my mind. Now, their reasoning in England upon such a subject, when they are not personally interested, is absolutely beautiful. They say, if the Upper House is necessary, then the members must always be present in the Upper Chamber to do their duty, and they therefore make this law, "That any member of the Upper House in New Zealand, absent for two years, forfeits his seat." But what do they say of their own Upper House? If there they meant to reward a man who has voted for them, or to secure the absence of one who may vote against them, they send him out here for seven or fourteen years. I give that as one instance of the way in which the most beautiful reasoning in regard to other persons is so often applied and practised by the individuals with regard to themselves. You all know what has been done in New Zealand lately. I think that altogether a most objectionable system has been pursued, and I think it is terrible that bill after bill may be passed in the Lower House of this country, and then sent to be refused by the Upper House, who represent nobody. Many of the members of that house, I think, do not even represent Ministers now in the country. They were put in by Ministers, who have made fortunes and gone home, and they represent absentees in England, I could produce argument after argument to shew how fallacious this system is, and how adverse to the happiness of the whole community, but will not detain you longer upon that point. I will now go to the House of Representatives. Very well. Now, I tell you again with regard to the House of Representatives, that there is interference taking place with them which is most adverse to our interest. I will put the proposition in this broad way. First of all, I say that it is essential for any people who are to be well governed, and who return members to Houses of Representatives, that they should be able themselves to reward their representatives, if they are to be rewarded at all, and that there should not be an exterior body (not representing the interest of Great Britain, because its interest is with us, but representing a small wealthy governing class in England, whose interests are adverse to those of the millions at home, and of ours also), who can manage that House of Representatives by giving them rewards with which we have nothing to do. What I mean is this. Lately, two systems of rewards have been created in this country. The one is, they have tried to set up a Peerage here, and a Peerage of a most contemptible and unknown kind. The Peerage is this, the man has rank and dignity as the son of a Baron given to him for life within the limits of New Zealand, but if he travels out of New Zealand he is nobody at all. Now, I object to that altogether. First, it is a breach of the law—a gross breach of a solemn compact entered into with us. In England they tried to set up a similar kind of Peerage. They gave one man a title and a seat in the House of Lords for life. They tried only one, and the whole country rose as one man. They said, "The Queen cannot do this. We do not want to say anything against the Queen; she, probably, does not know anything about it." The reply was, "But the Queen is the fountain of honour." They answered, "She is the fountain of honours known to the constitution; she can make as many Peers as she pleases, Irish or English, but not Scotch, they took care of themselves at the union." This was thus replied to: "The Queen can make a new order of knighthood, and can create knights." "Yes, but not make a new order of peerage." They said, "Yes, the Stuarts created baronets." The reply was, "But the Stuarts did an immense number of illegal things, and the result was they lost the Crown." "Well," said the Ministers, "when the present family was put upon the throne they did not promise the people that they would not create a new order in the peerage whenever it was advisable." "No, certainly; it was replied, but they promised to govern according to the law, and these conditions were those upon which they got the throne?" It was then admitted that the act was illegal, and it was said, "But you would not put the Queen to the indignity of revoking 'letters patent' but they said, "Yes, we do;" and the "letters patent" were revoked. In New Zealand was now followed up this foolish attempt to create a new order of honour. Well, I am told it is very silly of me to notice this; there have only been four made; but the principle is a great one, and one of the reasons why I early tried to discover new countries where people might retire and find none of those differences which are experienced at home; and I find it now declared that an aristocracy is to be set up here; that a few are to be endowed with great wealth, and bastard titles, and worthless ranks, and that probably millions are to be left in misery and want. I say, therefore, stop the system at once. And I say that the Minister who advised the Queen to create these life Peers in New Zealand and took the Peerage himself, did that which was a crime against our liberties. Well, probably it was done in ignorance. I admit the excuse; but I say, retrace the step as was done at home, make the English Ministers rescind the order of the Queen. Let them learn that we respect our rights here as much as people do in England. If our statesmen and soldiers are to have honours at all, let them be Imperial honours. Let them be made Right Honorables, a constitutional title respected throughout the world. Many here have done great things, give them great rewards. The next point I have is this new order of

knighthood. When there are great Imperial orders of knighthood, any man who renders great and worthy services to the Empire can be enrolled, but you cannot enrol persons who have not deserved it; every name is scrutinised with the utmost care, and this is the true safeguard. But as to creating a new order of knighthood, which was formerly conferred only on the Greeks and Maltese and which the English despised, by so doing you have created means of holding influences before our statesmen, which ought not to be held before them, and that which interferes seriously with the General Assembly here. I do not mean to say that public men are not to be rewarded; not in the least, but I say that the man who has served his Queen faithfully in New Zealand, in peace or in war, is as worthy of great honors as the man who has served Her Majesty in any other part of her dominions, and ought to have them, and such honors should be judiciously and properly bestowed. I do not say the others have been improperly bestowed, but I say they are likely to be, and that it is an unsafe power. It is impossible to exercise such a power, and create a peerage such as has been created here—and an inferior order of knighthood of this kind, without drawing a broad distinction between us and our fellow subjects at home, making us an inferior people to the extent almost of a laughingstock. If we manfully say we want no honours such as will not be recognised in England, I think we shall do our duty to ourselves and to this country. Now, to my mind there is something fine and admirable in the one class of honours, something contemptible in the other. Supposing a man to be in the great English order of knighthood; whilst he may be sitting almost in a cottage in New Zealand, his banner hangs in Westminster, and his stall in the abbey is kept for him; there his banner hangs, an evidence of his services, and the emblem of his reward. It appears to me absolutely desirable that our public men should be open to honours they may be glad to get, and which we may be proud to know have been conferred upon them. If such Imperial honours are not to be given, then, in accordance with the Constitution Act, let us by law regulate the honours which are to be given, if any, and let them emanate from 'ourselves, not from an exterior influence. These are the principal points connected with the constitution of the General Assembly which, I think, deserve our most serious attention. I think our object, as far as possible, should be honours of the best, greatest, and most enduring kind, but to take care that these honours cannot be conferred upon persons who have in no way earned them, and that they might be earned by blessing the country; by public services to this country, and through it to the Empire at large. While passing from these points, I would now go to other questions which most materially concern ourselves here. The first thing I propose to glance at is the question of the land fund, because that is much more mixed up in these matters than you would possibly conceive in the first instance. Why I mean it is so much mixed up in these matters is that, in truth, all that has been done in interference with the liberties which the inhabitants of this country ought to enjoy has been done by Acts of Parliament passed without our knowledge, being specially the result of one of those exterior interferences which I referred to. The first instance I will tell you of is this. The first time any land fund was accumulated was in the province of Auckland. I think that, with great difficulty, I had accumulated about £25,000 from the sale of waste lands within this province. No sooner was this money accumulated than an Act of Parliament was passed for New Zealand, which ordered this money to be handed over to the New Zealand Company. If that, or anything like such an interference was contemplated, I was not aware of it. To my great astonishment I received a letter from the representative of the New Zealand Company, inclosing the Act of Parliament and a demand for the £25,000. I really did not know what to think of this; but I was in this fortunate position, that the lands in Auckland had been purchased under certain stipulations, which amounted to a contract on the part of the Queen. So, upon consideration, I replied: "Well, I will not pay the £25,000 to you." I have no right to do it. But they said, "You don't mean to say you won't obey an Act of Parliament." Now, I tell you, gentlemen, this is an important point for us to consider. It is a most important subject altogether. Parliament was deceived. I never was warned of what was going to be done, or they would have had information, and probably would never have passed a law which ordered me to commit a positive breach of faith and contract. I would not pay the money, and I went home some few months afterwards. When I got to London I called on the Secretary of State, who was a friend of mine. I was told that he was very much puzzled, and I was also told that "he was not in." (Laughter.) I did not exactly know what to do. However, I went away. In the evening I got a letter from the Law Adviser of the Crown, asking me to call on him the next day about eleven o'clock. I went and found him sitting on one side of the fire, for it was very early in the spring, and therefore cold. He asked me to take a chair. I sat down, and after talking for some time upon other matters, he asked me whether I had seen "the despatches," which must have passed me on the way. (Laughter.) I said I had not seen them, and he handed me a paper, and said, "Will you read that despatch?" The gentleman was Mr. Merivale, a great writer, and a most excellent person. I read the despatch, which was of a severe nature, reprimanding and censuring me in very strong terms for not having paid the money, and ordering me to do so forthwith;—when I had read the despatch he said that such a thing had never been known as a colonial Governor refusing to obey an Act of the Queen, Lords, and Commons. A most severe rating was given to me. I said to myself, "Silence is golden, and it was better to say nothing." I said nothing, but that I was very much obliged to the gentleman for allowing me to read the despatch. As I sat there he looked at me. (Laughter, and

cheers.) He at length said to me, "What do you think should be done?" I said I was very sorry for the Colonial Department; the despatch did not hurt me, it was injurious to themselves. He asked me, "What is your reason for saying so?" I replied that if Parliament led to legislate for a colony under a mistake, and their Act turns out to an Act against the interests and rights of the inhabitants of that country,—if the Governor, when it reaches the colony, says to the people you must obey an Act so made, because it is an Act of Parliament, you leave the people no resort but to revolt. What else can they do. If the Governor, on the other hand, says, Parliament has been deceived, I shall not obey the Act till a further reference has been made to Parliament. If he is right he has done you good service, if he is wrong you can punish him." Now, I was right that time. (Loud cheers.) I explained to him why I was right. Mr. Merivale said, "Well, I think you are right; I will report so to the Secretary of State." The next day I got a note from the Secretary of State, stating that he was anxious to see me. (Laughter and cheers.) When he saw me he said, "Do you think the Acting Governor will pay the money." I replied, "I think he will; he is a soldier, and I fancy he will just obey orders." The Secretary then said, "That is a great relief to my mind." Well, the order was obeyed. The money was paid, but afterwards refunded. What did the General Assembly do? They passed an Act, in which it was recited, and I was obliged to them for it, "That whereas the Governor did lawfully refuse to pay the money." Now, you will perceive the evils which spring from the interference of an exterior body which led to this state of things. I come now to another subject. You all, perhaps, know the history of the creation of the Land Fund that has been referred to from time to time. For those who may not be acquainted with it, I may state that the Government of Great Britain entrusted to me, some thirty years ago, with a sum of £10,000, directing me with that sum to purchase blocks of land—the best I could—then to sell those blocks and apply the land fund to immigration and other purposes; part of it also for public works. But I was to reserve a portion of the proceeds for the purchase of other lands, so that, with interest, I might go on purchasing lands. With these means I purchased almost the whole of the Middle Island, large tracts of land in the province of Hawke's Bay, large tracts of land in the province of Wellington, and I began to purchase some tracts of land here with the proceeds realised by those sales of land. I believe, if the system I was acting upon had been adhered to, that nearly the whole of the North Island, or a great part of it, would by this time have been acquired; that a considerable and natural flow of immigration would have taken place, and that every man in the colony, man for man, would have been four or five times more prosperous than he is now. (Loud cheers.) I object to the state of things as it is now. I believe that from the stopping of the system then inaugurated, a large number of the people have descended in the social scale to so great an extent that it would take their families several generations to retrieve their position. The amount of misery that has been entailed upon some of them can never be told. Recollect it was an Act of Parliament, an exterior influence exercised without full and prior enquiry that entailed this misery upon them. Now, what brought me from my retirement was to a great extent this question. "What I find you have been told on this subject is this—I find it published in the newspapers, and I think you were told so from this very platform, "We are going to sweep away all Provincial Institutions." Mind, you are not to do it yourselves, but another part of the world will do it for you. "We are going to do this, and the reason is that you do not support your institutions here—your gaols and lunatic asylums." According to this statement, such institutions in Canterbury and Otago are in admirable order. But it says you are not all all so—or your institutions are not—in good order. We must sweep your powers of self-government away, and we will put your institutions in good order for you. We will provide you with a revenue"—which means that they are going to tax you for that purpose. (Hear, hear, hear.) For if you think that other people are going to pay for your lunatics, you deserve to be shut up yourselves. (Laughter and cheers.) You were then told that anybody who called in question the "compact of '56" regarding the land fund was a dishonest man—that it would be a dishonest transaction to do so. Well, I thought to myself that I would be one dishonest man and do that dishonest thing. The first thing to be done was to see if no one would stand forward and speak—if men were to be cowed by expressions of this kind falling from such high authority, and if no one else would, then I said to myself—I would stand forward and speak. I would come forth and see if anybody would stand by me. Such was the first thought I had. Then the second thought I had was that I did not like that speech to the electors of the City East, I think it was. (Laughter.) I read that your institutions were to be swept away, that you were in a very bad state, your gaols are in bad order, &c.; such was the line of reasoning. But it went on to say that the institutions of Canterbury and Otago were in an excellent state. That is quite true. I can say so from my own knowledge. Now, what is to be gained from this statement? Is it not clear from this that under local supervision, and by the agency of local authority, institutions of the kind referred to were brought to the highest condition—that is, if the authority has funds. That is what I should have told the electors of the City East had I been addressing them. It was clear that when local authorities have plenty of funds they did exceedingly well in regard to their institutions, and it was admirable to see that they spent their funds in a worthy manner, and for such worthy objects. This all shews what local supervision and authority would do. You are to be provided with a revenue, which means that you are to be taxed. Had I been addressing you, who may be the electors of the City East, I would have told the people of the province of Auckland how the money

might be obtained without resorting to taxation—for that was what it came to. I should have said they had been very badly used in that land fund business. I should have told you what I would do, being your representative and the Premier of the Colony. (Loud cheers and laughter.) I am now speaking as if I had been Mr. Vogel. If I had been him I would tell you how I would appoint all the judges of the Supreme Court as a Commission who should sit as a Court of Equity to take evidence and determine if you, the people of Auckland, had suffered a wrong in the case of the land fund, and if any wrong were found to have been done, then to say what remuneration you were entitled to. (Cheers.) That would have appeared to me a just way of dealing with a question of that kind, and not to say that any man was "dishonest" who presumed to say anything whatever about it. (Loud cheering.) But coming back to myself, I believe still there will be a great difficulty in your getting any portion of this land fund in that way. I also do not think that with the £700,000 that has been set apart for land purchase you will get any great amount of good land. I hear that in order to get any good land you will have to take a great deal of inferior land, which is perhaps a necessary evil. The fair way would be, if that were to be done at all, to do it in the terms of the Constitution Act and hand the money for purchasing land over to the Superintendent, so that the inhabitants of the province might get the interest until the land should be bought. Then let the Superintendent purchase good land from time to time as he found it to be disposed of, or as occasion should serve; not to have agents all over the country, and by a complicated system putting the money to enormous waste. That £700,000 would have helped us greatly now in our troubles. I believe that a greater quantity of good land would be got in this way, and at half the price. I still think that some change of this kind should be made. These are my opinions in regard to the land fund. I hope I have made myself clear to you upon this subject. While we are considering these great constitutional questions, I will dwell upon another of them. It is a point of the greatest importance to you all. First of all, I look at it in this way: I will take the resolution of last session passed by the Assembly. As well as I can recollect, the order in which things occurred were—First: They passed a resolution that the Northern provinces should be done away with. I will not say anything on that point at present. The second part of the resolution was passed, declaring Wellington to be the capital and seat of Government of the colony. Now, I want to tell you that that is the most illegal thing that I ever heard in my life. How any statesman—and we have many statesmen, and some great statesmen in this colony—could have fallen into such an error, I am at a loss to conceive. The constitutional law says that there shall be no declared capital,—there shall be no law passed for declaring such a thing; for if a law were passed declaring anything of that kind, let us consider what the position even of Wellington would be? If a mob were to get possession of Wellington, there would be no Legislature at all, and they could not pass a law to put them down. If an enemy, say, for instance, Russia, took possession of Wellington, we must sit down, for no law could be made at all. Therefore, it says generally that no particular part of the colony of New Zealand shall be set apart as the capital, or seat of the legislature, except such as the Governor, by proclamation, may from time to time appoint. First, then, there is the Constitutional Law, and then the Statute Law, which prohibits any interference on that point. Therefore, although I do not like to attribute evil intentions, it appears excessively as if there had been some intention to buy votes, by putting that clause in the resolution. Now, having cleared away that point of the resolution, and shewn that any fixing by law of a permanent and immovable seat of the Legislature is against the constitutional and statute laws, which were not regarded at all in the resolution, I will give a general outline of the objects which, I think, we ought all to aim at. I will first of all say that the present machinery, in addition to all the defects I have pointed out in the machinery of the General Assembly, is an ingenious device to keep us from the Queen and people of Great Britain. Honours like those that I have spoken of must only separate us from them the more. Could any person sit down and devise a system that would be better calculated to separate us from our fellow-countrymen at home than this? You will see that it is clear, beyond all question, if we want anything done here in order to bring us into communication with Great Britain, the first thing is to have to recourse to the Governor, and then to the Colonial Minister, who must be more or less under the influence of parties in England. Our Minister here would have to go to the Governor, who would bring his views under the home authorities; but as long as the appointment of the office of Governor was a party appointment, as it is now, it would be difficult to get any Governor to write home to the Minister upon a question that might embarrass him in his action with his party. He could hardly do it; it would be a question with him possibly of honor. It was a most trying position altogether to put any man in. Even supposing the Governor took our view of matters, and his despatch goes home, it goes to the clerks in the Colonial Office. Then the question is, what view they may take,—for do not think that a Minister sees every despatch. There are some forty colonies, and suppose that only one despatch from each was written each day, these have to be attended to. A Minister at home has also his duties in the Cabinet to attend to; his duties in parliament must be rigorously fulfilled, and he has also to look after his own affairs. Could he possibly read and answer forty letters every day out of the three hundred and sixty?—letters of great length, as despatches must necessarily be, with all their enclosures and private communications. They go to the clerks in the Colonial Office, who determine what shall be laid before the Minister, and what they shall advise him to do. Then the Minister does not necessarily lay the whole matter

before Parliament at all. You must not think that every document that goes home is allowed to be brought before the British nation. Many of them are suppressed if they are adverse to the views or interests of the party in power, and if you complain of their suppression, the Minister will be most distressed when he hears of it. It will be, "It was all the fault of the Parliamentary clerk, and, poor fellow, you would not get him into a scrape." (Laughter and cheers.) In the present system that is what takes place. The Queen can hardly know anything about this Colony. She takes an interest in the people of this country as well as she takes an interest in those of the whole Empire. Don't you believe that she is not interested in the inhabitants of these Colonies, in the welfare and preservation of her mighty Empire. She naturally desires to live and die, seeing it prosperous and glorious, and desires to hand it down, in this state, to her descendants, leaving an imperishable renown after her. But with the enormous claims upon her attention her opportunities are now very few. Indeed, what I say more particularly is this: we have a perfect right to go to the throne under our constitution; and why should she not communicate with us in the same manner as with her subjects in other parts of the world. Let us have a Secretary of State of our own. Let us select some one from amongst our own people, and send him home. It would not hurt you if you gave him £3000 a-year—say a large salary to represent you in England, If you gave £2500 he will still have more than an American Ambassador, and will still be a very great man. At the present moment when a colonist goes home to England on some mission, he goes as a helpless individual. He goes to the Colonial Minister, upon whom he is dependent almost for ever thing He is dependent upon the Colonial Minister to give him a start in life at home. (Laughter and cheers.) Necessarily he feels under great obligations to the Colonial Minister. It would be very hard of him as a Commissioner, when he is asked to dine with all the great men in England, and has got his *entree* into society by means of introductions from the Secretary of State, to do anything which should have the appearance of embarrassing his new-made friends. If we had a Secretary of State of our own he might be made a member of the Privy Council, and he would be the Right Honorable all over the world, as he ought to be. When he landed in England he would be a great man, and would have the right to put on the finest uniform that could be worn before the Queen, a Lord Lytton kindly arranged for us, if this is really any benefit, which I do not think it is. He would be honoured in all ranks as one of the best and foremost in the service of his Queen and country. He would have the right of laying, in printed papers, all kinds of views that might be thought desirable before the British Parliament. He would have the right of laying them even before the Queen, and she would become acquainted with all her leading subjects in this part of the world. He would be elevated by right of his own merit to the highest rank, instead of creeping to it under an ambiguous title. An affectionate intimacy would spring up between the Queen and her colonial subjects as we sent home man after man who would reflect honor upon the colony. She would take the greatest interest in our affairs—an interest such as she cannot be supposed to take now, not being informed of the facts of each case. The people of Auckland, as well as those of other places and colonies, would be under the personal Government of the Sovereign. By our Secretary of State being a member of the Privy Council, I would have you to understand I mean that the Queen might be in a position to call upon him whenever she wanted advice in connection with the interests of the colony, and there are multitudes of Privy Councillors whose advice is never asked at all; but he would rank with foreign Ambassadors. I say that this established, a career would be open to the statesmen of this country which would provide an object and an ambition worthy to raise them in our estimation and in the estimation of the world at large. A man who is put in such a position of rank and importance will strive to act up to such a position and be worthy of it. You would in this way raise up greater men, give greater honor to public life, would provide a higher and more laudable object of ambition to your children and the people who would be brought more immediately into communication with their sovereign. Difficulties which are now possible to arise between the Queen and this country, could not arise under those circumstances. Any difference which might now occur either from mismanagement or from wrong action on the part of some unknown individual, might occasion a revolt or excite the greatest indignation. In such an emergency, our own Secretary would have the right to make a representation of the real state of the case, and prevent such difficulties taking place. This is what I say ought to be done. The next consideration refers to the General Assembly. On this point some people may differ from me. All I ask is that they will hear. If I can. I will convert them; if they can, they may convert me. I am not unreasonable. I will first instance the case of Auckland. I believe that, if the General Assembly should succeed in the objects it declares it will carry out, and if provinces are done away with, the future of Auckland will in many respects be extremely gloomy. On the other hand, if you were to reduce the General Assembly in number, make them meet every two or three years, and meet in such part of the colony as they might be summoned to meet at, not being bound to one town; if you were to increase the powers of your Provincial Governments, you would make this place a Sydney, some other place in the colony would become a Melbourne, and some other place an Adelaide. You would have good government, your towns in all directions would grow into importance in every way—in intellect, in education, and in legislation—your provinces of New Zealand would be not inferior in magnitude to a great number of British colonies, and far surpassing many of them which now have their own separate Government and

Legislature. Auckland city would rise to be of the first importance, a seat of commercial intelligence and civilisation; education would be spread all over the country. Such would be her prospects, instead of sinking into insignificance as she is now. That is my belief. I believe that by sweeping away the General Assembly in its present form, you would save a now absolutely useless expenditure. I believe that by increasing the powers of the provinces you would manage public affairs more economically—that you would bring things under immediate supervision and authority, that your youth would have a worthy ambition set before them, that you would rear up great and eminent men in your midst, who would be fit by their ability to represent and maintain the interests of this country in England, and be able to hold their own with the best statesmen she could produce. (Loud cheers.) No; the only answers I have ever had made to me on this subject were of the most ridiculous kind. Some have said, there is no use your talking; we are determined we will be governed by gentlemen. I say to that, give me Nature's gentlemen. Look, for instance, at Abraham Lincoln Was there ever a man honester or nobler than Abraham Lincoln? He was actuated by the loftiest motives; therefore let all men, of every rank, come into public life. Let us all set an example before us and our country of the good we can do. Then another answer made to me, by one of the leading statesmen of the colony, was this : "All you say is true. It is quite true the Constitution Act intended that all these privileges should be given to you. But we have accepted a different system. Don't you trouble me about it. I do not agree to any great constitutional changes now. I accept the present system, and I won't have your constitutional changes." When did ever I agree to give up these rights which I possess under the Constitution? By what compact was it inferred that ever I agreed to these rights being taken away? I ask you, did they ever come to you to seek your agreement that you should abandon the privileges which the Constitution gives you? Have they ever addressed you in this form: Now, electors, all these rights which have been given to you you must give up? Did they ever explain to you the consequences of your position on this point? Did they ever say to you, will you have a Governor nominated by the governing class at home; did you ever agree that you would accept fifty members of the nominated Upper House, all paid and all influenced by the Crown? Did you ever say that you would give up any part of your liberties? I do not think any man in the colony would have said this. I do not think we are bound to believe in any agreement of the kind, and I say to them, "Get rid of the changes you have made; we do not want change, but are contented as we were. Give us what the Constitution has provided for us, and we will be satisfied that things should remain as they were." I have explained before what I would do. Let us have a Secretary of State resident in England, and let the Queen be placed in a position to rule the people of the colony, and the people of the province of Auckland under her own personal sovereignty. She will do ready to do this. There is one point on which you must not be led astray. Do not think that the loans which are now being raised are obtained upon the security of one man or a few men. No; they are raised upon the security of the industry of the settlers, not on the security of one or two individuals. Money-lenders will not give their money upon uncertain security; it has been the security of your farms, your stores, and on the enormous wealth that you have created in this country that they offer their money. Loans of money can always be raised upon such security as this, and if more millions of money were wanted they would be found, they can be raised by telegraphic communication. But I say, reduce the enormous wasteful expenditure that is going on. Let us spend our money economically; let us settle our institutions so that a few persons could not conic down and say we are going to change this and that, and the whole tenor of your Constitution; let us settle the Constitution that we have had given to us upon a permanent and sure foundation; let us take stock of our rights, and determine our privileges; let us carry on our immigration and public works upon a sure and permanent footing; but let us not have a crisis threatening from day to day, and be told that if Ministers do not have four millions of money we shall be all ruined. Let us determine upon some far-seeing line of policy by which the public works can be carried on for many years to come, and if we need additional loans to carry them on we shall be in a position to pay them without being depressed. That, I think, is the way that I would like myself to see the Government carried on, and that is a way which I think is practically within the power of the people. All this may be easily done, but you must not be misled on some points. I frequently see statements made upon authority which must mislead the public mind. Indeed, I was misled myself upon some of them until I looked into them. It was said that the population had increased only five or six-fold, whilst the revenue had increased seven or eightfold; but the population has increased more than the revenue, for it turns out now that there is more than two millions of revenue, but revenue depends upon taxation, and if you are burdened with greater taxation than formerly, of course, there must be more revenue. There is another question in respect to this two millions revenue. The interest on your debt is nearly one million, so that your revenue has fallen off if you consider the liability upon it. You are not only subject to that liability, but you have come under enormous obligations to the native race, which you cannot stop without the fear of disturbances. There are other enormous obligations which you cannot get rid of at once, such a monstrous civil list, an exorbitant pension list, neither of which existed formerly. Therefore, instead of your revenue being increased in proportion to population, nothing of the kind has taken place. Another tiling to be borne in mind is that the revenue is not the test of prosperity. It would be quite possible,

and even probable, to raise an enormous revenue from the population in the North, but it would be done by imposing misery upon the great bulk of the people for the benefit of absentees. I say that you are about to turn New Zealand into what Ireland was formerly, and possibly into an Ireland of a worse form. Let us, while we carry on public works and immigration, take care that all the wealth of the country contributes to the taxation necessary to bear such a system out. It is late, and I must not detain you long. There are other points I would have touched upon had there been time. I have endeavoured to sketch out such a system for you as I firmly believe, if followed, would create thousands of happy homes in this North Island. I have endeavoured to sketch the mode of action by which your great men may rise to imperial rank, and which would not impose a nominal aristocracy on this country. I have tried to sketch a system which will open up and lead to objects of ambition for every man—not a system by which there should be a few rich persons in the country, while millions remain in misery,—under which there would be some equality of wealth, happiness, and prosperity throughout an entire contented community. It shall not be if I can help it that women and children shall starve and sink into misery in consequence of the resources once open to industry being absorbed by wealth and power. I dare say you have heard of Gustave Dore and Blanchard Jerrold. Dore is a distinguished artist and a man of great ability. Jerrold is also a man of high literary attainments. They have made a joint study of London and the lower stratum of its population. The conclusion they have come to is that it is false to say that wickedness is the cause of all the misery that is witnessed. It is their opinion that for every ten men who take to robbery, to vagrancy, or to pauperism by the impulses of their own vices, there are one thousand who lead lives of misery and die in misery, but struggle like heroes throughout the whole of it. Such is their deliberate statement; one being a most intelligent Frenchman, the other a most intelligent Englishman. The scheme that I propose will allow no such frightful scenes to spring up in New Zealand. I believe my ideas must ultimately prevail. Whoever joins me to carry them out must join me from conviction. I am not able to offer him place or power or bribes. He must join me with the earnest hope of doing good to the Empire. Men of this kind will be tenfold more worthy than those to whom they will be opposed. I believe that truth and justice will live in this colony, as they will live throughout the whole of the British Empire. I thank you very much for the attention with which you have heard me. I will not detain you further; and depend on it if you elect me to serve you I will do it to the very utmost. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Mr. ROBERT GRAHAM came forward and proposed the following resolution :—"That the electors thank Sir George Grey for his address, and express their confidence in his fitness and ability to undertake the duties of Superintendent of the province."

Captain DALDY seconded the resolution. He said he must congratulate the electors of the province upon a broad platform of public policy being opened up for their consideration. This had been wanted for ten or twelve years past. It was a disgrace to the province that they had been meeting from time to time to discuss men and not measures; under this platform they would be able to discuss measures and not men. The resolution was put and carried by acclamation, the whole assemblage rising and giving round after round of cheers.

Sir GEORGE GREY, in returning thanks, said : Gentlemen electors,—I thank you very much for the resolution you have passed. I can only say that if you choose me for your Superintendent I will do my utmost to promote your welfare. I hope you will all remember that you will find in me not only a Superintendent, but a friend. (Cheers.)

Mr. GRAHAM called for three cheers for Sir George Grey, which were responded to with great enthusiasm. A vote of thanks was proposed to Mr. Boylan, the chairman, and carried by acclamation.

Nomination of Superintendent.

Sir George Grey, K.C.B., was proposed by G. M. O'RORKE, Esq., and seconded by Mr. ROBERT GRAHAM, of Ellerslie.

A brief space of time having elapsed, and no other candidate being proposed, Colonel BALNEAVIS declared elector Sir George Grey, K.C.B., freeholder, of the Kawau, to be duly elected Superintendent of the Province of Auckland.

This announcement was received with loud and prolonged cheers.

His Honor SIR GEORGE GREY, in coming forward, was received by the electors with great enthusiasm. His Honor then addressed the electors as follows:—Gentlemen, electors of the province of Auckland,—First, let me tell you of the sorrow with which I find myself here, in consequence of the death of your late Superintendent. It is a subject upon which I will not enlarge. I will simply say that I had known him for upwards of thirty years, and had a great regard and a sincere affection for him. And with the knowledge that I have of him, I do not tell you that I can do for you more than he did, or that I am a more worthy man than himself to occupy the position which he filled. I think he was a great man, a good man, and a man whose memory I shall always reverence, and believe that very many other persons will do the same. The next thing I have to do is, I may say, to a certain

extent, an unpleasant duty. I must controvert the opinions of my proposer, to some extent, and also of my seconder. The proposer has told you that the province is in a sad state of destitution. Not at all! The men who made it what it is, who called its resources into existence, are here still. They can create abundance, more wealth to meet all our wants. I do not admit that any destitution threatens us. There may at some time be temporary distress, but mutual good-will with mutual forbearance will again produce an abundance and plenty, as wealth can always be created with great facility in a new country. The next thing I must do is partly to controvert my seconder. I have not come forward because I believe I can save this province. No! I believe that we all can together. Do you think that if I did not believe I had lusty sinews and brave hearts at my back I would have come forward to confront the difficulty alone? What could I do? But if we face it together it is no difficulty, or at most a mere temporary one. No; do not let us deem that we are in any way cast down, or cannot take care of ourselves. We can do that very well if the General Government do not cramp our energies. Well now, then the next thing I will do is to explain certain points to you, that there may be no misunderstanding between us. I have told you fairly and openly in my address that I am in favour of Provincial Institutions. But if I cannot carry my own views in that respect in reference to the province of Auckland, well then, what I say is this, that at least I am not going to be subjected to this indignity that the people of other parts of the colony of New Zealand are to tell me "You are a destitute set of people, and you are not capable of self-government, so whether you like it or not we will take that from you, but we intend to keep representative institutions for ourselves." I shall say no! You shall do nothing of the kind; we all sail in the same boat. Why is it that you retain your privileges? In what respect are you better than us that you should possess privileges of self-government and benefit by them? You have no lawful right to take away our system of self-government without our consent, and you shall not break the law. Suppose all the representative institutions in New Zealand go together, before we sweep them away let us determine what is to take their place. Determine, like faithful considerate men, who know what is due to themselves and their constituents; and when some new state of things is established, let every man, forgetting his own convictions which he can no longer carry out, and strive to make the new state of things beneficial to all. Let us maintain our credit in the eyes of the world, and if we wish to borrow money from other countries, shew that we know how to establish our affairs suitably to the common welfare, and that when they are established we know how to work them. That is my opinion, and I believe it is the line of policy we should take. Then there is another thing. I told you in my address, I think, that the office of Superintendent is not a political office, and it is my intention in every way to try and carry that opinion out; but let me explain to you that there are questions of such a nature which may appear to be political but really are not so—questions in which the interests of the community are involved. I may think it to be my duty as Superintendant to try to prevent some wrong from being done. Lest I should appear to have deceived you I will give you an illustration. Now, the sum of £700,000 was voted for the purchase of land in the North Island, for the purpose of creating a large landed territory and a large future land fund. The first condition upon which that money is advanced is, that the lands, when acquired, are to be made in the first instance to pay all costs of their acquisition. Our share of that sum of £700,000 I take to be £350,000. Now that sum, measured by the part purchases of lands, and the general land fund realised from the sale of those lands, is as nothing at all, and we have a right to share in those large sums which for years past other provinces have been applying to the development of their own resources. I say, the very least thing that could be done to us, in reference to this £350,000 was to have said to this province,—Gentlemen, we hand over £350,000 to you to complete the purchase of lands which you may think most advantageous to your own interests. I say that to withhold the management of that from us, and to expend it, as I believe it is to a considerable extent being expended, in useless salaries, and to make useless payments in the acquisition of lands of little value, I say is an intolerable injustice, and one that ought not to be suffered to be committed. And further than that, it is insulting to the people of this province. Are we not to be trusted with £350,000. Are we so far inferior to the members of the General Government that we are likely to spend more corruptly than themselves that sum of money—(cheers and laughter)—or more unwisely? I say no. That sum should have been entrusted to us; and it would have been but fair to us to have allowed us to have used the interest of that money for our local wants; and looking to what we have suffered, that would have been a boon trifling indeed to what we are entitled to receive. Why, I fear to say it, but the impression made upon anybody's mind must be that there is some other reason behind, and that the patronage arising from the expenditure of these funds is that which has led to their retention from our own hands. I have purchased more waste lands than, I believe, any man in New Zealand, and for so purchasing them neither those who acted as my agents nor myself received a sixpence beyond our ordinary salaries: no charge whatever on account of the purchase of these lands was ever levied upon the public. I firmly believe, from what I have heard, that one single individual may possibly receive now a larger sum for the acquisition of blocks of nearly worthless land than I received all the time I was in the colony during the period of my first Governorship—as Governor, purchaser of land, and the discharge of my duties in every other capacity. I cannot help feeling the burden of so enormous a machinery for the acquisition of these lands, and that it is wrong of

the Government so to burden us. From a mercantile view, was ever such a thing known before as to order a number of agents to rush into the market in order to get a commission on their purchases. That is one instance in which, as Superintendent, I think I ought to take your part, because by the result of the local government being invested with power of purchasing lands, and having the powers in this respect, which an Act of Parliament secured to them, it would secure a watchful supervision of its actions. For example, supposing any one public man was watched by one, or two, or three persons, almost with a watchfulness approaching personal animosity, what is the result? Every step he takes he makes with the greatest caution. He knows everything he does will be closely scrutinised, and that he will be brought up if he does wrong. But it also saves him from solicitations. If I am a public man, and a person desires me to do something wrong for his own profit, if he knows that I am exposed to the observation of enemies he will not come and ask me. He will know that their animosity will make them expose me, quite regardless of who else they may at the same time involve in obloquy. Therefore I think that the present system of the General Government in endeavouring in every way to purchase flattery and support in the Press and otherwise is injurious to themselves, by leading them to what otherwise they would not do, and it is injurious to themselves in encouraging other persons to go in for jobs which they would not dare to ask them to perform under another state of things. I therefore say, if the expenditure of this £350,000 had been entrusted to your local authorities, and that you could each one have watched each block of land as it was purchased, so that no private individual could get an interest in it,—if all these things had been watched upon the spot, it would have been infinitely better for your-selves; and we must yet try to get that done. To-day I must delay you no longer. I have pointed out two or three essential points upon which, I think, you had a right to hear me, and upon which, I think, you had a right, in point of fact, to exact pledges from myself. I have given you those pledges of what I will try and do. Many have said it was unbecoming of me, I having held rank as Governor, to come forth as Superintendent at your call. I do not think so. But let me put an illustration, which, I think, will touch the hearts of some of you. Put yourselves in thought, if you can, back to the heyday of youth, and consider the career you would like to run. And supposing a man thirty years ago, after long discussion in the British Parliament, to be sent out here as Governor, and that he had abandoned a happy and lucrative position to meet here difficulties of the gravest kind. Well, then, let thirty years elapse, and let him find that the people of the country to which he had been so sent in his youth, having become a great people, the possessors of Representative Institutions—such as your Provincial Governments are,—and that then the people, with one voice, come forward and ask that same man, in very mature years, to come to the front. Is that a career which any of you would like to run, if you were forming a vision of what you would like to have happen to you? That is what I feel; and I feel my position here this day is a proud one, and I am grateful to you for having placed me here. (Loud cheers.) Now, let me have the pleasure of your cordial assent to the first request I, as your Superintendent, make to you. Here, on the platform, is a friend of many years, Colonel Balneavis; let me have the pleasure of asking you to join in a cordial vote of thanks to him as Returning Officer.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation, and Colonel Balneavis returned thanks to his Honor Sir George Grey and the electors.

Nomination of Member of House of Representatives.

SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B., was proposed by Mr. Alexander Black, and seconded by Mr. W. C. Wilson.

The RETURNING OFFICER inquired if any elector desired to propose another candidate.

No response was made to this inquiry.

The RETURNING OFFICER then declared elector Sir George Grey, K.C.B., freeholder, of Kawau, to be duly elected a member for Auckland City West in the House of Representatives.

The announcement was received with loud cheers.

Sir GEORGE GREY came forward, and said : Gentlemen, Electors of Auckland City West,—I return you my best and most heartfelt thanks for the honor that you have conferred upon me. Let me lament with you the recent death of your late Representative, Mr. John Williamson, a remarkable man, and a good man, whose death I shall always deplore: a man whom I admired whilst living, and whose memory I shall always reverence. He appeared to me, as he grew in experience of public life, to grow in prudence and wisdom, and I firmly believe, that if I had him to help me in the present crisis, and his counsel to rely upon, I should have had a great support, which I want now in having lost him. I feel that if any points in my conduct require explanation, it should be given to you, and that I should not only give you my thanks, but remark upon anything I have seen said in reference to the views I hold. There is one subject which really seems to require some observations from me. Amongst other things, I observe it is said that I have done wrong in stirring up Provincial jealousies. When I saw this I could not help thinking of the fable of the lamb and the wolf drinking at the same stream, the wolf at the higher part of the stream and the lamb below, and the wolf said to the lamb, "What do you mean by

muddying the water, and stirring up the dirt?" and yet the wolf was drinking at the higher part of the stream, the intention of the wolf simply being to quarrel with the lamb. Now, it is the wolf who has stirred up the question of Provincialism. Good Heavens ! They come to us and say, "One set of provinces are going to take away all their representative institutions from the people of Auckland," and I am to keep silence, lest I raise Provincial jealousies. On that subject I presume what they really mean is this : That I explained to the electors of the province the rights they possess under the Constitution Act, with regard to the places where the General Assembly is to be held. These rights are not only their own rights, but were given for all time in New Zealand,—the right which every country possesses in order to preserve freedom of debate—that right being that the head of the country has the power to assemble at such portion of the colony and at such time as he please, the General Legislature : the Constitution Act distinctly says that the General Assembly can make no law to take that right from the inhabitants of New Zealand; and I announced that. What harm did I do in telling people what were their just rights? We ought to protect that liberty. I hold this question of where the Assembly sits to be a mere matter of nonsense. Wellington must be a great city in spite of everything which may be done. It has a magnificent harbour, the only harbour of any extent for a long distance to the east or west of it, and when the railways are completed to Wellington through most fertile districts—one of them, perhaps, one of the most fertile in the whole world, certainly one of the most fertile I have ever visited—Wellington is sure to prosper; and the question whether the Governor is to reside there, and the Assembly to meet there, is a mere matter of nonsense so far as regards the welfare of the place is concerned. It is the same with regard to Auckland. What is it to us with the noble harbour we have here, which must become a great commercial emporium? If the people of Auckland had taken up the suggestion I warmly supported when the Assembly left this place; if Auckland had then separated from the colony, and became a separate colony, and afterwards federated with the rest of New Zealand upon its own terms, it would have had a Government quite equal in importance to any that assembles at Wellington. It nearly approaches the province of Victoria in size, and it possesses this advantage,—there is no portion of the province of Auckland that will not ultimately carry a certain number of sheep upon it, say two or three to the acre; and by sheep-grazing the very worst kinds of land in this province may be improved so as to support large and important flocks. Not only that, but the sheep of the province of Auckland are amongst the very best in the world. It is declared that the wool that comes from this province and part of the province of Taranaki is the best wool in the market at home. In Victoria there are enormous districts of bad land which will carry no English grasses or sustain anything, whereas there is no land in Auckland that is not capable of carrying a population, and an immense one in many cases. This is one of the things which must be held in view, if the worst comes to the worst; for that fate, which might not be a very bad one, we can certainly obtain for ourselves. We must remember that when the people in Australia chose to be split up into separate colonies, what an uproar New South Wales made; but the people at home did not allow the wishes of the people in Victoria to be trampled upon by a more powerful rival, and the same could be done here at any time if necessity should arise. Another objection taken to what I have done is this : They say, "We very much regret"—or "Do not think Sir George Grey is right in having raised the questions he has done." Now, what have I done in that respect? I have raised no questions whatever. In June, 1852, a Constitution Act was passed conferring certain rights and privileges upon the people of New Zealand, and since that time no one has explained to the people what those privileges were. Reflect for a moment. We do not hold those privileges for ourselves alone. You and I hold them for future generations. That is our position, and if I come forward into public life as one of your representatives, it is my duty to tell you about rights you have not had explained to you for more than twenty-three years. It is the old argument of the governing classes. I recollect, and many of you must also, the old cry, "Do not educate the people at all, or we shall have no end of trouble." Well, am I not to educate the people now? Am I not to say to you,—In 1852 the Queen, Lords and Commons of Great Britain, in providing for the future of New Zealand, placed in your hands certain powers as trustees, to be exercised for your own benefit, but not for that alone, but for those who follow you? I will not keep silence upon such a subject for anybody. (Loud applause.) And what is more, I hope none of you will be silent, and that you will see that the men you return as your representatives will be like me, and not hold their tongues either. (Cheers.) That you will see that the men whom now you send as your representatives to the Assembly will neither be afraid of those in office nor be anxious to obtain office for themselves. Stick to these points and we shall get our rights. I see nothing myself so very admirable in the present system of those who govern us under the plan which they have introduced. To them it may be a delightful thing to see a sort of procession march down to the House of Assembly, and the mock imitation of what goes on in Great Britain produced there, which Dickens said when he went out to Nova Scotia put him in mind of sitting at home watching the proceedings of Parliament looking through the wrong end of a telescope. To me there is nothing in that worth our paying such enormous sums and forfeiting our rights to obtain. That was his account. I have seen some great sights in New Zealand—as great as were ever seen by any man. Shall I tell you what I have seen? I have seen a body of Volunteers, composed of men who were your own fellow-colonists, who were going away upon a very dangerous service. I saw the

young officers, one after another, come up to shake hands with myself, as I wished them success, some of them with tears starting up in their young eyes, as they pressed my hand, with a pressure which spoke great promises, and which I shall never forget,—not tears of apprehension for themselves, but for those whom they left behind, and of gladness that they were enabled to do dangerous duty, and that such a duty was given them to perform for the colony. (Cheers.) Now, that is what I call a great sight. These were the young men who served their country without great rewards. They had no rewards to expect, and their friends no compensation for the sacrifice of their lives. I think like these are what great histories are made of. (Cheers.) I have heard it remarked by clever men that, "After all, Auckland is a petty place; you cannot compare it with Melbourne or any place of that kind; it has no great public library, no magnificent buildings, no memories and no associations that attach people to it." Well, perhaps it is not like Melbourne in this respect. But I say that it has memories which all would do well to ponder over and cherish—it has associations which recall the honor of sacrifices made, and of valiant service rendered, memories which future historians will tenderly ponder over, and record as examples to stimulate other times to great deeds. When I came here what did I see? A few men, women, and children were here. They had set themselves in the midst of barbarous tribes—such tribes were to the east, to the west, to the north, to the south—they were constantly in peril of being destroyed, but neither man, nor woman and child quailed in the position. Is not that an association attaching to this place of which we ought to be proud? Are not the disasters these people have undergone at various times, and the constancy with which they have stood the struggle against all impediments, associations of this place, should not it and its people now reap the reward of their energy and sacrifices? I will give you one instance of what the people in this respect did. When I came here first, it must be in the memory of many of you, arms and ammunition were being sold to our foes, and it was said, if this practice of selling arms and ammunition were stopped friendly tribes would rise against us. I had determined to put an end to it, and people applied to me and asked whether I was going to give my assent to a bill which, for the future, would prohibit arms and ammunition being supplied to the natives, as it would raise those who were friendly to us against us. A letter was laid on the table before me, warning me not to assent to the Act, because it was said many of the tribes—and particularly one loyal chief was named—would be arrayed against us if I did so. Should I run this risk? Should I subject the people of Auckland, their wives and children, to the dangers which, they said, would beset us? I said that we should not be slaves; that no longer should arms be sold to destroy our countrymen in other parts, and that I would run the risk, for I believed the people of Auckland would stand by me if danger arose. They came forward magnificently; and I knew that they were anxious, above all things, to do their duty. I say, then, that the Auckland people have memorable associations. Great memories cling all about them. I ask them now, that they shall not, in the forthcoming struggle, in any respect fall behind those who preceded them. (Cheers.) Let those memories and associations cling round them still. Let the prediction which has been made that Auckland should be trampled out as a province never be realized. But let us understand and let others know that through such associations as these, Auckland rose to be the province whence those measures came which secured the liberty of all New Zealand for the future. (Cheers) Let us not only say that, but act it out. See that your representatives are kept up to this point. (Cheers.) And if I do not do my duty, elect somebody else. There is one other subject to which I would allude, and only for one moment, because I do not intend to keep you long. Since I have been in office have been able to look into the financial condition of this province, and I will tell you what I have found—that a large sum of money has been most unjustly withheld from us. (Hear.) If we had our rights we are fairly and justly entitled to that money. With it we would have the means to go on prosperously towards the future, carrying on public works and improvements for the welfare and prosperity of the people. (Cheers.) I say it is wrong that a distant authority should withhold from us that which we are entitled to, and expend themselves by means of irresponsible agents what we would be entitled to spend for our own benefit. A sum of £60,000 was voted to be expended to the north of the Waitemata, which has been spent by distant and irresponsible authority. I ask you, is it right that a Minister, a Premier of the Colony, abandoning his duty here, should take a person elected by no constituency, with responsibility to no single individual in the colony of New Zealand, and through him expend the money to which the people of this province are entitled? I am now unanimously returned by a constituency of nearly 14,000 people, and if I should not be thought worthy to spend the sums that are voted by Parliament, is it right that a single individual, who is unknown to us, who is no representative of the colony or province, or of anybody, may at his own caprice do as he pleases with those moneys and give us no account of them? (Loud cheers.) That is one of the things that I say must be altered. My firm belief is that if the Governor of this country does his duty he will allow the General Assembly forthwith to meet that the province of Auckland may obtain justice—to get those funds to which it is entitled, for by no other means can we get them at present. The Government apparently can do nothing without Mr. Vogel. That is a plausible reason put forward for delay. But must we be dependent on people at a distance who are incapable of conducting the business of the country until Mr. Vogel comes back? Will the Governor subject us to this risk? Are we to wait with anything like reasonable hope for funds which are put under the control of individuals

of that kind? (Cheers.) Must all our interests be sacrificed because we cannot meet the Assembly? And this, cannot be done, because they cannot manage and conduct the business; for that is the answer which is given. Now, let the Assembly meet; let the funds due to Auckland be instantly given to her. If that is done, then, in two or three months I guarantee that Auckland will be in full career towards a high prosperity, exercising that influence over the councils and on the destiny of the colony which, by its population, by its suffering, and, I will say, by its intellect, it ought to exercise. These are things that I wish to see attended to first. I have not shrunk from making a full explanation of them to you. And you will find this, that I never shall shrink from my duty in this respect. Nor shall I ever shrink from hearing your advice. (Cheers.) I will not say, however, that I will always take it. (Cheers and laughter.) But I will say that if any great number of I the electors conceive that I am at any time acting adversely to their interests then I shall have no wish to hold the office you have this day conferred upon me a day longer, or even an hour longer than I shall be able to render service.

Sir George sat down amid loud cheering.

Sir GEORGE GREY, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Returning Officer, said that the gentleman who filled that office for a great number of years had never been impeached upon account of impartiality. Colonel Balneavis had fulfilled the duties to the satisfaction of all parties and all opinions, and was entitled to an unanimous vote of thanks from the electors.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

The RETURNING OFFICER acknowledged the kindness of the electors and the handsome manner in which the vote of thanks had been proposed.

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Correspondence Between the Hon. the Premier of New Zealand, and His Honor the Superintendent of Otago,

Relative to the Proposed Abolition of Provinces.

1.—*The Hon. the Premier to His Honor the Superintendent.*

Government Buildings, Wellington

March 28, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that Messrs. William Gisborne, William Seed, and John Knowles are visiting in succession all the Provinces in order to obtain for the Colonial Government the information necessary to prepare estimates for the Provincial services after the Abolition of Provinces takes place. The Government desire to ascertain the extent to which it is found practicable, without occasioning local inconvenience, to incorporate some of the Provincial with the General Government departments.

I shall be obliged if your Honor will extend to these gentlemen your good offices, by giving them your views on points about which they seek advice, as also by placing them in a position to obtain the information they require. May I ask your Honor to introduce them to the members of your Executive, and to any officers of the Provincial service with whom it is desirable they should consult, as also to allow them access to the Provincial offices.

For your Honor's information I enclose a copy of the instructions with which the three gentlemen have been furnished, and which are the same in respect to all the Provinces.

I have, &c.,

JULIUS VOGEL.

His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

(Enclosure in No. 1.)

Government Buildings, Wellington

March 28, 1876.

GENTLEMEN,—The Government wish you to visit all the Provinces in order to obtain the information requisite for preparing and submitting to the Assembly the estimates for carrying on the public services in the Provinces during the coming year.

It is especially desirable not to make changes so suddenly as to cause local inconvenience. Whilst,

therefore, some of the departments may be at once incorporated with the General Government service, it may be found desirable to continue for some time others on a more or less local footing. For example—it is proposed to arrange to make local payments for contracts in progress for works which, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be effected, will devolve upon the local governing bodies, for which it is intended to make provision during the coming session.

For your guidance I have to inform you that the Government intend to incorporate, as stated below, Provincial with General Government services. In some respects, as for instance, the Land and Education administrations, which it is desirable to continue under local control, the incorporation will mean little more than the appointment of the General Government department with which the local department will correspond.

With respect to Charitable Institutions, it will scarcely be necessary for you to do more than indicate their present cost and footing, as they will be handed over to local control, without, it is hoped, any intervening taking charge by the Colonial Government. With regard to the Police Forces, it would be better for you to confine yourselves to reporting on the present cost and standing of the various forces.

You will be so good as to suggest to the General Government the appropriations which you consider necessary under the circumstances I have pointed out, and also to indicate the officers whom you think might be dispensed with. To save you the feelings of regret which such an invidious task might otherwise occasion, I have to inform you that the Government propose to ask the Legislature to make much larger provision than at present authorised by way of compensation to the officers dispensed with. In most cases it may be better to indicate the office which you think can be spared than to name the holder of it.

You will, as soon as you arrive in the Province, present to the Superintendent the accompanying letter of introduction. If, as I do not doubt, the Superintendents meet you in the courteous and conciliatory spirit in which you are accredited to them, you will defer as much as you feel justified in doing to their advice, and when you do not concur with it you will not fail to represent it to the Government. You will be careful to treat them with the respect their high position merits, and to remember that their functions still continue, and that the General Government are not entitled to do more at present than to seek information which will enable them to adequately discharge the responsibilities the law devolves on them after next session.

The Provincial Auditors, who are General Government officers, will render you such aid as you may require from them, for which these instructions will be sufficient warrant.

The following transfers of Provincial Departments are proposed :—

All Executive Departments connected with uncompleted clerical work, the keeping of records, &c., to be in the Colonial Secretary's Department.

The Police Forces to be in the Minister of Justice's Department.

The Crown Lands, Survey, Goldfields' Departments, and the Inspectors of Sheep, to be in the Secretary for Crown Lands Department.

The Railway and Public Works Departments and the Public Plantations to be in the Minister for Public Works' Department.

The Harbour Departments to be placed in the Commissioner of Customs' Department.

Education, for a time at least, in the Minister of Justice's Department.

The Hospitals, Lunatic Asylums, Industrial Institutions, Charitable Aid Organisations, Orphan Asylums, Public Libraries, and Museums—subject to arrangements to be made for the continuance of local control of Charitable Institutions—to be in the Colonial Secretary's Department.

I have, &c.,

JULIUS VOGEL.

Messrs Win. Gisborne, Wm. Seed, John Knowles.

2.—His Honor the Superintendent to the Hon. the Premier.

Province of Otago, N.Z., Superintendent's Office, Dunedin

April 6, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 28th March, informing me that Messrs. Gisborne, Seed, and Knowles, are visiting this Province for the purpose therein stated; and enclosing copy of instructions with which these gentlemen have been furnished.

In reply I have to say, that the present action of the Colonial Executive, in taking for granted that the New

Parliament, to which was relegated the ratification or otherwise of "The Abolition of Provinces Bill," will ratify the same, appears to me to be premature, and that it will be time enough to take such action after the Parliament has determined as to what is to be the specific form of Government for the future.

I cannot for a moment suppose that in the case of Otago, where under much abused Provincial Institutions, the Province has grown up and flourished to a marvellous extent, these institutions are to be wantonly destroyed in the very prime of their manhood, and directly in the teeth of the declared and all but unanimous desire and convictions of the people. I feel persuaded that if a plebiscite were taken on this question, a vast proportion of the votes would be on one side, and in favor of the Province retaining its own revenues, distributing them on its own behalf, and working out its own destiny in its own way.

Your favourite idea of Counties, with fixed endowments, far more permanent and secure than any that is likely to be acquired from Colonial Legislation, has been for years within reach of the people of Otago, if they chose to avail themselves thereof, and it needs no action on the part of the Colonial Legislature to confer that privilege on them.

Under all the circumstances of the case, I desire to be excused from being a party to initiating the policy now in question, as being alike disastrous to the interests and repugnant to the feelings and wishes of the people of Otago.

I cannot recognise the right of the rest of the Colony to force upon Otago any system of administration of its local affairs which is to be centred at Wellington, and which does not commend itself to the judgment of the people concerned.

It is bad enough, for example, that Taranaki, with 6,000 people, should have an equal voice in the disposal of the consolidated revenue, as has Dunedin with its population of 25,000; and it will be infinitely worse, that in disposing of our territorial revenues and dealing with the domestic affairs of Otago, the Province of Taranaki is to have as much power as the City of Dunedin.

The probable revenue of Otago may be set down as about one-half that of the whole Colony, while the voting power of the Province in the disposal thereof in the Colonial Parliament will be less than one-fourth of the whole. If left to itself the revenue of Otago would, I believe, in a very few years exceed that of the whole of the rest of the Colony put together.

You may rest assured that it is a grand mistake to suppose that the people of this Province will tamely submit to have forced upon them a system of political communism from which they have everything to lose and nothing to gain, to aid and abet in which, on my part, would be to belie the position which I have for so many years held at the hands of the people.

I cannot think that the action of the late Colonial Parliament, which, as shown at the recent general election, has been so universally condemned in Otago, will be maintained by the new Parliament in so far as this Province is concerned.

It is, I think, useless to disguise from ourselves that, stripped of all the verbosity and special pleading with which the question may be surrounded, there remains the naked fact that Colonial Finance, and not the good of the people of New Zealand, is at the bottom of the proposed changes—changes which I have an intense conviction will, if carried into effect, very seriously prejudice the interests and retard the progress of this section of the Colony.

I need not say that this has hitherto been the foremost Province in New Zealand, and that it is not by depriving it of its revenues, bringing them under the sole appropriation of the Parliament at Wellington, and reducing the Province to the dead level of Colonial uniformity that it can hope to maintain that position.

If I might venture to say so, it is to my mind deeply to be deplored that Colonial statesmen can see no other way of grappling with the evils which have arisen out of a vicious system of finance than by applying a remedy which cannot fail to prove worse than the disease.

No doubt it may be said that, while my views are limited to the narrow platform of a Province, you are called to deal with the interests of the Colony as a whole. I submit, however, that no policy can be beneficial to the Colony which affects so injuriously such an important section thereof as that over which I have the honour to preside.

In consequence of what I have so fully stated in this letter, and as I am advised that the sending of three gentlemen to inspect the departments of the Provincial Government is without legal or constitutional authority, I must inform Messrs. Gisborne, Seed, and Knowles, that so far as the Provincial Government of Otago is concerned, they cannot expect any aid in their mission.

Regretting that, in the performance of my public duty, I should have been compelled to refuse your request,

I have, &c.,

JAMES MACANDREW, Superintendent of Otago.

The Hon. the Premier, Wellington.

3. *The Hon. the Premier to His Honor the Superintendent.*

Wellington

13th April, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th April, in reply to mine of the 28th March, in which I informed your Honor of Messrs. Gisborne, Seed, and Knowles' projected visit, and asked your good offices on their behalf.

Your letter opens up the whole question of Abolition of the Provinces. I do not feel that it is right for me to discuss with you the general question; for to do so would involve a political controversy, into which it would be inexpedient to enter, because each of us is addressing the other in his capacity of administering, not framing, the laws. Yet, there are points in your letter to which I feel called on to reply, and I must comment upon them, though I am aware in doing so I cannot altogether avoid the political discussion which I deprecate.

The Government conceive it to be their duty to accept the law as it stands, and to make the necessary preparations for giving it effect.

The idea that the Assembly will be willing to except Otago from the operation of the Act, seems to the Government altogether chimerical. Your Honor seems to base it on two grounds : One, that the people of Otago are wholly averse to Abolition; the other, that the Colony will benefit from it at the expense of Otago.

To take the latter first, it seems to me that your Honor's own conclusions answer this point. You state that "The probable revenue of Otago may be set down at about one-half that of the whole Colony." You consider also that, stripped of all extraneous matter, "The Colonial finance, and not the good of the people of New Zealand, is at the bottom of the proposed changes." If it be the case that Colonial finance is the cause of the change, and that Otago represents half of that finance, it is evident the change cannot be made without Otago being included in it. Your Honor's argument amounts to this: The wealth of Otago far exceeds that of the other Provinces, and therefore its interest is to evade a commensurate share of the general responsibilities. Clearly, such a deduction, if the premises are admitted, could not be accepted.

I will not deny that Colonial finance makes Abolition necessary; but by the expression "Colonial finance" I do not mean, as your Honor appears to do, solely the expenditure of the Colonial Government. The Governments, Provincial and General together, are spending much more than the credit of the Colony can afford. The difficulties arising out of Provincial borrowing stopped all large Provincial works after 1867 and before 1870. At the latter period the Colony stepped in and said that, although the Provinces could not be permitted to borrow, the works should be done for them. No Province has received larger consideration than Otago. The expenditure there has been and is absolutely gigantic, considering the population, but, I am glad to feel assured, not larger than the capabilities of the Province justify. You and I may, very correctly, have unlimited faith in Otago's capabilities; but we do not supply the money for developing them. Common prudence urges that, we should defer to the opinion of those who do, and who urge us to be content with a moderately rapid rate of progress. But your Honor draws no line—no amount of expenditure has contented you—the cry is still for more. Instead of Otago being a sufferer by Colonial finance, it is, as much as any other Province, the cause of the Colonial finance requiring the extinction of the Provinces. Other Provinces, it is true, have had to receive more or less exceptional assistance from the revenue which Otago has not required; but no Province has asked for large sums more freely—no Province has shown itself less disposed to restrain expenditure. During the last session of the Provincial Council appropriations were passed amounting to £909,000. Concurrently the Province has sacrificed its land by large sales to runholders; it has endeavoured to withdraw from ordinary purposes enormous blocks of country, for fear the land might be otherwise absorbed; in short, the Provincial Government for some time past has proceeded as fast as it possibly could, in anticipation, apparently, of some dreaded change. I wholly disagree, then, with the idea that the Colony will benefit from Abolition at the expense of Otago. The benefit will be on the side of the various districts which comprise the Province, the resources of which will be placed more immediately under their own control, and dealt with less lavishly than of late has been the case. In thus criticising the Provincial Government I am only acting in self-defence. Your Honor impugns the Colonial finance as vicious, and says the Province is sacrificed to it. My endeavour has been to show that the evil is not where you have supposed it. Instead of Otago suffering from the Colony, the people must be blind indeed if they are unaware that both in respect to Public Works and Immigration the Colony has done for them in five years that which the Province could not have effected in more than double that period.

To turn now to the first ground on which, it seems to me, your Honor rests your expectation that the Assembly will except Otago from Abolition—namely, that the people are opposed to it—I should be inclined to give much more weight to that ground did I not know that the people wholly misunderstand the meaning of Abolition. Your Honor's letter is a proof of this. It abounds with evidence that you altogether misunderstand what Abolition will effect, or what the people require.

When your Honor complains of a large extent of country like Taranaki having more representation than the City of Dunedin, you ignore one of the causes of the prosperity of the Colony. New Zealand has thriven because it is not a city-ridden country,—because the rural districts have not been sacrificed to make huge cities. The country districts are the sources from which the wealth flows to the towns. Evil will be the day when they are given only to a population representation, and a square mile in a town is allowed larger power than a thousand square miles in the country. The expressions "political communism," Provincial institutions "wantonly destroyed," "system of administration of its local affairs which is to be centred at Wellington," "depriving it [Otago] of its revenues, and bringing them under the sole appropriation of the Parliament at Wellington," show that your Honor does not realize what Abolition means.

It is fair to suppose that the people on whose behalf you speak are similarly misinformed; and in the face of this want of acquaintance with the effects of Abolition, their alleged opposition to it has little weight. No part of Provincial institutions which concerns the interests or the real local powers of the people will be destroyed. The people will possess much more local control than hitherto, and the absorption of their revenue is mythical.

What will take place is this :—The form of Provincialism will cease, and so will the powers of a small Legislature. Certain services, such as the charge of Gaols and Police, will be managed by the officers of the General Government, without ninety-nine out of a hundred people being aware of the change. Wellington will have no more to do with the matter than it has with your local post and telegraph offices. For years the management of the police at Auckland has been in the hands of the General Government, without the people feeling that their local privileges are curtailed, whilst they have recognised the thoroughly efficient manner in which the duties have been performed. But, in respect to real local powers, the decentralization will be complete. As a first evidence of decentralization, the towns will be distinct from, and have no powers over, the country districts. But the towns will not be uncared for—besides the revenues from licenses, they will have a direct subsidy. The road districts, wherever they exist, will not be under the control of the larger districts. They, as well as those larger districts, called counties, will have independent revenues, independent duties, independent powers. The chairmen of counties will be representative elected men. The administration of the land will continue to be localized. The land revenues will be strictly devoted to local purposes; some small contribution may, perhaps, be given to the trunk railways, which cannot be regarded as local either in their nature or purpose, and the management of which the Colony will undertake. There are abundant proofs that that management cannot be assumed too early, for the benefit of all concerned. The revenues from Educational Reserves, the control of Education, of Charitable Institutions, of Harbour Improvements, will likewise pass to, or remain with, local bodies.

Where is there at present any such system of local government? Your Honor does not disguise your wish that Otago should be, to all intents and purposes, a separate Colony : in other words, a comparatively small Government would jealously absorb all the powers the Colonial Government absolutely renounce. You wish to give to Otago the very form of government you mistakenly suppose we desire to bestow. When the people of Otago come to know how entirely decentralizing will be the effects of Abolition, how essentially centralizing are the views of the Provincial Governments which oppose it, I cannot doubt that they will be warm supporters of Abolition. For the sake of argument, I have accepted your Honor's interpretation of the feelings of the people of Otago without altogether agreeing with it. Many districts in the Province long for Abolition to remove the evils of which they have for years complained.

In laying such stress upon the country districts, it may be urged that I have ignored Dunedin's interest in the question. Dunedin will lose the expenditure incidental to being the seat of a small Government; and I am not unaware that the opponents of Abolition—notably a section of the Dunedin Press—have made the most of the diminished expenditure of this kind, whilst they have temptingly hinted at the glories of the seat of Government of an independent Otago. But I do not think these opinions are generally shared. I cannot believe the acute and able men of business of Dunedin will refuse to see that the interests of the country districts, and the prosperity of the whole Colony which is pervaded by their commercial activity, are of far more importance to them than the expenditure incidental to the localisation of a form of executive government, and to the occasional meetings of the Provincial Council.

Allow me, in conclusion, to thank your Honor for the courtesy of your letter, and to express the hope that I have said nothing herein which may be considered unfairly to reply to your Honor's strong, though not discourteous, reflections on the Colonial Government.

I have, &c.,

JULIUS VOGEL.

His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

4.—*His Honor the Superintendent to the Hon. the Premier.*

Province of Otago, N.Z., Superintendent's Office, Dunedin

22nd April, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 13th inst., from which it is clear that your opinion and mine as to the effect upon the Province of Otago, of its abolition, are wide as the poles asunder.

I therefore feel that it would be only wasting both your time and my own to prolong this correspondence. At the same time I cannot refrain from referring to some of the leading points in your letter. And here I may say that I do not think you were called upon to review the action of the Provincial Council of Otago—a body responsible solely to the electorate of the Province; nor was it necessary to assume that everything your Government thought fit to propose would receive the sanction of the Colonial Parliament.

Your letter is, of course, a political manifesto to convince the people of Otago of the good they will obtain by the abolition of their Province and their local Parliament, and by the absorption of their local revenues; and you must forgive me if I follow your example in entering upon a political discussion, which I deprecate.

I may say that had you been administering a law, and called upon me to aid you in so doing, I should not have withheld my aid or advice. As it is, I was advised, and I am also of opinion, that the sending of the Commissioners was without legal warrant or constitutional authority. The Parliament never authorised such a step and did not vote funds for such a purpose. Your letter of instructions, as well as that now under reply, foreshadows a policy that the Parliament has not yet considered, far less ratified. There is no local Government Act, and as yet no provision made for carrying on the departments of the Provincial Government. What law, I ask, are you administering?

I looked upon the action of your Government as an encroachment upon the rights of this Province, which, as its elected head, I was bound to resist; and I feel assured that had you been the head of the Provincial Executive you would have counselled more extreme measures than I resorted to. Indeed, I cannot but remember how nobly you aided me with your advice and influence in resisting the General Government's encroachment on our rights and privileges nine years ago.

You entirely misapprehend me by supposing that because the wealth of Otago far exceeds that of other Provinces, its interest, in my opinion, is to evade a share of the general responsibility. On the contrary, I for one, am quite prepared that the Province should assume a very large proportion of the past obligations of the Colony, provided it is relieved of all future liabilities other than those to be incurred by itself for its own benefit, or those which may be necessary for purely federal purposes.

I have no desire to dispute with you that, since 1870, Otago has received a large share of the Public Works and Immigration Loan. I submit, however, that it has not received more than its due proportion, or than it is able to repay, and this, I fear, is more than can be said in respect of various other portions of the Colony. While upon this point I would most emphatically protest against that phase of your present policy, which proposes to render Otago liable for the debts incurred in the construction of railways in other parts of the Colony, notwithstanding the solemn assurances that to each Province would belong the profit or loss which might accrue from the railways constructed within it—assurances embodied in the Immigration and Public Works Act, and but for which that Act never would have been on the Statute-book.

It is this readiness with which, at the instance of a powerful Government, the good faith of the Colonial Parliament to-day may be cast to the winds to-morrow, which shakes the confidence of myself and others in the stability of legislation which professes to secure to any particular part of the Colony the exclusive enjoyment of those advantages which may have been derived from its own forethought and superior energy.

I do not know that I rightly interpret your meaning when you say that we should defer to the opinions of those who supply the money for developing our resources. If, in moulding the political institutions upon which the future happiness and freedom of ourselves and our children so largely depend, we are to be influenced by the opinion of money-lenders, all I can say is, that it will be a sad day for New Zealand when this time comes.

How can you reconcile your assertion that Otago has not been a sufferer by Colonial finance, with the fact that, in addition to its obligation in respect of the Public Works and Defence loans, it has contributed upwards

of two millions of money to the Colonial chest, for which it has received little or nothing in return, saving the empty honor of being represented in the General Assembly, is, I confess, beyond my comprehension.

One strong reason why, in your opinion, the Province should be abolished is, that during the past session of the Provincial Council, appropriations were passed to the extent of £909,000. To my mind, this affords one of the best arguments in favor of the Province becoming an independent Colony. Large as this sum is, it is far short of what is needed to meet necessary requirements, and far short of what the Province would have at its disposal, but for that vicious system of Colonial finance in which it has become so unhappily entangled, a system which will be stereotyped should the Abolition policy be carried out.

You do not seem to be aware that when the Appropriation Ordinance was passed, the Province contemplated being able to float a loan, and that a large portion of the appropriation was for the completion of important public works, the execution of which will extend over several years.

You say that "concurrently" the Province has sacrificed its lands by large sales to runholders. As to this you have been completely misinformed, inasmuch as there have been no sales to runholders during the past four years, excepting the preemptive areas to which they are by law entitled. With regard to its landed estate, I am not called upon to defend all that the Province has done in the past, but were I to trace the cause of our difficulties in dealing with our waste lands, I should have to attribute them chiefly to the action taken by yourself in granting a renewal of so many pastoral leases in 1866—7. If large sales are improper, I have yet to learn that any sale in Otago has been in violation of law, or made until the absorption of its revenue by the Colonial Government forced such action on the Province. For your Government to complain of large sales of land after the various reports of Parliamentary Committees on its land transactions in the North Island—transactions which no financial exigency demanded—seems to me, to say the least, to be singularly inappropriate. In thus referring to the action of the Colonial Government, I also am acting in "self-defence." You must, therefore, excuse my reference to the uncalled-for sacrifice of the public estate in Auckland.

If there is one thing more than another for which the Provincial Government may claim credit, it is the extent to which the public estate of Otago has been husbanded and disposed of for actual settlement and profitable occupation. I venture to say that in no other part of the Colony does this apply to a greater extent.

One of my chief reasons for opposing the policy now in question, is that under its operation the administration of the Provincial estate must be regulated by the exigencies of Colonial finance.

But, even assuming that your information had been correct, and that the Province had disposed of large blocks of hill land to runholders, there are many and cogent reasons which might well have driven it to this course. Among these might be enumerated the refusal of the Colonial Legislature to enable the Province to anticipate its land revenue for the construction of those public works, without which the land would be comparatively valueless for settlement, and also the difficulty experienced in obtaining payment from the Colonial Government of moneys to which by law the Province is entitled.

I would point out to you that there is taking place in Otago a very considerable amount of agricultural settlement on deferred payment, and that this has to be followed up by providing the means of communication, schools, and many other requirements, to meet which money must be had.

Assuming that funds cannot be obtained otherwise than from land sales, I am of opinion that it would be far preferable to sell purely pastoral land to runholders at 20s. an acre than to place in the market for disposal wholesale to speculators, large areas of valuable land which still remain, and which it is the policy of the Provincial Government to preserve to meet the requirements of agricultural settlement.

You further allege that the Province has sought to withdraw from ordinary purposes (which, I presume, means from sale) enormous blocks of country, "for fear the land might be otherwise absorbed."

It is quite true that years ago the Provincial Council resolved to set apart several millions of acres as Endowments for Education, Hospitals, and other public purposes, in which resolution the Colonial Government did not concur. Ultimately, however, 500,000 acres were agreed to be Crown granted. I fail to see in this action of the Provincial Council any reason why the Province should be abolished, but the reverse. I am disposed to regard this action as a far-seeing apprehension of that centralistic policy against which I am contending—a policy which, whatever may be your present intentions, must inevitably result in the general consolidation of public assets and liabilities throughout the Colony. Among the former, of course, must be included our land fund, our education reserves, and, as likely as not, all other reserves besides. I would not for a moment impute to you any present intention in this direction, but cannot disguise from myself the feeling that you are now embarking upon an ocean of circumstances which you will be unable to control—circumstances in which the Colony must inevitably drift into the position I have indicated. You might as well expect the Ethiopian to change his skin as that Centralism in New Zealand will be content with anything short of that position.

You say the people of Otago do not realise, and are misinformed as to what Abolition means. If this be so, why not submit for the consideration of the people those measures which will enable them to interpret for

themselves its real meaning—those measures which are to usher in the political millennium? To my mind, whatever the measure may turn out to be, the man must be blind indeed who does not realise in the whole action of Centralism in New Zealand, during the past 25 years, "One purse for the Colony," a consummation totally irreconcilable with your conviction that the land fund and public reserves of the respective Provinces will be localised.

You say that in respect of Immigration and Public Works the Colony has done more for Otago in five years than the Province could have done for itself in ten. To this I must entirely demur. It would not be difficult to show that had the Province been permitted to conduct those operations for itself, the result would, to say the least of it, have been equally satisfactory, and in all probability much more so. I have no hesitation in saying that the Clutha Railway, for example, would have been constructed by the Province for at least £50,000 under what it has actually cost.

You say that the Governments, Provincial and General together, are spending much more than the credit of the Colony can afford. I quite agree with you as regards the latter; and if this is to be adduced as an argument in favour of Abolition, it may fairly be urged as a reason for abolishing the General Government, or, at all events, of very greatly curtailing its expenditure. It does seem strange that in the face of the fact that, the Colonial expenditure is more than the credit of the Colony can afford, the Government should have been so desirous during the past few sessions of increasing that expenditure by the establishment of new and expensive departments.

And now one word more as to what is to be in the future. You may be right in your assumption that whatever your Government proposes the Assembly will sanction. I may be pardoned, however, for saying that Governments as strong as yours have in the past had to submit to a public opinion they could not control; and I feel convinced that the opinions of so large and important a section of the Colony as Otago will not be lightly set aside by the Colonial Legislature.

It should not be the aim of statesmen to ignore the feelings of those over whom they rule, and if one large section of any country is forced into a hostile attitude towards the Government, and its opinions and feelings ignored, history tells us that there are sad days in store for such a country.

The justice of Otago's claims, which you say are "chimerical," may, I trust, yet receive from the Assembly that consideration which is denied by your Government.

I fail to see how the country districts of Otago can benefit by your proposed scheme. Hitherto, for example, the Provincial Council has given no subsidy to Dunedin, as they felt it their duty to devote the revenue to making roads and bridges, and building schools throughout the country districts. You, however, as the first step in the decentralizing process, have given a subsidy of £10,000 to Dunedin, and promised that it shall be perpetual. How, therefore, Dunedin can be said to have benefited more from Provincial administration than the country districts I cannot understand. You have forgotten that the districts which have hitherto been most jealous of Dunedin, and farthest removed from it, have returned as members of the Colonial Parliament strong Provincialists. The people of Otago are not so "misinformed" as you seem to imagine; and if, as you say, the Province has been spending more money than the Colony can afford, of course your scheme means a stoppage of public works throughout the Province, unless, indeed, you imagine that the credit of the Colony will not be injured by every County and Road Board borrowing what they please. You cannot, however, consider that allowing a County or Road Board to borrow is a good thing, whilst granting the same right to a Province is an evil thing.

I would only say further that, believing as I do that, like myself, you are aiming at making New Zealand a great, prosperous, and free country, it is to me a source of the deepest regret that we do not agree as to the most effective and only means of accomplishing this end.

Much as I should feel disposed to defer to your judgment, I cannot ignore the conviction which a life-long experience of New Zealand politics has forced upon me; and if, in the heat of a political controversy, not of my seeking, I have used any expression distasteful to you, you will, I trust, pardon such. I am well aware that in every discussion some expression may seem harsh to an opponent that was not so meant by the writer.

Had it not been that you had hitherto so loyally and under much obloquy in the past supported the Constitution—and did I not hope that calm reflection may yet induce you to return to your previous political platform—I need not, perhaps, have entered into so much detail. I feel, however, that you will pardon the length and, perhaps, ardour of my letter, and believe me to be actuated by a strong desire for the continued prosperity and advancement not only of Otago, but also of all New Zealand.

I have, &c.,

J. MACANDREW, Superintendent of Otago.
The Hon. the Premier, Wellington.

5.—*The Hon. the Premier to His Honor the Superintendent.*

General Government Offices, Wellington

3rd May, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd April, in reply to mine of the 13th.

2. There are a few points to which I think it desirable to reply: to others I do not refer, either because I consider that I have answered them by what I have already written to your Honor, or because they seem to me of a *tu quoque* nature, and entirely out of place in this correspondence.

3. I am not aware that in my letter to you I assumed that Parliament would render the Government more support than Governments usually anticipate. There would be no strength in any government, if fear of a minority becoming a majority were allowed to interfere with the ordinary duties of administration. I desired to represent to your Honor that as, by law, the Provinces cease to exist after next session, the General Government were performing only their duty in obtaining the information necessary to provide for the charge which will then devolve on them.

4. You refer to my action some years ago, when I had the honor to be a member of the Otago Provincial Executive. I acted then, as now, in accordance with what I believed to be my duty, and I do you the justice to believe that you are similarly actuated. As you have twice referred to me personally, I may be allowed to say that I continued to aid the Provinces, and to believe they might be enabled to survive, long after that belief was dead in the minds of some of the most acute men in New Zealand. No Province has, in my opinion, more contributed to make Abolition necessary than has Otago—for it has refused to accept any limit to its desire to expend money. That, without the means at its command, it should have embarked in a variety of railway schemes, not content with the lines in progress from the Waitaki to the Bluff, from Invercargill to Kingston, and from Milton to Lawrence, sufficiently proves the necessity for the check the Assembly has imposed. Nor does this appear to have been done too soon, for notwithstanding the largeness of your Honor's views as to Otago's capabilities, the fact is that, in order to find means for meeting the expenses of the next six months, your Honor's Government have had to attempt to make land sales of a most objectionable nature. I refer to the sales proposed to be made to runholders, without competition, in defiance, as I am advised, of the intention of the law, and which I feel bound to inform your Honor, the Government would have taken means to prevent, but for the conviction that the Waste Lands Board would do so.

5. Your Honor's opinion of the manner in which the Provincial Government carry out their public works is entirely different from that which we are able to arrive at, from the information at the command of the Government. That information is to the effect that the Provincial Railways have been very imperfectly constructed.

6. I regret that your Honor should venture to make such an assertion as to the cost of the Clutha Railway. The Government have in their service several engineers of standing and long experience. There is no engineer in the employment of the Province whose opinions are entitled to equal weight. Persons may always be found ready to express opinions, but I should have thought Otago had, from the want of competent engineering skill, suffered quite enough to make its Government cautious as to assailing the work of men of experience.

7. You certainly do not rightly interpret my meaning in supposing that I said our political institutions were to be influenced by moneylenders. I think the passage to which you refer clearly enough expressed my meaning, that the Colony should not commit itself to the expenditure of borrowed money in excess of the amount which those from whom it looked for the money were willing to supply.

8. Your Honor's idea of making Otago an independent Colony is impossible of realisation—fortunately for the people of that Province, who certainly would not gain by the proposal, which, as I have already pointed out, would mean contralised power in Dunedin, and financial difficulties of a very grave character.

9. The subsidy proposed to be given to Dunedin will not injure the country districts : it will be more than covered by the savings incidental to doing away with the Provincial Government.

10. I cannot accept your Honor's version of the meaning of Abolition, and you will forgive me for saying that nothing but very strong foregone conclusions could, I think, make you persist in your opinions in the face of the information which has been afforded to you. I should be most happy to circulate the bills which will embody the policy of the Government, but they are not fully prepared. Sufficient, however, has been decided to enable me to convey to your Honor a very clear idea of the measures the Government propose to introduce in connection with Abolition. Some of the details may be modified, but I think the particulars I am able to give

will convince you that nothing approaching to such a thoroughly localised system of government has yet found place in the Colony.

11. Provincial Councils and Superintendents we do not propose in any shape to perpetuate or to reproduce, and various departmental services, such as Gaols, Hospitals, the administration of Harbours, &c., we propose to carry on as we do the Post Office and Telegraph Departments.

12. We intend to introduce a bill regulating the election of local bodies, its provisions being made applicable to Municipal, Road Board, County, Education Board, and other elections. Such a measure will enable the bills by which it will be sought to constitute and empower those bodies, to be kept free from much confusing repetition.

13. We propose a general Valuation Bill—that is, a measure which will provide a uniform system of valuing property and preparing ratepayers' rolls throughout the country, for boroughs, road boards, and counties. This, also, whilst simplifying the measures relating to those bodies, will provide a uniform system, which is much wanted. Your Honor may have observed that a not dissimilar bill has been submitted to the Imperial Parliament during the present session.

14. We propose to submit a Bill to consolidate the existing Municipal Laws, simplified as already described, but which will contain provisions to enable Corporations to borrow, not dissimilar from Mr. Ballance's bill of last year, with the exception that the purposes for which borrowing is to be permitted will be more clearly defined. The road districts we do not intend to ask Parliament to legislate about this session, excepting to the extent already described. To provide for the local charge of Education, we propose to introduce a bill to continue in existence the present Education Board until February next, elected boards, with a small nominee element, being substituted after that date. The entire control of primary education, and of the reserves for such education, we propose to vest in these boards. It will be the duty of the boards to continue in each Province the system legalised by existing Provincial laws. There will be one difference: for the bill will provide that the inspection of schools shall be under the control and management of the Colonial Government. We contemplate making provision for doing away with education rate? and also with fees in primary schools, whilst we propose that education shall be made compulsory.

15. The leading features of the County System we desire have already been explained. We propose that the country, exclusive of towns, shall be divided into counties, governed by elective bodies, endowed with very considerable revenues, and charged with carrying out large public works. The counties will be distinct from the Road Board districts, excepting that in a few instances, where the districts are already of great extent, an option will perhaps be given to them to become counties, and thus to merge into one the revenues of the two bodies. The present Waste Lands Boards we propose to continue for a time; but we hope to provide at no distant date for the addition of the elective element to them. We do not propose to interfere with the Land Laws, excepting that we may ask the Assembly to consider the expediency of increasing the upset price and enlarging the facilities for obtaining land on deferred payments. The Lunatic Asylums, we propose to keep under the direct control of the Government, with the aid of local boards nominated by the Governor. A qualified Inspector in Lunacy has been selected at Home, and will, I expect, shortly arrive in the Colony. We propose to devolve the charge of other charitable institutions on the authorities of the municipalities and the counties within which they are situated, giving to those local bodies a power of placing the institutions in the hands of special committees or trustees. We regret that in some parts of the country these institutions are now purely Government institutions; and we think larger opportunities for the exercise of voluntary benevolence should be afforded. The railways, as has been stated already, we propose shall pass into the entire charge and control of the Colonial Government. Abundant reasons for this necessity have been shown.

16. I desire, for obvious reasons, not to anticipate the Financial Statement; but I will not shrink from giving your Honor some particulars. We propose to introduce a Bill providing for the disposal of the Land Revenue. This disposal will be of a thoroughly local character; excepting that we shall submit for the consideration of the Assembly the alternative of a gradually-diminishing contribution from the land revenue to meet the interest on railways, rather than to provide this payment from an income and a property tax. As we are not willing that interest on railways in course of construction should be met out of borrowed money, the revenue must supply the means for paying such interest. From the first, the land revenue which has benefited so largely from the railways, should have provided this interest. It will be for the Assembly now to consider whether the unsold lands, or the sold lands and current revenue, shall supply the amount required. Whilst otherwise we propose to thoroughly localise the land revenue we also intend that Road Districts and Counties shall be guaranteed by the Consolidated Revenue the receipt of their appointed subsidies, irrespective of whether or not the land revenue of the particular Provincial district supplies for the time being the necessary amount.

17. Your Honor will, I hope, consider that in the particulars I have given you I have not displayed undue reticence. I should be glad to find that these particulars win you to support the policy they embody; and I feel sufficiently assured of your Honor's generosity to believe that you will not object to being the medium of

disseminating throughout Otago information which I confidently believe will more than satisfy every one in the Province who is not prejudiced beyond the possibility of exercising freedom of judgment. At any rate, the information I have given you will undeceive those in the Province who are opposing Abolition under a total misapprehension of its nature, and of the consequences which will follow it. To the majority of the people of Otago, what we now propose will mean the realisation of the aspirations of many years.

18. I reciprocate your Honor's kindly remarks. I hope I have not said anything calculated to cause you personal annoyance; and I fully recognise, even where I am unable to agree with you, your Honor's public-spirited desire to promote the advancement of Otago and New Zealand. Were you a member of the Colonial Government for three months, I am convinced you would cease to doubt the necessity of upholding the law which has decreed the Abolition of the Provinces.

I have, &c.,

JULIUS VOGEL.

His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

5.—His Honor the Superintendent to the, Hon. the Premier.

Province of Otago, N.Z., Superintendent's Office, Dunedin

13th May, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, in reply to mine of the 22nd ultimo.

Knowing, as I do, the vast amount of personal labour which must at present devolve upon you, and the extent to which your time necessarily must needs be occupied in connection with the constitutional changes upon which you have set your mind, it is with some compunction that I again address you on the subject.

You will, however, I trust, pardon me if I should attempt in this letter to convince you, and the few people in Otago who are in accord with your views, that you both have misapprehended the nature of Abolition and "the consequences which will flow to the people of Otago" should Centralism become the policy of the Colony.

I am persuaded that any one freed from party or personal feelings who compares the position of Otago as it is with what it will become under Abolition, can have no difficulty in determining his course of action, and deciding on his political platform.

I find on perusal of your last letter that your only answer to the grave charges I made against that political party with which you are now allied, and against the action of the Colonial Government, is a brushing away of these charges, by saying "that they seem to you of *tu quoque* nature, and out of place in this correspondence." Such a remark makes me hesitate as to the object of the various letters you have addressed to me, and if you think that the breach of faith I pointed out, and the mismanagement of Colonial finance can be set aside in the *tu quoque* manner you adopt, it is evident you altogether misapprehend the sincerity, and underrate the intelligence, of the people of Otago. You may rest assured that the people understand more of politics and political history than you seem to realise.

It would appear from your letters that I dare not even hint at the extravagance and maladministration of the Colonial Government. You, however, are entitled to criticise the action of the people and their representatives; and also, as appears from paragraph 6 of your letter, to bring sweeping charges against civil servants who have no opportunity of self-defence. In none of my letters have I written one single word against any General Government officer. My allusion to the cost of the Clutha Railway went to show that all works could be more cheaply constructed under local administration than under Government at a distance. You, however, bring charges of the most grave character against all the eminent engineers the Province of Otago has ever employed. I need scarcely remind you that many of the engineers—and, I might add, other professional men of ability—who have been employed by the General Government, have been taken from Otago. It appears to me ungenerous, to say the least of it, to allege that the many able and eminent engineers that the Province has employed have wanted "competent engineering skill."

Passing on to the charges you made against the Provincial Government, of sacrificing the landed estate of the Province, I can only say you are entirely astray as to your facts. As to this, I would refer you to my letter to the Honourable the Colonial Secretary of the 4th instant, with enclosures, from which it will be seen that the action of the Provincial Executive has been not only strictly in accordance with law, but with good policy. You are, of course, aware that the law admits of land 1200 feet above sea level being sold for 10s. an acre, with

consent of lessee; whereas the action of the Executive would have secured at least 20s. an acre for the same land.

You seem to impute it as a great crime on the part of the Provincial Legislature that it should dispose of mountain lands for the construction of branch railways. In my opinion, if the whole of the mountain tops could be converted into branch railways to morrow, instead of being a loss, it would be a vast gain to the Province. The latter would be as productive to the State as the former, while there would be the advantage, in as far as Otago is concerned, that its mountain tops would be disposed of for railway construction within its own territory, instead of in the North Island, which will be the practical result of your present policy.

While upon this subject I must say that it seems somewhat extraordinary that in other parts of the Island, under that system of free selection you have so long warmly advocated, vast private estates are being created, and the finest agricultural land alienated from the Crown in large blocks, and no objections raised; while in the only Province in New Zealand where any efforts for conserving agricultural land for settlement have been made, fault should have been found with its land administration. Because the Otago Provincial Government chooses to reserve the agricultural land for settlement on deferred payments, and to sell the hill tops sooner than let its best agricultural land go to auction to be purchased by the speculator, its action is condemned by the Colonial Government. If your Government proposes that no person shall acquire or hold more than a defined area of land you will be inaugurating a new policy in dealing with Crown lands. As yet the Legislature has not fixed any limit to a man's holding; on the contrary, it has made provision, (see section 150 "Otago Waste Lands Act, 1872,") which shows that it contemplated sales of high lands at ten shillings an acre.

Were the action of Otago contrasted with that of Canterbury and the other Provinces it would, I think, be found that the contrast would reflect no discredit on this Province. Of course I refrain from even hinting as to how the Colonial Government has dealt with the lands under its control. I venture to predict that when the passions created by party feeling have subsided, and the true circumstances of the case come to be understood, the action of the Provincial Government which you condemn will stand the test of a rigid scrutiny.

I cannot but regard the attempt on the part of the Colonial Government to coerce what is supposed to be a non-political body like the Waste Lands Board as uncalled for, if not illegal and reprehensible. It is the small cloud in the horizon which foretells what Centralism really means.

You say that were Otago an independent Colony it would mean "centralized power in Dunedin and financial difficulties of very a grave character." No doubt were Otago an independent Colony the Central power would have to be somewhere, and it requires but little acumen to see that it would be infinitely more advantageous for the Province that the Central power should be at Dunedin than at Wellington. Moreover, there is this marked difference between the Provincial Council at Dunedin and the General Assembly at Wellington, that whereas the whole policy of the one has been to economise, to decentralise, and to divest its Executive of power in favor of local bodies, that of the other has been exactly the reverse.

As to the "financial difficulties" they are, I apprehend, as respects the Colony sufficiently grave already, and one of the most effective ways out of them would be to make Otago a separate Colony, relying entirely upon its own resources. It is far better able to stand alone than were any of the neighboring Colonies when they were created; and I believe that notwithstanding the millions of money of which it has already been drained by the Colonial Parliament, it would be willing, and it would be clearly to its interests, to pay a handsome price, if by doing so the Province could steer clear of the maelstrom of Colonial Finance.

Were Otago a separate Colony, New Zealand would be compelled to start afresh, and cut its coat according to its cloth; in which case its present Civil Service and its standing army must needs be reduced and brought within the compass of its absolute requirements, No doubt this end might be attained in a less degree were each Island to be charged with the uncontrolled management of its own affairs.

As to the savings which you say will be incidental to doing away with the Provincial Executive—savings by the way which your colleague the late Colonial Treasurer, was forced to admit would be nil—I confess that with every desire to be enlightened I cannot see how the creation in Otago of a number of counties, each with its staff of officials—small Provincial Councils in fact, under another name—is to be less expensive than one Provincial Council. Your saving of £10,000 a year will, I fear, result in an additional expenditure of double that amount. Even assuming, however, that there would be such a saving, I am convinced that the people of Otago are content to pay much more towards the upholding of their local Parliament.

As to the proposals you intend to submit to the Assembly, it is unnecessary for me to allude to them further than to repeat my opinion that you cannot seriously believe that a body like the General Assembly may not demand various and serious alterations in any proposals your Government may submit to it.

I would now refer very briefly to your remarks on the branch railway lines and the absorption of our land revenue. You express surprise that the Provincial Government should have formed branch railways. You seem to be unaware that those lines have all been sanctioned by the Colonial Government, and that no line has been sanctioned which does not open up a settled country or a district fit for occupation. Would that the same could

be said of all Colonial railways. It will be found that the light lines now being constructed in Otago will be quite as cheap as metalled roads. I assert further, without fear of contradiction, that every railway in Otago would pay interest on the cost of its construction were the management left in the Provincial Government.

I have yet to learn that it is right to form railway lines close to the sea board, not thereby opening up much fresh land for settlement, and wrong to construct lines into the interior, thus giving those districts which are far removed from water communication a reliable and speedy means of bringing their produce to market. I look upon it that while both are desirable, the one is of much more importance than the other; and that if the money which has been, and is being, expended by the Colonial Government in Otago, had been at the disposal of the Provincial Council, the results, as regards the beneficial occupation and development of the resources of the Province, would have been vastly different.

Under the Abolition *regime* the many districts to which branch railways ought to be made are to be denied that privilege, inasmuch as Otago railway profits and land fund must be absorbed by the Colonial Treasury. This must be very consoling to the country districts for whose interests the Colonial Government now express so much concern.

And now one word as to the astounding proposal to repeal the most important provision of the Immigration and Public Works Act. To me it is a matter of most extreme surprise how you can possibly have arrived at the conclusion that such a proposal was just. It is far from comforting to those who, like myself, supported you in the inauguration of the Public Works policy to be told that your promises of 1870 and 1871 are to be cast to the winds in 1876.

"Were I," you write, "to be a member of the Colonial Government for three months I would cease to doubt the necessity of upholding the law which has decreed the Abolition of the Provinces." This is an extraordinary statement. Can it be true, after all, that this policy, which at its outset promised so fairly, has so involved the Colony in financial disaster that the Constitution must do swept away, and our political action controlled by money-lenders? Pledges the most solemn, oft-repeated promises, Acts of Parliament—all to be ignored?

It is anything but pleasing to me to write in this strain, but with all due deference I submit that these are thoughts that should weigh with the Colonial Government in considering well the results of any proposals they may make, before attempting to force them upon an unwilling people. Nothing could act as a greater beacon of warning to the people of Otago than these proposals, proclaiming as they do that to trust to an Act of the General Assembly for localising the land fund, even should there be any residue to localise, is placing reliance upon a rope of sand. Indeed you have now to admit that Abolition means that the people of Otago must either be deprived of their land revenue or submit to an income tax to meet the charges on unproductive railways elsewhere. My own impression is that they will have to submit to both if Abolition becomes law.

I fear I have trespassed far too long on your attention. The grave position in which you find the Colony, as disclosed by your letter, must be my excuse.

I cannot better conclude this letter than by sincerely thanking you for the trouble you have taken in explaining your policy, although to my mind, you have failed to make good your position.

I believe the attention you have paid to my opinion will not be wholly thrown away. It will tend to excite an interest in the study of politics, which this Colony much requires, whilst it will also show that a sincere, an earnest, and an able man may, from force of circumstances, apparently uncontrollable, be led to adopt a political creed he once denounced, and to ally himself with a political party with whom he has little in common.

Again thanking you for your courtesy,

I have, &c.,

JAMES MACANDREW, Superintendent of Otago.
The Hon. the Premier, Wellington.

(Letters, &c., Referred to in No. 5.)

Province of Otago, N.Z., Superintendent's Office, Dunedin

4th May, 1876.

SIR,—Referring to your telegram in reply to mine, requesting you officially to contradict the rumour current here, that the Colonial Government had intimated its desire that the Waste Lands Board should refuse to grant certain applications for land recently proclaimed by the Provincial Governments under the delegated powers, open for sale at 20s. an acre, I much regret that while you neither deny nor admit the rumour alluded to,

you express your approval of the action of the Waste Lands Board in declining to grant the applications, and as a necessary inference your approval of the serious consequences which that action involves. Those consequences are concisely set forth in a memorandum addressed by me to the Waste Lands Board, a copy of which is forwarded herewith, as also the Chief Surveyor's Report as to the quality of the land referred to.

I need scarcely say that the result of the Board's action will have a most injurious effect upon the labour market during the ensuing winter, if, indeed, it does not throw thousands of men out of employment.

The Provincial Executive, charged as it is with the peace, order, and good government of this portion of the Colony, has a right to expect the support of the Colonial Government; as it is, it cannot but feel that it is not only receiving scant aid from, but that it is being thwarted by, the Colonial Executive.

You say that "the plan by which the application was confined to the leaseholders was one which must be disapproved by any person who believes that the law should be administered in accordance with its spirit and intention, as well as with its letter." As to this, I can only say that the "plan" was precisely the same *verbatim, et literatim* as has been adopted in similar cases for years past. Indeed, if I mistake not, it was first adopted when the present Premier was at the head of the Provincial Executive. I refer you to no less than eighteen Proclamations—as per foot—in proof of this assertion, from which it will be perceived that the power of application is not confined to the leaseholder.

I may say further that there is good reason to believe that the applicants in question would have preferred that the land should have been put up to auction under section 150 Otago Waste Lands Act, in which case there can be little doubt but they would have become the purchasers at ten shillings an acre.

I have, &c.,

J. MACANDREW, Superintendent of Otago.
The Honorable the Colonial Secretary, Wellington.

(Enclosures.)

Memo to the Waste Lands Board.

Referring to the Board's recent action in respect of certain applications for the purchase of hill lands proclaimed open for sale in the Otago 'Gazette' of 19th April, the Superintendent desires to indicate to the Board the consequences which must result from its action.

As the Board is aware the representatives of the people have passed appropriations for highly important and necessary public works—works which, if not provided for by means of loan, were to be constructed out of the proceeds of the sale at 10s. an acre of hill lands, in terms of section 150, Otago Waste Lands Act. (See *Votes and Proceedings*, Session XXXII., 1873, page 93.) On the motion of the Secretary for Lands and Goldfields it was resolved—

"That a branch line of light railway, from Oamaru to the Valley of the Waiareka, a distance of fifteen miles, be at once constructed, at a cost not exceeding £31,000, said cost to be defrayed from the sale of 60,000 acres of pastoral land, in terms of section 150, 'Otago Waste Lands Act, 1872,' such land to be situated in the Northern District.

"That a light line of railway, between Riverton and Orepuki, in length 16 miles, be constructed, estimated cost £40,000, payment to be made in land in alternate sections on either side of the proposed line at the current value.

"That a light line of railway, between Riverton and Otautau, in length 16½ miles, already surveyed, be constructed at a cost of £40,000, payment to be made in cash or land at the option of the Government.

"That a light line of railway, to connect the Otautau line with the Invercargill and Winton Railway at Wallacetown junction, a distance of 14 miles, be constructed at a cost of £20,000, payment to be made in cash or land at the option of the Government.

"Resolved further that the following branch railways be commenced next year; and that the Government be requested in the meantime to obtain the necessary survey and estimates, viz.: Waipahee to Tapanui, Main Trunk Line to Kaitangata, Main Trunk Line to Outram, Palmerston to Waihemo, Otautau to Night-Caps Coal Fields."

The Colonial Parliament declined to sanction the raising of money by loan, and hence the necessity for falling back upon the other alternative.

Instead, however, of selling hill lands at 10s., as sanctioned by the Provincial Council, the Government has placed in the market for sale a limited area of mountain land spread over five separate runs, at 20s. an acre, at which price, applications to purchase have been refused by the Board, thereby depriving the Provincial

Treasury of the revenue which it was reasonably expected would be £64,000, an amount which would have afforded employment during the winter months to upwards of 2000 men, and upon the faith of receiving which, the Province has entered into engagements which cannot otherwise be fulfilled.

The result of this determination on the part of the Board must be disastrous in the extreme, involving as it does the curtailment and cessation of the public works throughout the Province, at that season of the year when the labouring population is most dependent upon such work. In the face of the Board's decision the Government has very reluctantly been compelled to abstain from accepting tenders for various works which are absolutely necessary, and which otherwise would have been gone on with at once, and it is probable that steps may have to be taken to suspend or abandon existing contracts.

Although upon the Board must rest the onus as to the result of its decision—a decision which the Superintendent cannot doubt must have been arrived at without duly considering the grave responsibility which it involved—he cannot but feel the most serious apprehension as to the injury which the Board's action must entail upon every interest throughout the Province.

The Board appears to have overlooked the fact that the Land Acts invest the Superintendent and Provincial Council, who are directly responsible to the people, with important and responsible functions; and the Superintendent cannot but think that he has good reason to complain that in coming to the decision it did in the matter, the Board has not exhibited that courtesy to the Superintendent and Provincial Council which was due to their position as parties whom the law invests with certain powers under the Waste Lands Acts, and that instead of taking time to consider and mature its decision, it should at once, without discussion, and without assigning any reason, have arrived at an apparently foregone conclusion, and one which, it is reasonable to suppose, must have been come to either under a misconception of the value of the land applied for, or in the absence of information regarding the resolutions of the Provincial Council above referred to.

As to the value of land, the Superintendent is of opinion that 20s. per acre all round for such land is a high price—an opinion which is fully borne out by the report of the Chief Surveyor; but if any doubt existed on this point, the Board had an opportunity of setting it at rest by submitting one of these allotments to public auction; and the Superintendent is at a loss to know under what authority the Board refused to allow the sale, at public auction, of the lands for which duplicate applications had been lodged.

There is good reason to believe that the second application was not a *bonâ fide* one, as the Superintendent is informed that land of at least as good quality on the adjoining Hundred has been open for sale during the last two years, and for which no application has yet been received. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that this application was not a *bonâ fide* one.

In the administration of the waste lands there must be two objects kept in view, viz. : the settlement of the people on the land, and as a means towards this end, the acquisition of revenue. The large extent of land which is being taken up on deferred payments and under agricultural lease must of necessity diminish the amount of immediate revenue from land.

As it is necessary to dispose of land for revenue purposes—that is to say, for providing means of communication, compensation, surveys, and other requirements, among which latter may be specially enumerated school buildings, for which purpose alone £30,000 are urgently needed, there can be no question that the class of land upon which it is expedient to realise is the mountain tops, which are unfit for settlement—such land, in short, as the Waste Lands Board, notwithstanding the resolution of the Provincial Council and the recommendation of the Superintendent, has refused to sell.

Under all the circumstances of the case, the Superintendent cannot but reiterate the expression of his extreme regret at the hasty action of the Board in this matter—action which is fraught with consequences most detrimental to the public interest, and for which the Board must be held solely responsible.

J. MACANDREW, Superintendent of Otago.
Superintendent's Office, Dunedin,

3rd May, 1876.

Chief Surveyor's Report.

Dunedin,

22nd April, 1876.

Re Nature of Country Cancelled on Buns Nos. 170, 48, 199, 369, and 247.

Memo, for Provincial Secretary—

Run No. 170.—The 13,000 acres cancelled on this run is a piece of very rugged, scrubby country. It is bounded on the south by the Beaumont Burn, on the west by the Clutha River for fully six miles, and extends back from the Clutha in a breadth varying from two and a-half to four miles. The country is intersected by several streams, and, as they and the Clutha run in deep rocky gorges, the country is very broken and difficult of access. It is only approachable by dray, along the mountain track, availed of, in former times, between Tuapeka and Teviot, when there were no made roads. This track will run off and on the back line of cancellation, and will keep open the access to the remaining 17,000 acres of leasehold on the run. The general elevation above sea level of the part cancelled will be from 1,000 to 1,600 feet, and of the part on leasehold from 1,200 to 3,000 feet. No part of this run can be considered agricultural land, and in its present circumstances the pastoral occupation can only be profitable in large areas. In the gorge of the Clutha there is a bush of small extent, which, for the present is completely shut in by rocky bluffs; but in the event of the railway being extended inland from Lawrence, it would be taken up the Clutha gorge, and the bush would then be come very valuable, from the fact of its being on the verge of the great treeless interior of Otago. The bush ought, therefore, to be reserved, as also a sufficient width alongside the road for road and railway purposes.

Run No. 48.—The 3,000 acres cancelled on this run lie in the fork between the Lee Stream and South Rock Creek, and surround the homestead of the run. This area calls for no particular description other than that it is part of the undulating grassy country, stretching away from behind Maungatua to the heights of Waipori. The altitude of the cancellation above sea level is from 1,400 to 1,600 feet. As indicative of the value of the country it may be mentioned that it lies alongside of the Lee Stream Hundred for four miles, which is similar country. The Hundred has been surveyed, and open for application for about two years, but the part adjacent to the area cancelled has not yet been selected.

Run No. 199.—The 15,000 acres cancelled on this run is high lying back country, which will be under snow for a considerable time after every winter storm. The general elevation will be from 2,000 to 3,000 feet above the sea level. A reference to the map will show that this country is simply an extension of the back line of Cargill and Anderson's purchase, nearer to the summits of Pinelheugh and Lammerlaw. There is no agricultural land in the block, and the only reservation requiring to be seen to will be the proposed dam site for the miners at Teviot, should it happen to come within the limits of the block.

Run No. 369.—The 10,000 acres cancelled on this run lie north from Roxburgh, seven or eight miles by the main interior road, which runs through the block for nearly two miles. Between the road and the Clutha River there is of this block

With the exception of the 1,500 acres, about one-half of which is inferior agricultural land, all the rest is purely pastoral country. In marking off the boundaries of this block, care has been taken not to impinge on land which settlers resident in the district may have been looking to as the natural extension of their properties. Thus the country around M'Loughlin's improvements is still left intact up to the winter snow line, as is also all the road frontage on both sides, extending from M'Loughlin's to the landslips. The line of the block has been kept well away from the coal reserve at Coal Creek, reported on some time ago by Capt. Hutton. Regarding the settlers along the road between Coal Creek and Roxburgh, it may be mentioned that their back country is in no way interfered with.

Run No. 247.—The 23,000 acres cancelled on this run, consist of 8,000 acres of hard, gravelly plain, and 15,000 acres of mountain country. The plain is from 1,250 to 1,400 feet above sea level, and the mountainous part rises from these levels up to the summit ridge, 3,150 to 3,350 feet. The block has a frontage to the Taieri River of four and a half miles, and extends back to the summit of Rough Ridge, a distance of from six to seven miles. This is excellent pastoral country, but it is too hard and dry for agriculture. Even if it were suitable for agriculture, its position away from any market, and lying many miles off the main road, would preclude profitable cultivation on any scale. The natural destiny of the Upper Taieri Plain and district, of which the block forms a part, is pasturage, and to this purpose it will be devoted for generations to come.

JAMES MCKERROW, Chief Surveyor.

6.—The Hon, the Premier to His Honor the Superintendent.

General Government Offices, Wellington

May 25, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th May in reply to mine of the 3rd

inst.

2. Whilst I desire to bring this correspondence to a conclusion, I feel it necessary to explicitly explain certain points concerning which you clearly misunderstand me.

3. I did not say, or desire to say, that there were never any able engineers in Otago. I meant no more than the words I used implied—that the Province has suffered, which does not mean always suffered, from inexperienced engineers. If the Government are correctly informed some of the branch railways in Otago amply corroborate this statement. The memory of past engineering talent is no substitute for present inexperience.

4. You still fail to see the views of the Government about the land sales. They have not expressed any opinion as to whether or not it was desirable to sell the particular pieces of land. Their objection has been to the manner of the proposed sale. Using a power delegated by the Governor, it was contrived to give certain persons an exclusive privilege of purchase. To this the Government objected; and, seeing that your Honor and your Executive were acting under a delegated authority, the Government has clearly a right to object. They did not however attempt, as you suppose, to coerce or guide the Board. They obtained information which was patent in Dunedin as to the supposed feelings of members of the Board, and they were glad to be able to think that there was no necessity for interference.

5. If your Honor will only give proper notice, the Government have no objection to the lands in question being sold; indeed they are quite at a loss to understand why the lands have been given back to the runholders instead of the latter being compensated, and the land properly submitted for sale.

6. The Estimates for the six months now current were prepared by your Honor before the land sale was stopped, and you have represented that the very large land revenue there set down was because of expected sales in Hundreds, not because of the sales of mountain tops.

7. I have not objected to branch railways. The objection I stated was that you constructed them without the means to pay for them. The logical position is this: you incur expenditure; to meet it you propose large land sales; on one occasion you tell us you look to the sales of land in Hundreds for the necessary means; on another occasion (*vide* memo, to Waste Lands Board) such sales are condemned, and you state that you rely for expenditure on the sales of mountain tops, and that works will have to be suspended in consequence of the sales having been stopped. Subsequently you write that you still consider your estimate of revenue reasonable, and rely upon obtaining the amount, whilst at the same time you send us copy of your memo, to the Waste Lands Board, which conveys quite an opposite impression. Amidst this labyrinth the Government can find no path excepting that of upholding the law and deprecating its violations.

8. I subjoin extracts from the correspondence, showing the contradictions to which I refer.

9. Notwithstanding your Honor's ejaculatory remarks I am unable to discover any breach of faith from which Otago will suffer. At the time the Colony, under the Public Works policy, began to perform Provincial work, it was stated that if the Provinces proved to be inconsistent with that policy they must give way. That policy has done for Otago what Provincialism failed to do, and could not have done in a much longer period.

10. I have already expressed the opinion that the idea of making Otago a separate Colony is purely chimerical, such a step is altogether opposed to the received policy of the day. To make a miniature Victoria and New South Wales out of Otago and Canterbury, with a border duty question on the Waitaki, would be as injudicious as impossible. The notion of a separate Colony for one Island is now equally chimerical, and let me say, excepting to Otago, would be wholly distasteful to the rest of the Middle Island.

11. Apart from the wholly chimerical nature of your Honor's views as to isolating Otago, I am constrained to point out that such isolation would not benefit Otago, nor be in accordance with the large business connections which have grown into existence between it and the other Provinces. If Otago has made wonderful progress, so has the rest of New Zealand; and the people of Otago have just as much reason to be proud of the advancement of the whole Colony as of their particular portion of it, I am of opinion that there exists in Otago, together with a desire to manage locally, local affairs, a much larger Colonial pride and spirit than your Honor appears to recognise.

12. I thank your Honor for the courtesy you have displayed throughout this correspondence, and I reiterate my feelings of personal regret at the want of agreement between us on the points which have been raised. I hope, however, as the proposed measures assume shape and form that your Honor's objections will yield to your convictions of their suitability to the wants and wishes of the country. I am also indebted to your Honor for the use this correspondence has been to the Government in enabling them to place before the people much information it was desirable they should possess, even before Parliament meets, in order to counteract the effects of the misconception which previously existed. Freed from the prejudices those misconceptions excited, thousands of thoughtful people in Otago will form their own opinions, and regret their previous hasty reliance upon the statements of those in opposition to the Government.

I have, &c.,

JULIUS VOGEL.
His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

(Enclosures.)

(1.) Extract from telegram from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary to His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.
Government Buildings

April 24, 1876.

* * * I shall therefore be obliged if your Honor will furnish me with full information upon the following points :—* * * (2.) The data upon which the very large estimates of land revenue have been formed. * * *

(2.) Extract from telegram of His Honor the Superintendent of Otago to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.
Dunedin

May 3, 1876.

Re Provincial Estimates : * * The data on which land revenue is founded, is the large extent of new Hundreds coming into the market.

(3.) The Hon. the Colonial Secretary to His Honor the Superintendent of Otago. Government Buildings

10th May, 1876.

[Telegram.]

Re Estimates :—The position your Honor takes up is inexplicable. You telegraph the Government that in proposing estimates you calculated on sale of land in Hundreds, and that the receipts for the half-year will equal the amount estimated. On the other hand you re-write to Government calling urgent attention to your memo, to the Waste Lands Board, in which you inform that body that its action in stopping the sale of pastoral lands upsets your calculations, deprives you of expected revenues, has compelled you to refuse tenders for necessary works, and that probably you will have to abandon existing contracts. The estimates sent up were prepared before the Board refused the sale. The position then is this : You tell the Government the estimates were prepared in reliance on the sale of land in Hundreds, and that you still expect the revenue. On the other hand you tell the Waste Lands Board (and call our attention to your memorandum) that all your calculations are upset, that you cannot get the revenue as anticipated, and that you must stop the very works you now ask us to approve. We now desire to put it distinctly to your Honor whether, under existing circumstances, you have good grounds for adhering to your original estimates of receipts from land sales.

CHARLES C. BOWEN.
In absence of Colonial Secretary.

(4.) His Honor the Superintendent to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, heir Dunedin, 11th May, 1876. Dunedin

11th May, 1876.

[Telegram.]

Provincial Estimates :—In reply to last part of your telegram, Yes. Provincial Government put the alternative to your Government—reduce the revenue, reduce also the expenditure, specifying the items. The other portions of your telegram raise the waste lands question, which is being discussed between myself and the Premier in another correspondence.

J. MACANDREW.

(4A.) The Hon. the Colonial Secretary to His Honor the Superintendent of Otago. Government Buildings

12th May, 1876.

[Telegram.]

Re Estimates :—We have put it distinctly to your Honor whether, under existing circumstances, you have good grounds for adhering to your original estimate of receipts from land sales. To this question you reply Yes, and therefore this Government will advise His Excellency to approve your estimates. The responsibility of providing the money required will still rest with your Honor.

DANIEL POLLEN.

(5.) Extract from letter of His Honor the Superintendent of Otago to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.
Superintendent's Office, Dunedin

4th May, 1876.

SIR,—* * * I much regret that, while you neither deny nor admit the rumour alluded to, you express your approval of the action of the Waste Lands Board in declining to grant the application, and, as a necessary inference, your approval of the serious consequences which the action involves. These consequences are concisely set forth in the memorandum addressed by me to the Board, a copy of which is forwarded herewith, as also the Chief Surveyor's Report as to the quality of the land. I need scarcely say that the result of the Board's action will have a most injurious effect upon the labour market during the ensuing winter, if, indeed, it does not throw thousands out of employment. * * *

I have, &c.,

J. MACANDREW.
Superintendent of Otago.

(6.) Extract from memo, from His Honor the Superintendent of Otago to the Waste Lands Board.

* * * In the face of the Board's decision, the Government has very reluctantly been compelled to abstain from accepting tenders for various works which are absolutely necessary, and which would otherwise have been gone on with at once; and it is probable that steps may have to be taken to suspend or abandon existing contracts. * * *

(7). *His Honor the Superintendent to the Hon. the Premier.* Province of Otago, New Zealand. Superintendent's Office, Dunedin

31st May, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 25th May, 1876. I cannot say I am surprised that you desire to bring this correspondence to a conclusion. Nothing but a painful sense of duty and responsibility would have led me to engage in such a political controversy, not of my seeking, and I much regret that your last letter should have rendered it necessary for me to write again. It is, however, satisfactory to think that our correspondence has afforded you an opportunity of placing before the people much information which it was desirable they should possess—information which hitherto has not been so explicitly stated, and which, I am glad to say, has confirmed, in the grounds of their opposition to your present policy, those who, like myself, desire to check the growth in New Zealand of a despotic Centralism.

At the same time, I cannot but regret that in the heat of a political controversy you should have been betrayed into attacking any Provincial Government officer. In your letter of 3rd May you did not, as you now do, confine your criticisms to engineers at present, or very lately, in the Provincial service. You said you thought Otago had suffered from the "want of engineering skill." I pointed out that this was a slur upon the competency of all engineers that had been in the Provincial service. Your last letter makes matters worse. You are condemning unheard men who have to rely upon their professional reputation for their employment, and this on an *ex parte* report, unknown to them and unknown to their employers.

Although the light branch railways now being constructed in this Province, chiefly out of revenue, at a cost not more than that of metalled roads, may not find favour in the eyes of Colonial engineers, they will, I venture to predict, be highly prized by those who have to pay for them, and will be an immense boon to many important districts. They will also add greatly to the success of the main lines. If the Colonial Government has been furnished by its officers with reports on the Otago light branch railways, you would be conferring a favour upon the Provincial Government were you to send me copies of such reports, so that the engineers attacked might have an opportunity of defending themselves.

As to the waste lands administration, I observe that your only objection now to the proposed sale of which you lately disapproved, is that there was no competition allowed—an assumption which cannot be reconciled with the fact that there was more than one application for the same land. It would appear that your Government has no objection to the creation of vast private estates. The method of dealing with the Native lands, to which I must not particularly allude, abundantly proves that. The real question is, Did the Provincial Government take the best means of getting the highest price for the land open for sale? I assert that they did, and should be glad to hear on what information you express a contrary opinion. That the means adopted were not unusual, my letter to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary shows, and when the provisions of the Otago Waste Lands Act are remembered, I again assert that if the land had been offered at auction at 10s. an acre, the Government would not have obtained 20s. for the blocks opened.

As to your method of dealing with the Waste Lands Board in the exercise of their quasi-judicial functions I am surprised that the Colonial Government should have adopted, to my mind, the apparently unbecoming position of sending persons to interview the members prior to their performance of such functions. In fairness to the members it seems to me that the telegrams you received from Dunedin in reference to their "supposed feelings" should be published, as I cannot but feel that they have been placed in a painful and peculiarly embarrassing position.

You have sent, as an appendix to your letter, certain extracts from a correspondence that has passed between the Hon. the Colonial Secretary and myself. I cannot see, however, what bearing this has upon the question at issue. On 24th April you asked me to state the data on which the estimated revenue of the current half-year was made up. I replied that the estimate was based upon the extent of new Hundreds which were being placed in the market. Had I used the words "largely based" I should have been more correct and the horns of a dilemma which you attempt to impale me on would have been absent.

It is perhaps to be regretted that all the correspondence which has passed between the General and Provincial Governments during the past 12 months has not yet been published. Were this done it would serve to enlighten the people of Otago as to the great difficulties which the Provincial Government has laboured under in administering the affairs of the Province.

In reference to the Estimates forwarded to the Colonial Government under the provisions of the Provincial Appropriation Extension Act, let the treatment which the Provincial Government has met with be an illustration in this matter the Colonial Government insisted upon a position which ultimately they had to abandon—a position, as I was advised, in violation of law. They attempted to assume the functions of the Provincial Council—a body which, in consequence of their action could not be convened. I need not point out to you that the Provincial Appropriation Act provides for the Governor approving of the estimates of revenue only, and that his Excellency has not to determine which road is to be formed or which bridge built. The Assembly, although bent on Abolition, felt that such a function could not be so well performed as by the Superintendents and Executives of Provinces. And notwithstanding this, I forwarded the Estimates of Expenditure, as the Provincial Government of Otago had nothing to conceal, and in the hope that this might have led to the Estimates of Revenue being more speedily approved of. Revenue estimates were forwarded on April 13, and as yet have not been returned approved. The result has been much public inconvenience, as other telegrams not referred to in the appendix to your letter will disclose.

I abstained in my former letters from casting any reflection on the administration of the Colonial Government, as you apparently considered such out of place in this correspondence. As to the labyrinth of the Provincial Government estimates of revenue and expenditure through which the Colonial Government can find no path, it is only another illustration of the evil of governing from a distance. Had the Provincial Council been in session the Appropriation Ordinance could have become law without half the delay that has occurred; and I can only add that my advisers feel that though the action of the Waste Lands Board and your Government would place them in a difficulty, they could not well reduce the estimates of expenditure, as the sales of special-value land towards the end of the six months might make up the deficiency. If, however, the land revenue does not come up to expectation means have been taken to keep the expenditure within the revenue.

I concur with you that there exists in Otago a Colonial pride and spirit in which I have always shared, and which influenced me in opposing a dismemberment of the Colony years ago when that policy was by none more warmly advocated than by yourself. But in common with the people in Otago, I feel that New Zealand

cannot become great by creating a centralised administration, and that the true interests of both islands and of their respective sub-divisions is to cherish within each the greatest amount of self-reliance. If you think that there can be no such local government as I advocate without involving different Customs duties, you altogether misunderstand me. No doubt were Otago an independent Colony its aim would be to make all its ports free. I for one, however, have no desire to see the Province separated from the rest of the Colony unless it is absolutely driven to that course as the only means of preserving its entity, and of holding its own. All it requires, as I take it, is a fair field and no favor. It wants nothing for itself which it is not willing to concede to the other portions of the Colony—namely, the management of its own local affairs, and the disposal of its own revenue within its own borders, excepting so much as may be required for purely federal purposes. The allusion to the Border Duties question is not in point in so far as I am concerned. Surely there may be an agreement as to Customs tariffs between separate Colonies, such as have existed between different kingdoms.

You express your hope that as the proposed measures assume shape and form my objections will cease. You will excuse me for saying that I am at a loss to comprehend this. In your former letters we were led to believe that all details had been arranged, and that nothing was required to secure such becoming law but the submitting them to Parliament. I pointed out that you-proposals might not be sanctioned. From what you say it appears that you have agreed to abolish the Constitution of the Colony, and that what is to take its place has not assumed shape and form. I confess that this is to my mind somewhat perplexing. Can it be that the Colonial Government is now becoming aware of the difficulties which beset its path, and that what was sketched in your former letters may have to assume a shape and form unlike that which you then detailed!

You say that you cannot see any breach of faith to Otago in the proposal to repeal the salutary provisions of the Immigration and Public Works Act in reference to the liabilities of those Provinces within which railways are constructed. If this be so then I apprehend it will be no breach of faith next year to repeal any Act which may be passed this year to localise the land revenue I fear that in placing faith in Acts of the Colonial Parliament the people have been heretofore too confiding, and I for one am determined not again to err in that direction.

And now, in conclusion, let me say that if even by an ejaculatory remark I have said anything distasteful, I trust you will forgive me, as my duty to this Province has constrained me most reluctantly to continue this correspondence. I yet hope to see the Colonial Parliament granting to Otago that which she has a right to demand—namely, that the Province shall be governed as its people desire. Should, however, this be denied, I am not singular in believing that the progress of the Colony will receive a heavy blow, and great discouragement, which will be most injurious. The uncertainty even now which exists as to what the next scheme of the Central Government may be is creating an uneasy feeling throughout the community, which you need not be told is highly detrimental to the progress of the Colony.

I have, &c.,

JAMES MACANDREW, Superintendent of Otago.
The Honorable the Premier, Wellington.

(8.) *The Hon the Premier to His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.* General Government Offices, Wellington
5th June, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Honor's letter of May 31st, in reply to mine of the 25th.

2. I refrain from remarking upon your letter, as I think it desirable that this correspondence should be closed.

3. I should be sorry to think that any of the comments I have made have been productive of personal annoyance to yourself, and you will accept my assurance that they were not so designed.

I have, &c.,

JULIUS VOGEL.
His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

(9.) *His Honor the Superintendent to the Hon. the Premier.* Province of Otago, New Zealand. Superintendent's Office, Dunedin

9th June, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 5th instant. In closing this correspondence, accept my thanks for the courtesy you have displayed in your various letters.

I have, &c.,

JAMES MACANDREW, Superintendent of Otago.

The Honorable the Premier, Wellington.

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The Land Question. A Lecture,

By John Aitken Connell, ESQ.

Delivered at the Athenæum, Dunedin, Thursday, June 1, 1876.

Messrs. Reith and Wilkie Dunedin Princes Street.

Price Sixpence.

The Land Question.

THE people of this portion of New Zealand have, for a considerable time, been notorious for changeable and uncertain action in the matter of their land laws.

Several systems have been tried and pronounced unsuccessful, and the best method of "settling people upon our lands" appears to be still an open question.

Possessing, as I do, a somewhat extended acquaintance with the progress of settlement in this part of the Colony, and taking a very deep interest in the question; having, moreover, reflected not a little on the subject, and having arrived at definite conclusions thereon, I have conceived the idea of putting the results before the public in the present form, thinking it possible that if the ideas enunciated commend themselves to the minds of those who take a more active part in the management of public affairs than myself, the result may not be altogether without advantage.

It is manifest that unless we have distinct conceptions and correct views of the uses to which our lands ought properly to be put, it cannot be possible that we can have any sound system of land legislation.

If we are disagreed as to the ends and purposes to be served in settling a population on the land, we will necessarily differ in our notions of the methods, which may most suitably be adopted, to further these ends.

One legislator imagines that the chief, if not the only, purpose to be kept in view is to get the land to "support" as many people as possible, and that the *summum bonum* of Colonial legislation is to secure a numerous agricultural population.

Men of this idea are invariably much exercised on the subject of the evils of large towns, which they delight in representing as huge vampires, preying on the vitals of the country. They have also an intense hatred of squatters, and every description of capitalist, whom they look upon as the natural enemies of the hard-handed tillers of the soil.

Another class is never tired of telling us that it is the wealth and capital of the great wool-growers, who produce our most valuable export, which is the real cause of any prosperity we enjoy, and they conceive that land legislation should be of such a kind as to encourage and conserve an interest so important.

This class urges the renewal of pastoral leases, comprising immense areas, to present tenants, and other legislation of a like character.

Still another party advocates the claims of the gold miner to consideration—points to the prosperity we have enjoyed when his class were numerous, and advocates the conservation of his interests before those of any other portion of the community.

The community at large, scarcely apprehending the importance of sound legislation on the subject of land and its disposition, leave the matter very much to the rival classes of agriculturist, squatter and miner, to fight out among themselves the result being an incongruous compromise, satisfactory to nobody.

Any person included in the professional or commercial classes, who displays a very active interest in the subject of land legislation, is apt to be treated as meddling with a matter which does not properly belong to him, and of which he can know comparatively little.

To proceed, however, to the consideration of our subject more immediately, I think it will be apparent that

ere we can devise a proper method of disposition for our lands, we must consider the ends to be had in view in that disposition, We must also remember to whom the lands belong, It must be steadily borne in mind that the lands belong to our community, as a community. The inhabitants of the Province, present and future, are the owners of the public lands. Thus every man in the community has a direct interest in the question of their disposition.

It will, I think, be granted that, unless some very especial indirect benefit is to be gained by the community at large, it would be injudicious and unwise to part with the public lands to private individuals at a rate under their proper market value.

It is not impossible that some indirect or remote advantage may be gained by alienating the public lands at a price below their true value, but the existence of such a benefit, immediate or remote, ought to be very clearly demonstrated before such a course can, I think, commend itself to the mind of any prudent proprietor.

The importance of revenue from land is certainly most powerfully felt by all those who have taken part in the duty of government in this part of the Colony since its foundation. The large and important public works—roads, railways, bridges, schools, &c.—which have been initiated and completed by the Provincial Government during the last 20 years, and which have opened up and rendered habitable distant parts of our territory, could not possibly have been executed and paid for unless we had enjoyed a large revenue from the public lands. The conservation and, if possible, increase of this revenue is at least one important end to be kept in view in disposing of these lands. The total revenue derived from land in this Province since 1854 amounted, on the 31st December last, to £2,165,928, and the revenue for the year 1875 alone to £204,556.

I have dwelt upon the question of revenue first, because it is an apparent and immediate benefit to be derived from the disposal of public lands, and also because I conceive that its importance is at present in many quarters insufficiently realized.

The second end may be stated as follows:—"The settlement of as numerous a population as is consistent, first—with the welfare and prosperity of the whole community, and secondly—as is consistent with the welfare and prosperity of the actual settlers themselves (i.e. viewed as a class distinct from the rest of the community).

The prosperity of the whole community has a right to be considered before that of the actual settlers themselves, viewed as a part of the community only, not only on the ground that the whole is more important than a part, but for the further reason that the whole community is the owner of the land. Inasmuch, however, as the prosperity of the entire community can only be affected by the condition of the actual settlers themselves, it will be sufficient for our purpose if we can devise a scheme which will secure as large a population as is consistent with their prosperity, without unduly sacrificing the direct revenue from the land.

Before it is possible to indicate the direction which I conceive legislation should take to further this end, it will be necessary to travel in a direction which may not, to a superficial observer, seem to lead very directly to the goal we desire to arrive at; but my excuse must be, that I know of no shorter road.

The terms of the proposition must be well weighed. "The settlement of as numerous a population as is consistent, first, with the general welfare and prosperity, and secondly, with the welfare and prosperity of the settled class themselves."

It is no uncommon delusion to suppose that, to settle a population on any terms and upon any system is to untie the Gordian knot. It is stated and believed that, once "tie a man to the soil," and you have him fast.

He is a *bonâ fide* producer, a consumer of imports, and a contributor of so many pounds to the Customs revenue—a Colonial yeoman, the very pith and marrow of the country.

Persons entertaining these ideas are not slow to advocate any measures which may bring about such a desirable state of affairs. "Give a man any credit, nay, give him the land for nothing, and it is a gain to the country."

Entertaining, however, no inconsiderable faith in the wisdom of the old saying, that it is a difficult matter to take a certain unmentionable garment from the persons of my own North Countrymen; or, to apply the wisdom of the old adage to the case in point, that it will prove no easy business to derive a revenue from a destitute and impoverished population, I may be excused for considering that the number of persons actually settled or to be settled in the land is of secondary importance to the prosperity of that number.

All legislation which tends to the encouragement of persons possessed of low capacity, and without capital, to take up areas of agricultural land, is, in my opinion, a fatal mistake.

A man of the agricultural labourer class who has not the firmness of character which leads to acts of self-denial and thrift, and who has been unable or unwilling to save a considerable sum out of wages, may be considered quite unfit to enter the yeoman class and become a proprietor of land.

Such a man is a mere cumberer of the ground, and is only occupying a place uselessly, which might and ought to have been filled by a better man.

The danger of holding out tempting inducements to persons to settle upon the public lands, is that such a class as I have referred to may become more numerous than is at all desirable. On the other hand, we can have

no better class of small settler than the man who, passing through the "labourer" class, enters the one above it by his own energy, self-denial, and thrift.

Taking up, therefore, the consideration of this question, "How may the prosperity of the actual settlers upon our soil best be attained," I have been led to the following conclusions :—

1st. That the settlers themselves must possess intelligence, knowledge of their industry, energy of character, and sufficient capital.

All other circumstances being equal, in proportion as a settler possesses these advantages will his success probably be.

2nd. They must raise the particular class of produce which, in all the circumstances of the Colony, is of most value, and can be least expensively grown and exported. What is that produce?

In relation to the first point, we must see that our legislation does not tend to encourage persons of the wrong stamp to take up land; and on the other, that it does not hinder those of the right stamp doing so.

In the relative importance, however, which is attached to this second point or question, and in its successful determination, lies, in my opinion, the true solution of many of our Colonial difficulties, and the views held on this subject ought to influence very materially our land legislation.

Now, I hold very tenaciously to the belief: 1st. That this portion of the Colony is eminently adapted for the growth of wool. 2nd. That wool, and wool only (I mean as compared with cereals), is our proper export, and that, by the cultivation of grain in excess of the wants of our actual population, the settlers are kept poor, and the country at large does not derive any benefit whatever.

It will be perfectly self evident to you that, as soon as anything like a considerable population is settled on the lands in this Colony, the produce of the land cannot possibly be used or consumed by the inhabitants of the country, and that, therefore, we must look for other markets in which to dispose of the surplus.

We thus become necessarily exporters of produce, and excepting for such products as we can dispose of in neighbouring Colonies, the prices to be obtained in this market are simply the prices ruling in London, less the charges for freight, insurance, agent's commission, and other outlays incidental to conveyance of produce to the Home Country.

We are thus brought at once into direct competition with the English farmer when we grow or produce anything whatever from our land which we cannot ourselves consume, or for which we cannot obtain a nearer market.

When either a people or an individual is brought into direct competition with another people or individual, it is advisable for each party at once to take a careful view of his situation, to estimate as nearly as possible the relative advantages or disadvantages he enjoys or labours under, and to take steps, if possible, to turn the scale in his own favour.

In supplying the English market with any produce of land, we must therefore consider well the advantages we enjoy or the disadvantages we labour under as compared with our British rival.

Our advantages may be thus stated :—

1st. The comparatively low price of the land itself, and, consequently, of rents.

2nd. The virginity of the soil, whereby at least for a time cereals can be grown without using manures.

3rd. Climate.

Our disadvantages may be thus enumerated :—

1st. The price of labour and implements.

2nd. The cost of carriage to market, including inland carriage here.

We have, in addition, the power of choosing which particular product we shall send to market.

It will, I think, be granted that to follow any course which necessarily involves a greater incidence of disadvantages than another course open to us, and which, moreover, constantly tends to increase our disadvantages and to diminish our advantages, must be an unwise course. Such a course I hold the export of grain to be. The cost of carriage of grain, and of the labour necessary to its production, is so great in proportion to its value as to more than counterbalance the advantage of the lowness of rents, or the price of land, and it is only the possession of the further advantage of a virgin soil which enables the New Zealand settler to export grain at all, even at starvation prices.

The continuance of this course, moreover, is constantly but surely altering the scale of relative advantage and disadvantage in favour of the home grower, as the soil soon becomes exhausted, and it is impossible to compete with the English farmer when manures are required, To illustrate this position roughly, let us take the produce of an acre of good land in New Zealand and in England.

This may be set down roughly at say a ton of wheat. The rent of good wheat-land in England is, say, £3 10s. to £4 per acre, and in New Zealand, near a seaport, 20s. per acre. (I purposely state the New Zealand rate low, although, in fact, as high as 30s. per acre is within my knowledge paid for good farming land in Otago.)

The New Zealand farmer pays cost of carriage from his farm to port, say 10s. per ton; freight to London,

with insurance and incidental charges, 55s. per ton; rent, as above, 20s. per ton. In all, £4 5s. per ton, which, for practical purposes of comparison (a ton being the produce of an acre, we may call his rent per acre, compared with the English farmer, £3 10s. to £4.

This leaves only to consider the difference in the value of the labour expended in actual production in the two countries, and cost of manures, and as the home-grower has a decided advantage in the former item, it is not very difficult to foresee that we cannot possibly compete with him when we have to manure our lands.

We pay practically a far higher rent; our labour is much more costly, and we must ultimately be driven from the market.

In stating the rates of freight and charges on New Zealand grain exported, we have taken the most favourable view possible for the colonial grower; but to estimate the matter truly, we require to consider also the liability of freights to great variation. I am informed, on sufficient authority, that freight alone varies generally from 45s. to 60s. per ton, but that it is occasionally very much higher than even this latter amount—a couple of seasons ago ranging as high as £5 per ton.

On the other hand, our land yields a somewhat better crop, at least for a first crop, than the English farmers land, even with manure.

If these considerations lead us to the conclusion that the production of grain for export will not be a profitable occupation for New Zealand farmers, we are naturally led to enquire is there any other possible product more profitable—a product, to the exportation of which more relative advantage, and less disadvantage, will attach than that of grain?

To this enquiry I at once reply—wool. The freight on £100 worth of grain from the farm in New Zealand near a seaport to London, is somewhere about £32 10s., whilst the freight on £100 worth of wool is only about 70s. The saving on this item alone is therefore enormous.

The production of wool has also the further advantage as compared with that of grain, that instead of exhausting the soil, and so rendering the use of manures an absolute necessity, if the industry is to be continued at all, it improves, and continues to improve the land, and, moreover, requires the expenditure of less labour in proportion to value.

In my opinion, therefore, the natural and only possible profitable permanent export for this Colony is wool. (I speak, of course, of it viewed as a product of the land raised by settlers, pastoral or agricultural, and as compared with grain, and am not at all considering such exports as gold minerals, or other products of a like character.)

It must further be borne steadily in mind that my remarks on the comparative advantages and disadvantages of growing grain and wool are only intended to apply and are only true when the growers export.

I do not for a moment intend to affirm, that a very considerable and profitable cultivation of grain may not be carried on for the supply of inland population by farmers whose lands are situate in the proximity of such populations, even when less favoured localities are compelled to export, or that the cultivation of grain would not be a very profitable occupation were a quantity grown only sufficient to supply the wants of the Colony alone. In such a case, the market would probably rise to the price ruling in the nearest grain-exporting country, plus the cost of carriage, &c., here, and might for a time be even considerably higher.

I am, also, well aware that in districts with exceptionally rich, virgin land, such as is to be found round Oamaru and in parts of Canterbury, grain can be grown profitably even for export. But even in these favoured districts not more than one wheat crop, if even this, can be taken from the land without perceptibly impoverishing the soil.

Having arrived, then, at the conclusion that, at least in the case of all ordinary land, land which does not possess extra-ordinary advantages either of locality or quality, the best and most profitable article to grow is wool, and not grain, I return to the question, which it is possible you may have imagined I had lost sight of, viz., our Land Laws:—

Are our Land Laws so framed as to facilitate the growth of wool by the settlers on our soil, or are they obstructive to such a course?

I have to reply that our Land Laws appear to facilitate and encourage the production of grain, but are obstructive to the production of wool, and that until these laws are altered so as to fall in with the true interests of the producers, we cannot expect a prosperous class of settlers on the land, and consequently the prosperity of the community at large is hindered.

I may here explain that I, of course, except settlers who succeeded in obtaining land near the large centres of population, and who are enriched by the accidents of proximity to market, and the increase in the value of the land itself.

My argument is intended rather to embrace and consider the case of those who have more recently purchased land from the Crown, and who may in future do so.

In order to disclose the defects which appear to attach to the present system, I will sketch the system,

which, after a good deal of thought, I have concluded would be suitable to replace it, and will then point out how this system will encourage the growth of wool.

1st, then, I Would classify all the remaining unsold *rural* lands of the Crown into three classes:—

- Class A.—All really good agricultural land likely to be profitably occupied for the production of grain, &c., for inland and colonial consumption.
- Class B.—All really good pastoral and agricultural, or semiagricultural land remaining.
- Class C.—Decidedly inferior pastoral land, including lands of high elevation.

LAND IN CLASS A.

The land comprised in this class to be gradually surveyed into sections of 200 acres each, and opened for disposal. The Executive Government to determine the localities in which lands comprised in this class should be opened, but not more than say 50,000 acres to be opened in any one year. The method of disposal to be, that one lot, with option of taking another adjoining, should be put up for lease for 14 or 21 years, with option of buying either or both lots at a fixed rate of say 40s. per acre, at any time after the first seven years' occupation. The land to be leased to the bidder of the highest annual rental. All leases of land in this class to contain conditions requiring personal residence for at least three years, and the erection of substantial fence round boundaries. No other improvements compulsory, and no assignment of lease permitted for three years.

It will be noticed that for land in this class my scheme does not differ very much from that now in force in this province, and known as the Deferred Payments System, excepting that I advocate the grant of a simple lease, with purchasing clause, which may be exercised at any time after seven years' occupation, and the grant of 400 acres instead of 200 acres, with no improvement clauses excepting for fencing. The present law I consider calculated to bring a lower class of settler on our agricultural land than the system I advocate would secure.

LAND IN CLASS B.

Land in this class to be surveyed into blocks, varying from 1000 to 5000 acres each, and within each block a section of 320 acres to be surveyed suitable for a homestead.

The lease of each block for 14 or 21 years to be put up to auction, with the right to purchase the fee simple of the 320 acre section at any time, on payment of 30s. per acre, and the balance of the land at 30s. per acre at any time after the first seven years. No person to be allowed to take up more than one block of leasehold under this clause.

Leases to contain conditions to erect fence round outside boundaries of land, and no assignment of leases permitted for three years after issue.

The fee simple of every third or fourth block to be sold outright to the highest bidder, at public auction, at the upset price of 20s. per acre.

This system appears to possess these advantages:—

1st. The area of land is sufficient to enable the settler, with the smallest possible outlay of capital, to engage at once in stock farming.

The most valuable class of *bonâ fide* settler we can obtain is the man with a capital about sufficient to fence and stock such a farm, and he must not be hampered with compulsory improvement clauses, which would only swamp him. As soon as he can manage it, with the certainty of ultimately becoming the owner of the soil, he will proceed to improve the land, more particularly in any way which will enable him to carry more stock.

Those, indeed, among this class with a little more capital may be expected at once to begin sowing artificial grasses, and breaking up the best parts of their farms to lay down in permanent pasture.

The greater portion of the unsold lands of the province would come under this class, and would gradually be thus disposed of, bringing in a very large immediate yearly revenue, and settling a numerous and prosperous population: and not only would the people thrive, but the land by which they lived would thrive also.

2nd. The carrying capacity of the lands would, in a very few years, be doubled, and even trebled.

At present, a numerous population is being settled on the Deferred Payments System, on small farms of 200 acres each. In many cases, the settlers have not sufficient capital to stock their farms, and are forced by the conditions of their license to expend what little capital they may have in breaking up and cultivating their land. They immediately try to produce grain, and in a few years, with land impoverished and a diminished exchequer, they will do as in other colonies the settlers in like circumstances have done—sell their holdings to the squatter, who will turn their land to the only profitable use to which it can be put—viz., the growth of wool.

It is instructive to note that in South Australia, where a similar system has been in operation for many years, out of the first 100 settlers who took up land on the Deferred Payments System, above ninety have sold

their land to the pastoral lessee, and those who followed them continue to act in a similar manner. So patent, even to a careless observer, is the effect in that Colony, that I have reason to believe the system will not outlive another session of Parliament. Grain can only be grown for a short time on virgin soil. So soon as that is exhausted, the land, by the operation of a natural law, falls into the hands of the stock farmer of large capital. It is only the possessor of considerable capital who can afford to retrieve the damage done to land by overcropping. He it is only who can wait the necessary time for his profits.

Instead then of forcing our *bonâ fide* settlers, by the smallness of their holdings and enforced conditions of culture to pursue a course of agriculture which experience has shown cannot possibly pay, would it not be wiser to alter our land policy, and make our *bonâ fide* settlers prosperous little squatters on their own account?

I imagine I can see at this point looks of pious horror from that numerous class of theorists who are so fond of protesting against the Colony being turned into a sheep-walk, and who insist upon the land carrying men and not sheep, but I submit that it lies upon these theorists to show that our colonists can be more profitably occupied in tilling the soil than they would be in some other employment.

The production of grain in greater quantity than is required for home consumption cannot continue very long in this Colony, and if we are desirous of ascertaining what number of the population can be profitably occupied in grain production, the following little calculation may give us an idea on the subject, so far as wheat is concerned. Take the population of the Province at say 100,000 persons, and allow each person to consume wheat, man, woman, and child, at the rate of 11b. per day, taking the average yield of 35 bushels per acre, 17,350 acres of wheat crop would supply the whole population of the Province with grain for a twelvemonth. In other words, some three or four farms near Oamaru, can grow all the grain wanted for the consumption of the entire community.

People who are so fascinated by the agricultural population question, appear quite to lose sight of the fact that although we cannot even exist without the customary visit from our baker and greengrocer, yet that it is a very small part of our entire wants that is supplied by these individuals. I have only to apply for a confirmation of this truth to the heads of families present. We have all shaken our heads over our grocers' bills, our drapers' bills, and tailors' bills, our upholsterers' bills, and indeed, over bills in general, but our baker's bill would not sit uneasily in our minds, even if we knew we had a half-year's account to meet next week.

The theory, then, which would set a large number of men to grow a loaf, which there is only one to eat, appears to me to carry with it its own condemnation.

A settlement, on the other hand, which would result on such a system as that we have sketched, would carry within itself the seeds of a general prosperity.

Land would require to be fenced, houses and woolsheds built all over the Province, and, as the wealth of the settlers increased, employment would be given in a variety of ways to others of the population.

We should thus have not only a prosperous class of settlers, but also an action in the right direction on the general prosperity.

Before leaving the matter of land in Class B., I have a few words to say in regard to selling the fee simple outright of every third or fourth block. This would secure a large immediate revenue, a matter of great importance. It would also secure a valuable class of settler—the man of considerable capital. I imagine that such men might purchase these blocks, and possibly take to such branches of farming as rearing stud flocks, breeding draught horses, and other branches of farming requiring large capital.

They would be useful in supplying their less wealthy neighbours with good stock, and their method of farming might teach useful lessons. The intermixture of men of wealth with our rural population has also many other advantages, which will doubtless occur to you, but which it might be out of place to further refer to here.

My preference for the lease for 21 years, with purchasing clause, rather than the sale of the fee simple outright, is based upon the belief that the most desirable class of settlers does not as a rule possess a capital sufficient to purchase the fee simple immediately, in addition to that required for stocking the land, and moreover, on the fact, that by following this course, we may delay, and perhaps altogether defeat, the efforts of very large capitalists to secure large areas of land in blocks. By refusing permission to assign the leases for at least three years, we should have a chance of raising a strong middle-class yeomanry of stock fanners. These men would not be ready to part with their farms to capitalists. It is the man who finds that he is farming at a disadvantage, that he is going down hill, or at best standing still, who is ready to sell his land. The class of settlers I picture to myself would have no inducement to sell, but very many to hold.

I am not of the number of those who advocate a system of perpetual leasing and re-leasing of the public lands, the fee simple being retained by the State.

The uncertainty of the tenure, and the liability of the tenant to have the value of his property constantly altered by the freaks of Colonial legislation, would act most disastrously on production and on the improvement of land.

To shew the lengths to which the Colonial legislature will go in this direction, we have only to look over

the statutes passed last Session to find an instance. Up till the 12th day of October last any pastoral lessee of Crown lands within a gold-field was entitled to receive as compensation for the cancellation of his lease, under the 16th section of the Goldfields Act, such sum of money as might be awarded by two arbitrators and their umpire, without limit.

This right has run with their leases nearly ten years. When men have bought runs in gold-fields, they have taken into account this right, and have paid accordingly. On the 12th October last, the General Assembly solemnly decreed that this right should no longer run, but that the compensation should be limited to 2s. 6d. per acre.

Bearing in mind that the General Assembly represents the State, and that the State is practically one of the parties to the lease, and that the alteration is one very ruinous to the poor tenant and very advantageous to the State, I am afraid that our confidence in the forbearance, and our belief in the tenderness of conscience, of the said State cannot be very firm, and that we will prefer not to put our names, if possible, to documents where it is one of the high contracting parties.

If, when A and B enter into a contract, A has power at any time to alter the terms and conditions of the contract at will, the game appears to me to be very much in the nature of that known as "Heads I win, tails you lose."

For this reason alone, then, if for no other, I could not contemplate a proposal to limit the estate of settlers to a leasehold with anything like satisfaction; but I imagine that there are other, and even more serious objections, to the system in the back-ground. The effect on the character of our settlers would, I hold, be pernicious. The desire to possess and enjoy a home of one's own is common to high and low, rich and poor alike. It is one of the very strongest of our social instincts, and it serves to brace and nerve us to many acts of self-denial and thrift. The hope of one day possessing land of his own, and handing down his little property to his posterity, lends additional power, whether of arm or brain, to any man who has to win his way in the world.

Take this hope away, and you take away one of the very strongest props to virtue, and leave the man to labour on with scarce an aim in life.

By granting a power of purchase, too, we hold out every inducement to the settler to treat his land well. We directly encourage the suppression of such pests as rabbits, and such weeds as thistles, and make it for the man's advantage to keep his land in productive order.

The system of granting only leasehold estates, the State retaining the fee simple, may, and indeed does, commend itself to the minds of a few theorists, who love to propound startling novelties in morals, politics, and social science; but I venture to hope and to believe that their theories may remain theories still, and that we may continue to have in this colony a large and prosperous yeoman class farming their own lands.

Any attempt to consider exhaustively the relative merits of leasing and selling the public lands would occupy very much more time than I have at my disposal to-night, but it is possible I may take up this subject on a future occasion.

Meantime it may be well to remember that it is a very much easier thing for us to perceive the evils which attach to any existing order of things than truly to appreciate the benefits such an order confers or perpetuates; and on the other hand that it is a very easy matter to advance plausible arguments in favour of some contemplated course of action, either in business or politics, which, if actually attempted as an experiment, would prove altogether a failure.

We are all familiar with the schoolboys' efforts to exhibit the defects of the British Constitution, and many of us are acquainted, to our cost, with the fact that it is an easy thing to make an undertaking look very fair indeed on paper, but quite another to find it equally successful in fact.

LAND IN CLASS C.

The land in this class, you will remember, consists of inferior pastoral land, including lands of high elevation.

I would apportion lands of this class into runs of from ten to thirty thousand acres each, and lease the same, by auction, for fourteen years to the highest bidder.

These lands should be so cut up as to adjoin lands in Class B, and the purchasers and lessees of lands in Class B would probably lease these lands of inferior quality and higher elevation to work in with their winter country.

The fee simple of lands in this class to be disposed of at any time after seven years' occupation, at 20s. per acre.

The foregoing, then, being the outline of the system upon which I consider it would be advisable to promote settlement, I would seek to guard against the misconception that I intend, in this lecture, to sketch a complete and perfect Land Law, adequate in all its provisions to all the wants of the population. I do not profess

here to do anything of the kind.

Several important points which must necessarily be considered, and well considered, when the land question is again before the Legislature, are not even touched upon:—The matter of town and suburban lands—the advisability of providing small areas, say from one to ten acres each, in the vicinity of towns and villages, for the settlement of those whose employment is most usually found where men congregate—the question of mining and minerals—mining reserves, timbered lands, &c., &c. All I profess or desire to do, is to point out the direction which I conceive legislation should take in dealing with the great bulk of our unalienated lands, leaving it to others to consider all the bearings of details when the proper time arrives for action.

We have now to consider this question—Is the present an opportune time to make any change, in the direction indicated, in our Land Laws?

To this question I reply, that it is chiefly the opportuneness of the time that has called forth this lecture.

You are well enough aware that all Crown Lands in this Province are held under lease, for pastoral purposes from the Crown.

These leases are now just beginning to fail in. During the year 1878 pastoral leases expire over no less than three hundred thousand acres of Crown Lands, most of which is within a very short distance of the seaboard, and the quantity falling in thereafter is very much greater.

Now, the present Land Act is so framed that twelve months before the expiry of any pastoral lease, if the Board determine again to lease the land, it is put up to auction, apparently for such term and on such conditions as the Waste Land Board for the time being may see fit to settle and impose.

The power thus placed in the hands of the Board is enormous, and the conditions of the lease may be of the most monstrous and oppressive character.

To show that this is something more than merely an imaginary danger, I need only advert to the condition notoriously inserted in all late pastoral leases granted by the Waste Lands Board, viz., that although the lease is granted nominally for a term of ten years, the land may be resumed at any time by giving twelve months' notice without paying any compensation whatever to the lessee.

If this condition means anything, it means that the Board might, six months after issue of the lease, or less, issue the notice, and twelve months thereafter resume possession of the land.

This condition is so monstrous that I have no hesitation in saying that no Court of Equity would enforce it. The wretched tenant lives with a sword suspended over him by a hair. If he ventures to offend any of the powers that be, he may be a ruined man forthwith, if this disgraceful condition is worth anything at all.

As soon as the pastoral tenants begin to realise the perilous character of their position, there will be a complete end to any and every attempt to improve their runs, as this may only tempt "the State" to cancel their leases and turn them out penniless.

What chance we have to have anything like real enterprise and manly independence amongst our population with matters in such a position, I leave you to judge.

This, however, parenthetically, and by the way.

I have said that, according to the present laws, at least twelve months before the expiry of the old leases, a new lease of the land must be put up to public competition at auction. If, therefore, a new system of disposition, such as that I have sketched, is to be brought into operation in time to apply to the three hundred thousand acres which falls in during 1877—8, we have no time to lose. According to the present law, if no change is made, a large portion of this land will require to be offered not later than the 1st of January next.

I conclude, then, that the coming session of Parliament gives the proper opportunity to effect a change in our land law.

I will now proceed to notice very shortly the question of the administration of the Land Laws.

It appears to me, from a somewhat extended observation, absolutely necessary to make all questions of policy and pure administration rest with the Executive Government of the Province, leaving the Waste Lands Board as much as possible judicial duties alone to perform.

These duties can never be satisfactorily performed, unless the Board is composed of highly intelligent men, who are really acquainted "with the country, who are of a judicial turn of mind, and Who are really interested in the subject.

I need scarcely add that they must, in addition, be men of good standing, altogether above any suspicion of being capable of acting corruptly in the discharge of their important duties.

How such men may best be secured, is indeed a very difficult question to answer.

If we have anything like a permanent Board nominated by the Government, we have the danger of seats at the Board being given rather as a reward for political services than from any regard to the fitness of the members for their seats, and the members of the Board might be too much under the influence of the Government.

On the other hand, if we make the office elective, we have the danger of popular feeling acting too directly

on the Board, when possibly in the discharge of strictly judicial duties.

To have a Board partly nominated and partly elective would be apt to engender party feeling, which it is exceedingly advisable, if possible, to avoid.

On the whole, I incline to the opinion that the Chairman should be nominated by the Governor, three other members should be elected by the people, the Secretary of Lands, the Chief Surveyor, and the Provincial Solicitor having seats at the Board *ex officio*.

I am very well aware that this constitution is not by any means theoretically perfect, but I submit it is practically workable, and a very great improvement on the constitution of the Board as at present established.

I have now arrived at the close of my lecture; but on looking over it, find that one or two points have cropped up on which I would like to say a word or two in further explanation.

1st. With regard to big blocks. You will observe that I am against the lease and sale alike, of large blocks of land, and that the whole scheme is framed so as rather to encourage the man of moderate than the man of very large capital to farm. At the same time, I would not be inclined to restrict the assignment of leases to a longer period than to three years.

If our restrictions on the use of capital, in certain directions, are pushed to an extent sufficient to drive the capital out of the Colony, we will suffer under very much greater evils than big blocks. And, on the other hand, the refusal to permit a man to assign his property is a very great restriction on his liberty, and can only be excused or justified if we can show that a great good is obtained by it in another direction.

2. With regard to the tendency of the population of cities to increase, and the country proportionately to diminish, and the wail raised by some who ought to know better thereon.

The cause of this lies deeper than any legislation can touch. It is the necessary consequence of the progress of civilization.

The occupation of the rural population is simply to raise the produce from so many acres of land. Fifty years ago, let us say, it took 20 men to plough, sow, and reap a field of wheat. Now, with improved agricultural implements, the same result can be obtained by four or five. Allowing for the increased labour probably demanded by a more thorough and scientific treatment of the soil, yet the labour-saving appliances have far more than balanced that demand.

We all know, on the other hand, that, as civilization progresses, our wants increase and multiply in number, wants which cannot be satisfied unless the raw material supplied by the producer, agricultural or mineral, is subjected to the labour of man.

Labour, it is well known, can best be applied when classified and divided, each labourer doing his own particular branch of work. Hence, necessarily, the aggregation of men in towns; and as civilization progresses, it is to be expected that the population of the towns will more and more increase, and the country diminish proportionately.

If this view is a sound one, it follows, as a matter of course, that, inasmuch as only a small proportion of the population of a thickly-peopled country are required to work on the lands, as this Colony becomes more and more populous it will be the more necessary for the population to seek other modes of employment than mere agricultural or pastoral pursuits can afford. We have a large, a very large, population coming forward, and yet we do not appear to trouble ourselves very much with the question of how that population is to earn its living.

It appears to me that, inasmuch as in this world we give nothing for nothing, and in this age of civilization and scientific discovery, knowledge and skill is power, it would be a very great matter indeed if we could establish numerous manufactures amongst us, finding profitable occupation for the rising generation.

Every description of upholsterers' work ought to be done in the Colony. Manufacture of carpets, every description of crockery and glass-ware—at least of the plain order—paper, basket ware, cloths, blankets, hosiery, pickles, sauces, fruit preserving, machinery of every kind, steam engines for land or sea, ships, railway carriages, coaches and carriages of every kind, drays, waggons, ploughs, agricultural implements, &c., &c.

In every one of these, and in many other directions, we ought to be well able to supply our own market in a few years.

The Colonial manufacturer would have a very great advantage in each of these cases, even were there no import duty whatever. He would save the freight and incidental charges, besides the importer's profit, and in the case of all articles made from wool, two freights.

Important, however, as I deem the establishment of manufactures to be, I am not prepared to do more than suggest that the Government should endeavour to obtain and keep, in a form readily accessible to all, information of the most reliable kind obtainable, as to the condition, prospects, and nature of the several manufactures, the rate of wages ruling in various countries, and the amount of capital usually considered necessary to institute a manufactory successfully, and such other information as might be thought desirable.

I do not go the length of advocating the payment of a bonus on the establishment of a new industry, although I am aware that a good deal may be said in favour of such a course, and I certainly consider protective

duties to be evidence of something very like political and economical insanity in the mind of the community.

3. It will be noticed that throughout this lecture I have assumed the existence and continuance of Provincial Government.

I do so, because, first, it is the Government now existing; and, secondly, I cannot believe that it will really pass away. As you are aware, I have not hitherto taken any active part in politics, nor do I mean to do so now; but as the subject naturally arises in connection with the question of our public lands, I shall not shrink from stating my views.

I believe now, as I have believed, and as I have expressed myself from the very first moment when the subject was first mooted, that abolition of our Provincial institutions, both administrative and legislative, is a great and serious blow to the prosperity, happiness, and liberty of the people of this Province.

That there was much done in the Provincial Council that we must all regret and deprecate, I freely admit; but these abuses were and are inseparable from representative institutions; and if we are to throw away from us every blessing excepting those which are perfect and faultless, why we must separate, as we were some time ago reminded, from our very wives and children, and end in abolishing our own existence.

The Province of Otago, under its Provincial institutions, was like the bundle of faggots tied together with a cord, strong, tough, and ready to resist all attempts of the aggressor to break it. The Province of Otago without these institutions will be like the same bundle deprived of its encircling cord. She will be easily overcome in detail.

In the past, few have had better opportunities than I of estimating correctly the value of the provincial form of Government in connection with the administration of the Land Law; and often as, in the conduct of business, I have been opposed to the action of that Government, it is impossible not to admit that its members have been actuated by a sincere desire to administer the laws for the benefit of the people, and that by their ability and firmness they have added very largely to the revenue.

The Provincial Government and the Provincial Council take an interest in the advancement and welfare of the settlers, because they are brought into such immediate contact with them.

If land is wanted to be opened anywhere, a deputation of the settlers can come down and see his Honour the Superintendent, or the Secretary for Lands, in a few hours, and you will find if you enter into conversation with the members of the deputation, that they will rely with almost child-like confidence on what "Mac" or "Donald" will do for them.

Hereafter, what chance do you imagine such men will have when they forward some formal petition to Wellington. The amount of information that will be wanted, the references that will be made to some score of different officials, all of whom know probably very little about the matter, we can all picture to ourselves; the ultimate decision resting with a gentleman who may never have set his foot within our Province.

Already we are beginning to reap the benefits of Abolition in connection with the land administration. The Provincial Council being dissolved, no recommendation for new Hundreds can be made, and no new Hundreds can be opened; and lands which have been recommended months ago by the Provincial Government to be opened, on deferred payments, are still unassented to by the Colonial Government.

If such inconvenience is already experienced under the mere shadow of Abolition, what may we not expect when we have been abolished for good.

I have no hesitation in saying that it is quite impossible to administer the Land Law of this Province satisfactorily from Wellington. Whether we have a Provincial Government or a Board of Works, we must have a local body responsible to the electorate, and invested with powers similar to those now vested in and exercised by the Provincial Executive.

In conclusion, I would say that if my lecture is the means of directing the attention of thoughtful men to the importance of seeking to settle our future population on the land on such a basis as is likely to result in the advancement and prosperity of the smaller landholders, my object will have been attained.

decorative feature

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Copy of Plan attached to Memorandum of Hon. Land Claims Commissioner to the Hon. Native Minister, relative to Captain Beadon's claim to land in the Piako District

Preface.

CHANGES in the representation having taken place since the last Session of the Fifth Parliament of New Zealand closed, and additional documentary and other evidence in reference to the writer's claim having turned up, he deems it right to place a second statement of the material facts before the Honorable Members of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly.

The writer disclaims any party or personal spirit, and does so under the belief that a collective body of English gentleman will not sanction injustice to an individual upon grounds of expediency or upon technical considerations of law; but will entertain the subject in an equitable point of view.

The writer asserts that he has been robbed of his property by a gross fraud, perpetrated on and permitted by Her Majesty's Commissioner, at Coromandel, on the 8th June, 1844, which no time can bar. The case will continually rise and hang like a dark cloud, casting a gloom shadow over the protecting shield of the Crown and on the pages of New Zealand history, until dispelled by justice.

AUCKLAND, *May*, 1876.

Errata.

Page 1, line 8 : read "gentlemen" for gentleman.

Page 5, line 28 : read "children" for not buttoned.

Page 10, line 36: read "73-74" for 1873—74.

Page 13, line 41 : read "have" for held.

Piako.

DURING the last Session of expired Parliament of New Zealand, the Honorable Dr. Pollen brought two Bills before the Legislative Council, designated "Piako Land Exchange Bills, Nos. 1 and 2."

The first Bill had for its object to give Mr. Frederick Whitaker, a Solicitor of Auckland, a right to select 12,855 acres from a tract of land originally purchased by Mr. William Eppes Cormack, of Koenaki and other native Chiefs of New Zealand, which tract of land is fully described and set forth in a Deed of Conveyance to the said William Eppes Cormack, dated 31st December, 1839. (See Appendix A.)

Bill No. 2 asked the Council to assure to Mr. Thomas Russell (a partner of the aforesaid Frederick Whitaker), an Indefeasible Title to a Crown Grant, which had been issued to him, in respect of an original recommendation of a grant of 2,560 acres, made by Commissioner Godfrey, on the 8th June, 1844, at Coromandel, to Mr. Arthur Willis, of London, in consideration for the whole *whole Tract* of land aforesaid, on a *Transfer* from the said William Eppes Cormack.

Both these Bills were rejected by a select Committee of the Legislative Council. The Grant to Mr. Russell, on the ground of a recent fraud committed by the assigns of the said Arthur Willis, of the original recommendation to him, in measures adopted to obtain a confirmation of the said Grant, the particulars of which may be referred to in the Parliamentary Debates of New Zealand, commencing at page 4, 22nd September, 1875.

Doctor Pollen did not place before the Committee the whole history connected with the purchase of this tract of land by Mr. Cormack; if he had, which in justice to the writer and the cause of truth he should have done, he would have told them that it had long ago been made known to the Government and urged by the writer, that the original recommendation of a Grant to Mr. Arthur "Willis was obtained by a *gross fraudulent conspiracy*, and by wilful and corrupt perjury perpetrated on Her Majesty's Commissioner, at Coromandel on the 8th day of June, 1844, and neglectfully permitted by him for interests adverse to Beadon. It appears from the records of the Court of Land Claims furnished to the writer, and likewise to Mr. Frederick "Whitaker, by Commissioner Dillon Bell, in 1859, and by the Honorable Major Atkinson in a recent memo, to Sir Donald Maclean, and by Commissioner Domette a long time ago, that Mr. William Eppes Cormack had sworn in his evidence before the Commissioner, on the 8th June, 1844, and following days, that he had acted, in making the purchase of 31st December, 1839, as "Agent for Sandeman and others," that he had received £750, and £435. That he had expended in the said purchase only £380 in merchandise, therefore Mr. Cormack could not have had any individual interest of his own left in the said block to transfer to Mr. Arthur Willis, as he (Cormack) had received more money from Sandeman alone than he paid for the whole block. Furthermore it is stated in the records of the Court of Land Claims, that the Commissioner, on the 8th June, 1844, permitted Mr. William Eppes Cormack to withdraw claim to 15,360 acres of the said tract of land which had been assigned and notified in the Government Gazette to Beadon by Mr. Gordon Sandeman, in February, 1841, without causing Mr. Cormack to deposit any record of his authority for so doing, under my signature, the said Grove Beadon.

The notification of my claim by Sandeman to a portion of the track of land purchased by Cormack for Sandeman, was tantamount to an assignment by Sandeman to me; therefore, unless it can be shewn that Cormack had any such authority, I must be entitled to a proportionate interest in the original recommendation of a grant of 2,560 acres, made by Her Majesty's Commissioner to Arthur Willis in consideration for the *whole*

of the tract of land purchased by Mr. Cormack, on 31st December, 1839. I shew that Mr. Cormack never had any such legal authority, and, moreover, that the whole of the money paid by him for the land was trust-money in the hands of Sandeman, belonging to me at the time, and under my instructions to Sandeman to be so invested, and under the written guarantee of the said Arthur Willis that the money had from me by Sandeman should be so invested, according to my instructions to Mr. Sandeman (Appendix B). When Mr. Cormack assumed authority to withdraw Beadon's name, it was four years and-a-half after he had purchased the land for Sandeman and others, and which purchase he (Cormack) must have accounted for to Sandeman, or it would have been impossible for Sandeman to have described and specified the quantity and boundaries of part of the said tract of land which he assigned to me in the Gazette, on the 3rd February, 1844, and continued in supplement to Gazette, 5th April, 1843.

The only person who had been authorised to act for me was Mr. Gordon Sandeman, of Sydney, under a limited power, which did not give any power of appointment, or to sell, or transfer securities in my name; but this power had been cancelled by Messrs. Chambers and Holden, solicitors, at Sydney, two years and-a-half before Cormack (Appendix C.) presumed to act as my attorney, and to withdraw my claim in the interest of himself and Arthur Willis.

Besides, Mr. Cormack personally informed me, in January, 1844, that he had purchased the land assigned by Sandeman in the Gazette, 3rd February, 1841, and 5th April, 1843, to me, by order of Mr. Sandeman. That the property was as secure under the Maories as a freehold would be in Somersetshire.

Mr. Cormack, at this time, was perfectly aware that Sandeman, Willis, Sandeman, or any of their agents (C.) or assigns, were prevented, by Power of Attorney to Chambers and Holden, from acting in any matter relative to my property.

Notwithstanding Mr. Cormack knew that Sandeman, Willis, Sandeman, or any of their agents or assigns, had been given legal notice not to meddle with investments made for me by Mr. Sandeman previously to his having been superseded by me, and three years after Mr. Sandeman had given up charge of Willis' House, at Sydney, to Mr. Joseph Scaife Willis, and during Mr. Sandeman's absence at India, Cormack returned to Coromandel, and, without any legal authority whatever, was permitted by Her Majesty's Commissioner to prosecute the original purchase for himself and Willis, and to withdraw Beadon's claim, notified by Sandeman three years and-a-half before, which he (the Commissioner) should not have allowed in face of the above evidence. There must be papers of assignment of portions of the said tract of land purchased by Mr. Cormack in the Court of Land Claims, otherwise it would be impossible for the Honorable Major Atkinson, and previous Commissioners, to have furnished the names of persons to whom portions of the property had been assigned by Sandeman. But the original deed to Cormack only is considered by Major Atkinson; those who supplied the money to Mr. Sandeman, which was received by Cormack on account of the purchase, are ignored altogether, as having no interest in the transaction. I assume that an estate purchased through agency, in equity belongs to those whose money has been used in purchasing it.

The parties from whom Mr. Cormack stated in evidence he had received £435, must have received back their money or have been compensated, or they would have preferred their claims before now, if any existed unsatisfied. I have never suffered my claim to drop. I am neither barred by time, or any Colonial *post facto* law; my claim was legally noted, and *illegally* allowed by Her Majesty's Commissioner to be withdrawn. The claim cannot be said to have been "disallowed after hearing," because it never has been heard. I availed myself of the Land Claims Extension Act, 1856—58, extended to 1st July, 1859, and transmitted a Power of Attorney to Mr. Whitaker, when he was Attorney-General, who, acting as my attorney, required explanations from Commissioner Dillon Bell, dated 23rd June, 1859, eight days before the expiration of the Act.

I cannot be legally deprived of my property by a fraud perpetrated on Her Majesty's Commissioner, in 1844, or by any fraud which may be committed by any of Willis' assigns at the present period.

The fraud was upon the Court to which all aboriginal holders of land from the Maori Chiefs of New Zealand were compelled, by *post facto* laws, to be submitted for investigation, before they could obtain a Crown Grant, which it was compulsory to obtain, by colonial enactments. The Court was intended by Her Most Gracious Majesty and the British Parliament to confirm the rights of persons who had fairly acquired property of the Maori Chiefs before New Zealand became a demesne of the Crown, not to confiscate them by laws, acts, instructions, or ordinances, administered in a manner repugnant to the law of England, as in this case, otherwise a British subject in New Zealand becomes an outlaw. I am ignorant of the functions or power of a Land Claim Commissioner; but, unless Commissioner Godfrey caused reassignments of the property purchased by Cormack for Sandeman to be executed by I the assignees of the land, to whom it had been passed by Sandeman in the Government *Gazettee* (and which must have been passed from Mr. Cormack to Sandeman, for whom he had received all the money paid for the said purchase), it is difficult to comprehend how Her Majesty's Commissioner, when administering justice according to the common law of England, could give back the property assigned by the Maories by deed, unless he adopted the short Maori process of breaking a stick, and

throwing it back to the original vendors; but this reasoning will not stand, because the original vendors and their assigns were then British subjects under the Crown, and it is certainly a very unusual method of setting aside a deed, according to English notions of law.

As Commissioner Godfrey recommended an exclusive grant to Mr. Arthur Willis, on account of the whole block purchased by Cormack for Sandeman and others, on 31st December, 1839, it would seem as if he considered that the whole of the money received by Mr. Cormack from Sandeman, came from Willis, Sandeman and Co.; but in this view more fraud clumsily presents itself, as Willis and Sandeman were insolvent at the time, and to be legal, if that were the case, the recommendation of the Commissioner should have been to the assignees of Willis, Sandeman and Co., for the benefit of their creditors, among whom I figured for a large balance of trust money, which has never been repaid to this day, or otherwise accounted for.

It is difficult to understand in what legal position the Commissioner regarded Mr. Arthur Willis to stand before the Court, on the 8th June, 1844. He was not noted for any portion of the land purchased by Mr. Cormack. The money could not have belonged to Arthur Willis, Sons and Co., of London, as their letter, written by Arthur Willis himself to Mrs. Beadon, on 10th December, dispels that hypothesis. (B.)

The only equitable view of Mr. Willis' position before the Court would have been, that he was regarded by the Commissioner as guarantor that the large bills drawn by Willis, Sandeman and Co., upon me, in 1840, should be invested according to my instructions to Mr. Sandeman.

The stolen property has not been put into the melting pot; it still remains on the Piako; the boundary marks are still standing. *The Crown Grant, in respect to the original recommendation to Arthur Willis, which has always been the stated objection to hearing my just claim, is now removed by a Committee of the Legislative Council, who have cancelled the Crown Grant to Mr. Russell;* and, as the original recommendation was obtained by a fraud upon Her Majesty's Commissioner, the investigation of Cormack's purchase, of 31st December, 1839, falls to the ground as a fraud; the writer believes that, as his claim to that land has not been barred by time, or by any actual fraud, or omission on his part, that it behoves the honor and duty of the Crown, and the integrity of the New Zealand Legislature, to see that a full, free, and open investigation of Cormack's purchase should be instituted *de novo* from the records of Court, and the living witnesses to the Deed (who have never been examined), and from the living Maori vendors; this can easily be done. Can there be any just reason why this should not be done?

It is the interest of Government and the public, and individuals who have, in spite of the foregoing facts and my strances, been recently permitted to obtain grants for portions property lying within the well defined boundaries of Cormack's purchase, 31st December, 1839, by passing the property through the Native Land Court, without a clear and legitimate investigation of Cormack's purchase, their titles will for ever remain based upon a fraud which, as before stated, no time can bar.

The Honorable Major Atkinson has designated Cormack's purchase, as a "so called fictitious purchase," in which the native title has never been extinguished, &c., &c.

Mr. James Mackay has drawn a pen and ink line across the Government map, which the writer received from the Court of Land Claims at Wellington. Mr. Mackay said the Ngatipoas had no right to sell the land south of that line. That it belonged to the Ngatihauas. But it should be remembered by those energetic official gentlemen that they were not buttoned when this purchase was made. (See B in Map.)

That a more complete extinguishment of the Native title, it is impossible to express in English conveyancing language. That more than complete consideration was paid at the time. That the land did not produce the value of a farthing for 30 years after the purchase. That at the time when the powerful chiefs sold it, they were anxious for us to come among them. That *might* then *made right*, and the holding was under the good faith and power of those chiefs who sold it.

The purchaser of property at the present time from the Germans in Alsace and Lorraine, would think it rather wide of the true mark if some ingenious, deeply interested land purchase agent, now in frocks, should say some thirty years hence, "It belonged to the French, the Germans had no right to sell any part of it south of this line.

The Public Petition Committee, to whom this claim was again referred last Session, reported that Mr. Sandeman was Captain Beadon's agent, and, lastly, that Captain Beadon's losses were attributable to his "agents." Beadon has not any means of knowing by what evidence this contradictory and untenable decision was arrived at, as, unlike a Petition when referred to a Committee of the British Parliament, the Petitioner is not allowed to be present before the *Public Petition Committee of New Zealand.*, either in person or by his solicitor.

Beadon knows of no other agent in this matter than Mr. Gordon Sandeman, who fully carried out his instructions to the letter in purchasing this land; but Sandeman never had power to sell or transfer. As for Mr. Whitaker, when he made enquiries of Commissioner Bell, in 1859, the fraud had been committed by the wholly unauthorised acts of Cormack, permitted by Commissioner Godfrey, in 1844. It is against those unauthorised acts, perpetrated on Her Majesty's Commissioner, that the writer has hitherto appealed in vain. That fraud was

upon the Court, and through the obvious neglect of that Court.

It is impossible, by any construction, to make Cormack out to be Beadon's agent. Arthur Willis had not any authority over investments made by Sandeman for Beadon. He was only guarantee that Sandeman should invest the monies, drawn in the name of his house, for Beadon, *and this was done*. In this case there appears to be an evil without a remedy in the Constitution of New Zealand, as the fraud is not denied by the Honorable Committee, or that Beadon has not sustained a loss by fraud.

The only remaining question to be decided is, who is responsible for that fraud? Who disposed of the land which had been purchased of the Maories before the Colony was instituted? Surely that Court must be responsible, which had been organised in the name of Her Majesty, and to which, by *post facto* laws, all such properties were compelled to be submitted before a Crown Grant could be received, and which Crown Grant it was likewise rendered compulsory to be obtained, or the proprietor became a trespasser on his own land.

The Attorney-General, Mr. Prendergast, admits that a mistake was made by the Court. Commissioner Bell could not see what right Cormack had to withdraw claims he had not notified in the Gazette Commissioner Domette thought it was a hard case, and a subject for investigation. Sir Donald Maclean, to whom Beadon shewed the old Bills at his residence in 1874, said "he thought it was an honest claim." Sir George Grey said, "if your name has been withdrawn from the Gazette without your authority, you have a grievance." The Honorable Major Atkinson expresses sympathy; but sympathy will not repair a broken pitcher.

No Government, in any country, which suffers a man to be deprived of property illegally, can justly expect the support of honest or independent gentlemen, or honesty in their servants.

Beadon hopes that a brief history of the case will suffice to give an insight into it, without recapitulating the whole of the notes referring thereto, previously printed, with reference maps.

Mr. Arthur Willis, to whom Mr. William Eppes Cormack transferred, in 1844, the whole interest in the property, purchased by him on the 31st December, 1839, was senior partner of Arthur Willis, Sons, and Co., No. 3, Crosby Square, Bishopsgate Street, London. He was also senior partner of a firm at Sydney, N.S.W., trading under the name of Willis, Sandeman, and Co., merchants. Mr. Willis was an 23rd early promoter, large shareholder, and director in the New Zealand Company. Mr. Cormack resided at the Bay of Islands, and was engaged in procuring New Zealand spars for the Navy, and for merchants at Sydney, before New Zealand became a British Colony.

1837.

Captain Beadon visited the Bay of Islands, Cloudy Bay, and other accord parts of New Zealand, in 1837, when serving as a lieutenant on board H.M. ship "Conway," At the Bay of Islands Beadon met and conversed much with the late Mr. Busby on the subject of purchasing land from the Maori chiefs, and the possibility of clearing the fern off, and laying the land down in grass, etc., etc., etc. Mr. Busby occupied the position of "British Resident." He assured Beadon that purchasing land from the Maori chiefs was a legitimate and safe investment; that the Maories were an independent, friendly people, and were fully recognised by the Crown; that the Maori flag had been formally saluted by H.M. ship "Alligator," at the Bay of Islands, in 1835; that they were most desirous of encouraging Europeans to buy land, and settle in the country. Property at this period was so secure in New Zealand, that a watch could be suspended to a stick, stuck into the beach at Kororareka, and no one would dare to touch it, if tabooed. There were then more than a thousand Europeans in New Zealand, living in peaceful security of life and property. There were many very fine young half-castes, New Zealanders, constituting portions of the crews of the numerous whaling ships which visited their ports, and they were considered good seamen. Beadon, at this early period, entertained the idea of obtaining a tract of country and colonizing it with English farmers, similar to the early formation of settlements in Virginia and other parts of North America. In 1838, Beadon purchased stock, through Mr.

1838.

Sandeman's agency, in the Bank of New South Wales, at Sydney, and previous to the "Conway's" sailing for India, in October, 1838, gave Mr. Sandeman a limited power to receive half-yearly dividends from the Bank, and to pay up calls on ten additional shares, &c., &c. Soon after the "Conway" sailed, Mr. Sandeman forwarded a letter, through Mr. Arthur Willis, to Beadon's brother, residing near Taunton, in Somerset, in which he (Mr. Arthur Willis) added a postscript in his own writing, so that Mr. Willis was acquainted with the writer's connection with Mr. Sandeman from the very first transaction. In February, 1839, Beadon directed Mr. Sandeman, in a letter from Madras, to buy land in Australia or New Zealand, with water frontage, not exceeding the sum of £400. Beadon authorised Mr. Sandeman to draw a bill upon him in the name of Willis, Sandeman and Co., for £1000, to pay for this land and other investments proposed by Sandeman. The land was to be in maiden land, specifically in Beadon's name.

On the 31st December, 1839, Mr. Cormack purchased a tract of

1839.

land for Sandeman and others, on the Piako, a portion of which was notified by Mr. Sandeman for Beadon,

in 1841. In 1840, a bill, signed Willis, Sandeman and Co., dated at Sydney, 27th March, 1840, was presented and accepted by Beadon's bankers, for £1,000 on Beadon's account. In the latter part of 1840, a second bill for £1,000, dated 23rd July, 1840, was drawn by Willis, Sandeman and Co. upon Beadon. Beadon's bankers declined to accept this second bill upon Beadon, because Beadon had only advised them of one bill for £1,000. Mr. Arthur Willis wrote to Mrs. Beadon respecting these drafts; and, after guaranteeing that the money should be invested by Mr. Sandeman, according to Beadon's instructions to him, Mrs. Beadon requested the

1840.

bankers, Badcock and Co., of Taunton, to pay the second bill for £1,000, which was done. Beadon was in China when these bills

1842.

were drawn and presented. In 1842, Beadon returned to England, and having required explanations from Mr. Willis as to how the money, drawn by his house at Sydney, had been invested, Mr. Willis promised to make enquiries of Mr. Sandeman, whom he characterised as Beadon's individual agent. In the autumn of 1842, Mr. Willis informed Beadon that Mr. Joseph Scaife Willis had taken charge of the Sydney house, and that Sandeman had left, whereupon Beadon sent out a power of attorney to Messrs. Chambers and Holden, superseding Sandeman, or Willis, Sandeman and Co. In 1843, Beadon proceeded to Sydney to confer with Mr. Sandeman. On arriving there, Mr. Sandeman had gone to India. Mr. Joseph Scaife Willis refused to let Beadon see the books of the firm kept by Mr. Sandeman before he left the firm.

1843.

In August, 1843, Beadon received the supplement to the New Zealand Gazette, dated 5th April, 1843, containing a notification of Mr. Sandeman's purchase for him of 15,360 acres, case 43, being a portion of the tract of land purchased by Cormack, for Sandeman, on 31st December, 1839. In January, 1844, Beadon met Mr. Cormack at

1844.

Petty's Hotel, at Sydney. Beadon showed Mr. Cormack the New Zealand Gazette containing Mr. Sandeman's notification of the land purchased for Beadon. Mr. Cormack said it was quite correct, that he had purchased the land by order of Sandeman. Mr. Arthur Willis arrived at Sydney from England, and was as unaccommodating as Mr. Joseph

(Colonial security and Mr. Whitaker.)

Scaife Willis. Messrs. Willis, Sandeman and Co. thereupon filed their schedule. Beadon, being desirous of securing the property purchased for him by Mr. Sandeman, wrote to Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland, at Auckland, on the subject of his claim. Lieutenant Shortland was then Colonial Secretary : he was formerly a messmate with Beadon in H.M.S. "Heron," in 1827. Mr. Shortland informed Beadon that he had requested Mr. Frederick Whitaker, a solicitor of Auckland, to act in the matter of Beadon's claim to land on the Piako. Beadon returned to England in 1844, relying upon Mr. Shortland's statement, that Mr. Whitaker would attend to his interests. War with the natives followed, which prevented the

1859.

possibility of occupying land on the Piako until recently. In 1859, Beadon transmitted a power of attorney to Mr. F. Whitaker, reminding him, by letter dated 15th March, 1859, that Mr. Shortland had spoken to him, many years before, on the subject of Beadon's claim on the

1864.

Piako. In 1864, Mr. R. B. Lusk applied to Mr. Whitaker on the subject of Beadon's claim and the power transmitted to him in 1859; but the first intimation which Beadon received, that the power had actually reached Mr. Whitaker, was given in the following letters from Mrs. Colonel Chapman and Lieutenant Albert Jackson, 18th Royal Irish, to whom Beadon had written. Mr. Whitaker had, in the first place, informed that lady that Beadon's claim was very valuable; but a short time after, said that he would not give sixpence for it.

CAMP PATEA, N.Z.

24th August, 1865.

My dear Mrs. Beadon,

1865.

I received your letter on the 2nd of this month, and I should have answered it at once, but I had not received a reply from Mrs. Colonel Chapman, our Colonel's wife, to whom I had written on the subject of your husband's land claim. Three days ago this long-expected letter arrived, and it is with great pleasure I tell you that Mrs. Chapman has seen Mr. Whitaker, and he says there is no doubt of Captain Beadon's claim, and also says he (Mr. Whitaker) has land close by your husband's, which he bought

It is strange that such a difference should have been made by the Commissioners in the number of acres awarded between Cormack's and Webster's two adjoining blocks, *purchased under the same circumstances*; and still stranger when the hostility of the vendors of Webster's block is contrasted with the constant friendship of the vendors of Cormack's block, and that 12,855 acres of the claim, which Mr. Whitaker considered not worth 6d., should have been sought in 1875 in lieu of an interest in *Webster's*. Will the Attorney-General accept 6d. now?

under the same circumstances, and he will be only too glad to prove Captain Beadon's claim.

Yours very sincerely,

ALBERT J. A. JACKSON.

AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND,

October 7th, 1865

Captain George Beadon, R.N. Taunton

My dear Sir,

No doubt you will wonder who your correspondent is,
Mrs. Coloned Chaoman.

but from circumstances which I will explain, I am writing for our young friend, Albert Jackson, 18th Royal Irish. Your name is very familiar to me, as I am well acquainted with Mr. Edwards Beadon's family. The name of Chapman is too well known at Taunton for you to be a stranger to it. My husband is the eldest son of the late Mr. Chapman, of Bishop's Hall, and commands A. Jackson's regiment. When the latter received your letter of last December, he was in the field force in the Wanganui District, and there was a long delay after the mail arrived here, before letters were received in camp. We were all then living in hopes of the troops returning to Auckland, and Mr. Jackson put off asking any one to move in your business; but finding there was no probability of his coming, he wrote to me to do what I could; he begged that I would single out the best lawyer which I could find to act for you. Every one speaks of Mr. Whitaker as the cleverest and most straightforward lawyer in Auckland, so I went to him, forgetting at the moment that, in your letter you had mentioned having put the case into his hands years ago, and having received no answer.

Immediately on reading your letter, he said he recollected your writing to him, receiving the power of attorney, *acting on it*, and writing you all the particulars of the case, and that he had the papers somewhere, and would hand them to me; at the same time, he assured me he feared your case was a hopeless one. He has several thousand acres of land in the same district, and would not give sixpence for his claim. The land is in the enemy's country, and if Cormack had not waived your claim, there is no ascertaining where the property is, as the surveyors will not venture into the interior; added to which, if this were accomplished, no one could be got to take possession of it, and hold the land. I went again a few days since, and have now in the house the papers relative to the matter, your power of attorney, and letter from you to Mr. Whitaker, another from Messrs. Burnet and Kean, and the copies of the information he sent home to you in July, 1859. This letter must have miscarried, as I can vouch for more than one of mine since we came out here.

The reason of my now writing is, if I copy the information which Mr. Whitaker gleaned and sent to you, and enclosed the papers to Albert Jackson, he cannot get them before this mail leaves for England, time enough to write to you by this mail. To save time I thought it would be best to write to you direct, and write to him to inform him what I have done. If you think of going to law with Mr. George Graham, or Cormack, I am sure you may trust Mr. Whitaker, he bears so high a character; and, since he resigned being Attorney-General, he has returned to his profession. Mr. Whitaker begged I would copy the papers relative to your claim, *as he wished to keep the original*, in case the matter is gone into again, although I am sorry to tell you, he considers it is sending good money after bad.

Believe me, my dear Sir, yours faithfully

ANTONIA M. CHAPMAN.

Enclosure No. 1.

15,360 acres, more or less, situated on the East bank of the river Piako, commencing at about 55 miles from the sea by the river Piako, has a frontage of 4 miles by the river Piako or upwards, is bounded on the North by Mr. McDouell's land, and on the South by land of Mr. Alexander McGregor, and runs back six miles, alleged to have been purchased of the Native Chief Koenaki, 31st December, 1839.

Consideration—Merchandise. Value not stated. Nature of conveyance not stated.

Information—Was claim ever prosecuted? Was it allowed? And all particulars, which can be obtained.

FREDERICK WHITAKER.

Enclosure No. 2.

Memorandum respecting the case of George Beadon.

Commissioner F. D. Bell

On the 3rd February, 1841, Mr. Gordon Sandeman, of Sydney, notified this claim, on behalf of Mr. Beadon, to a tract of land containing 15,360 acres, on the East Bank of the river Piako. The claim was gone into by Commissioner Godfrey, at Coromandel, on the 8th June, 1844, when Mr. W. E. Cormack gave the following evidence:—

"I appear as agent for George Beadon, and withdraw his claim, No. 43," William Eppes Cormack. In giving evidence on his own claims, Mr. Cormack, on the 10th June, 1873—74, says further, "derived from these two claims there were claims of _____ George Beadon, No. 43, _____ for whom I am empowered to act, and whose claim I withdraw. The claims of _____ I am empowered to pursue by the same power."

A great number of protests were lodged against Cormack's claims by the natives. Commissioner Godfrey recommended a grant of 2,560 acres, but none has been issued yet, the condition being that the natives would point out the boundaries.

Were not these protests made by natives on the West bank of the piako, where Cormack never purchased in error. Koenaki and the Ngatipoa Tribe always remained friendly, and always said, as the survivors say now, they sold the land in Cromack's Deed to him.

Part of Cormack's claims appear to have been transferred to George Graham, Ordnance Clerk, who brought them before me in 1857. I told him he must make a survey, which was always the difficulty, on account of native opposition. In the same letter I said, I draw your attention, to which you appear to be unaware, that Cormack sold a large part of his claims to other parties, and that it is possible they may come in for a share; still, the fact is, I did not see *"what authority Cormack had to withdraw claims he had not sent in,"* but which he admitted were derived from his own purchases. Beadon cannot now come in for a claim separate from Graham's. Graham represents Cormack and a whole lot of Willis' people, because, under any circumstances, the maximum of 2,560 acres would not be allowed to be exceeded.

But if Beadon did not authorise Cormack to act for him, and it could be proved not binding, he could, upon Graham filing the notification, which I believe will be done before the time expires, give notice of a subsisting interest in the original purchase, always supposing he thought it worth his while to go in for his small portion of the 2,560 acres.

Beadon seems under the impression that he owns £15,000 acres and had better be undeceived.

(Signed) FRANCIS DILLON BELL.

June 23, 1859.

Enclosure No. 3.

Claim No. 43, GEORGE BEADON, Claimant. COROMANDEL HARBOUR,

8th June, 1844.

W. E. Cormack, being duly sworn, states, "I appear as agent for George Beadon, and withdraw his claim,

No. 43."

(Signed) W. E. CORMACK.

Taken in Court

8th June, 1844.

(Signed) G. L. GODFREY.

CAMP PATEA, WELLINGTON, N.Z.

1st December, 1865.

My dear Captain Beadon,

I am extremely sorry that Mr. Whitaker has
Albert Jackson

come to the conclusion that nothing can be done for you in that land claim. It is very odd, for at the first he gave every hope, and suddenly, like a gust of wind, he flies round to the opposite point. I suppose you received a letter from Mrs. Chapman, our Colonel's wife, enclosing Mr. Whitaker's opinion, by the last mail. I hope you don't object to my having asked Mrs. Chapman to act for me; but as I could not get leave, I thought it would be better to get some one on the spot to act, instead of trusting to letters; besides, Mrs. Chapman and the Whitakers are great friends. I cannot help thinking it very peculiar Whitaker finding so suddenly that nothing could be done. I don't know whether this has had anything to do with it, but Mr. Whitaker has just tumbled into an appointment of £1,000 a year, as Superintendent of the Province of Auckland; probably he does not care to do any other work. This might be a reason for his giving up your case so quickly, after stating your case to be such a good one.

I think they are an awful lot out here, but I know the man I am writing about is considered tip-top man of the kind, yet I don't like any of the tribe.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Beadon and yourself,

ALBERT J. A. JACKSON.

1874. Beadon visits his Claim.

After visiting the *locus in quo* on the Piako, pointed out by Mr. Mackay, "as Captain Beadon's land," in October, 1871, in company with Captain Peacock, Beadon being at Auckland, was informed by a land agent, that Mr. Whitaker had just received permission from the Government to select 15,000 acres from the block called Cormack's Block. Beadon immediately enquired the way to Mr. Whitaker's offices, under the full impression that he had obtained this permission from Government as Beadon's attorney, and to thank Mr. Whitaker for his attention to his client's interests. Mr. Whitaker informed Beadon it was for himself or partner, in lieu of some other land near, which the natives opposed his taking possession of.

Beadon calls on Mr. Whitaker.

Beadon reminded Mr. Whitaker of Mr. Shorthand's instructions, in 1814; the power transmitted to him in 1859; the application too, on several occasions, of Mr. Lusk, in 1864; and of Mrs. Chapman in 1865, which Mr. Whitaker said he remembered. Beadon hoped Mr. Whitaker would not select for himself any portion of the block notified in the *Gazette* by Sandeman as Beadon's. Ultimately Mr. Whitaker promised not to select any portion of Cormack's block without giving Beadon notice, if he sent him his address. Beadon returned to the Governor Bowen Hotel, at Grahamstown, and posted a letter with his own hands therefrom, to enable Mr. Whitaker to perform his promise. This letter was written in a friendly spirit, and a reply was expected thereto; but no answer was received from Mr. Whitaker. The letter asked Mr. Whitaker's co-operation in obtaining justice, and stated that there was land sufficient in Mr. Cormack's purchase to enable him to select his 15,000 acres without his taking that portion allotted by Mr. Sandeman to Beadon. There would still be left a remainder of 120,000 or 130,000 acres for the Government. Some time after this letter was written, Beadon was informed that Mr. Eraser, of Tokatea, had contracted with Mr. Whitaker for some thousands of

1875.

acres of Cormack's block. Beadon informed Mr. Eraser that a Title to any portion of Cormack's block must be based upon the fraud perpetrated on Her Majesty's Commissioner at Coromandel, in 1844. Subsequently Beadon met Mr. Whitaker at the Club, at Wellington, when the latter, in a friendly way, complained that

Beadon had not sent him one of his pamphlets, in which his name appeared. Beadon explained that he had been hurt at Mr. Whitaker's not having replied to the letter at Grahamstown, addressed, Frederick Whitaker, Esq., solicitor, Auckland. Mr. Whitaker replied, "I never received that letter." After receiving this explanation from Mr. Whitaker, Beadon was not so much surprised as he otherwise would have been, when the Honorable Dr. Pollen brought forward his Piako Land Exchange Bills in favour of Mr. Whitaker and his partner, Mr. T. Russell.

On returning to Auckland, after the close of the Session, in 1875, Beadon was informed Mr. Eraser had paid money to Mr. Whitaker for a portion of Cormack's block, and that he (Fraser) had taken possession of the land sold to him by Mr. Whitaker. Beadon hopes Mr. Whitaker will excuse him for presuming to give an opinion on legal matters to a gentleman bearing so high a reputation as he does, but he did in this instance according to nautical law:—"*hoist his topsails before he had received sailing orders,*" as the Select Committee of the Legislative Council have refused to sanction Mr. Whitaker's selecting any part of Cormack's purchase.

Little more need be said at present on this violation of the interests of a British subject, in the name of Her Most Gracious Majesty.

It is unfortunate that there should have been such miscarriage of letters.

It is probable that Mr. Whitaker forgot all about Mr. Shortland's having spoken to him, and when he received the power of attorney from Beadon in 1859, no further action could be then taken, because a Crown Grant had been recommended to Arthur Willis, and transferred to Mr. George Graham.

Beadon considers Mr. Whitaker did him service when he obtained an explanation of the case from Commissioner Dillon Bell before the expiration of "The Land Claims Extension Act, 1856—58," extended to 1st July, 1859.

It may be considered that I am exorbitant in claiming 180,000 acres, for which only £380 were paid, but it is a matter of indifference to a man of my time of life, whether any or no land is granted to me, personally because I am now unable to carry out the schemes which I desired to effect in my youth, in New Zealand; and as to the quantity, I am bound by the documentary facts, and I am obliged to claim all for my children. Beadon cannot, as a British subject, be dispossessed of property by *post facto* laws, administered illegally, whether it be I acre or 180,000 acres. A member of the Legislative Assembly said to me, "what were we to do? Wentworth, of Sydney, claimed half the North Island." My answer was, the Maories now hold four-fifths North Island. You may have dealt on easier terms with Mr. Wentworth than Tauwhiao.

The writer has been informed that the following gentlemen are in possession of portions of Cormack's Block :—

There may be others, but all who held any land within the well defined boundaries of Cormack's Purchase for "Sandeman and others," on 31st December, 1839, hold land, the Title to which is based upon a fraud, according to the laws of England, and of the civilized world.

When Mr. Cormack illegally withdrew Beadon's Claim, in 1844, Arthur Willis' Houses were in a state of insolvency, principally on account of his connection with the indebted New Zealand Company, which had sold more land to purchasers in London, than they had secured in New Zealand, and it is a fact that the New Zealand Company got rid of aboriginal purchasers of land by every pretext. By throwing back the land to the original vendors, they were placing it where it would be purchased again from them, under the treaty of preemption, at Waitangi, in 1840.

Appendix A.

Know all men by these presents that we whose names and seals are hereunto subscribed and Native Chiefs of New Zealand for and in consideration of the several articles of merchandise mentioned in or endorsed on the back hereof being of the value of _____ sterling to us paid by William Eppes Cormack of _____ now residing at the Bay of Islands in new Zealand aforesaid before the sealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged Have and each and every of us Hath granted and bargained and sold assigned released and conveyed and by these presents Do and each and every of us Doth grant bargain sell assign release and convey for ever unto the said William Eppes Cormack his heirs executors administrators and assigns All that parcel or tract of land situated and bounded as follows that is to say—beginning at the mouth of a rivulet called Waitoa a tributary stream to the Piako River on its right bank and which River Piako discharges itself into the Frith of the Thames or Hauraki then following up the winding of the said Rivulet Waitoa South Easterly to a point on its right bank bearing West from the summit of the Northern hummock or hill of a small group called Pukiamanu then to run from the said point at the said Rivulet East to the summit of the said Northernmost hummock or hill of the said group then to the summit of the South East hummock or hill of the said group then South East by South to a point eight miles East from the Eastern extremity of a range of Hills called Kiwitahi—the said point

being presumed to lie off in the direction which the said range of hills points to—then West eight miles to the said range Kitwitahi presumed to the West then West along the summit of the said range Kiwitahi and onwards to the summit of another range of Hills called Pukemuremure then North by East to a point in the dividing boundary line between the lands of Piako and those of Waikato and which point lies West from the West extremity of a low ridge of Hills called Parahwau about thirteen miles South from Maukoro then East to the West extremity of the said low ridge of Hills called Parahwau and along the summit of the said ridge to its East extremity then East to the River Piako then along the East bank of the said river Piako downwards Southwardly following its windings to the point of beginning at the junction of the Rivulet Waitoa with the Piako aforesaid, containing by estimation One hundred and fifty to One hundred and eighty thousand acres more or less or however the said parcel or tract of land or any part thereof is bounded situate known or distinguished, or intended so to be together with all ways waters watercourses paths paths burying and tapued grounds and buildings hedges ditches woods timber trees and other vegetable productions mines metals and other minerals and all appurtenances whatsoever to the said land belonging or in any wise appertaining, together also with the uninterrupted right of fishing and of the fishes in the said waters and all the estate right title and interest of us and each of us and any of our tribes of in and to the same or any part thereof To have and To hold the said parcel or tract of land with all the rights privileges advantages and appurtenances whatsoever free from all taxes or imposition whatsoever unto the said William Eppes Cormack his heirs and assigns and that we being lawfully and rightfully seized of in and to the said land and premises and having good right and full power and authority in our own right to grant and convey all and singular the said land and premises with the appurtenances unto belonging for ourselves our heirs and successors shall and will warrant and for ever assure unto and to the use of the said William Eppes Cormack his heirs and assigns all the said parcel or tract of land and premises or any part thereof hereby granted and enfeoffed by us against all and every other person and persons whomsoever claiming or to claim the said land and premises or any part thereof or any privilege or right thereto appertaining and that it should be lawful for the said William Eppes Cormack his heirs and assigns and all persons claiming under him to hold and enjoy the same without any molestation disturbance or denial from henceforth and for ever. In Witness whereof we have hereunto sub-scribed our names and affixed our seals this thirty-first day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty nine.

Signed sealed and delivered the same having been first read over and explained and seemingly perfectly understood in our presence,

George William White, Matata, Merchant.

Henry Downing, Coromandel.

William Webster, Merchant, Coromandal.

(Signed) Na Pakino.

(Signed) Na Rare,

(Signed) Te Waraponga.

(Signed) Te Mahere.

(Signed) Ngaumu.

(Signed) Patau,

(Signed) Moho Han.

(Signed) Poria.

(Signed) Temuri.

(Signed) Warekawa.

(Signed) Hemi.

(Signed) Mokaikai.

(Signed) Ngaugira.

(Signed) Ngamako.

(Signed) Te Warawara.

(Signed) Hanauru,

(Signed) Konaki.

(Signed) Tahuna.

(Signed) Kerera.

(Signed) Te Puke.

(Signed) Dane,

(Signed) Re Hutuiti.

(Signed) Koinaki.

Witness: W. E. Cormack.

The Hoehoe, X his mark.

Be it remembered that on the thirty-fifth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine peaceable and quiet possession and full seizin of the land and hereditaments within-mentioned to be granted and enfeoffed to within-named William Eppes Cormack was openly had and taken by the above-named chiefs and by them delivered to the above-named William Eppes Cormack To Hold the same unto and to the use of the said William Eppes Cormack his heirs and assigns according to the purport and true intent of the within written indenture in the presence of us whose names are hereunto subscribed.

(Signed), George William White, Matata, Merchant.

(Signed), William Webster, Merchant, Coromandel

We hereby acknowledge to have received on the day of the date of the within written indenture of the within named William Eppes Cormack the following mentioned articles of merchandise, namely:—

- Blankets, 54 pairs.
- Tobacco, 400 pounds.
- Printed cotton, 15 pieces.
- Dungaree, 3 pieces.
- Tobacco pipes, 40 gross.
- Double-barrelled Guns, 4 fine.
- Shot, 10 bags.
- Sheet Lead, 100 lbs.
- Gun Flints, 200.
- Muskets, 20, part with baynets.
- Gunpowder, 18 casks.
- Iron pots, 8.
- Spades, 24.
- Axes, 24.
- Regatta Shirts, 5 dozen.
- Duck Trousers, 3 dozen.
- Shepherd's Trousers, 6 pairs.
- Duck Frock, 12 pairs.
- Red serge Shirts, 12 twilled.
- Red Caps, 12.
- Black Great Coats, 3.
- Great Coats, 2.
- Cotton Braces, 12.
- Shawls, 8/4, 3 dozen.
- Tomahawks, 2.5 dozen.
- Adges, 2.
- Razors, 9.
- Fish hooks, a lot.
- Jews' Harps. 3 dozen.
- Boarding Tomawaks 2½ dozen.
- Needles, assorted, 500.
- Thimbles 1 dozen.
- Thread, 1.5.lb.
- Finger rings, 11 dozen.
- Shawls, 8/4, 4.
- Clasp Knives, 2 dozen.
- Snuff Boxes, 6.
- Scissors, 9 pairs.
- Looking Glasses, 18.
- Beads, 1 string.
- Pictures Framed, 2 dozen.
- Pencils, 6 dozen black lead.
- Shaving Boxes, 12.
- Tape, 3 pieces black.
- Watch Chains, 2 gilt.
- Blankets, 2.
- Tobacco, 201bs.
- Bullet Moulds, 4.

- Blanket, 1 large.
 - Musket superior, 1.
 - One Superior Double-barrelled Gun (Te Mohu),
Being the value of _____ sterling and being the full consideration within mentioned to be paid and given to us for the sale and conveyance of the said parcel or tract of land and hereditaments within described.
- Witnesses—

George William White.

Henry Downing.

William Webster.

(Signed), Koenaki.

(Signed), Te Warepunga.

(Signed), Mokohau.

(Signed), Ratau.

(Signed), Te Makoro.

(Signed), Te Hoehoe.

(Signed), Tahuna.

(Signed), Rikoi.

(Signed), Tarakino.

(Signed), Ngahaua.

(Signed), Temanawa.

(Signed), Ngaugira.

(Signed), True copy,

(Signed), Henry T. Clarke.

I, George William White, of Mercury Bay, in the Province of Auckland, in the Colony of New Zealand, freeholder, do solemnly and sincerely declare that I believe the document hereunto attached, [*unclear: and moder with the later.*] thereto, to be a true copy of the original Deed executed by Koenaki and other Native Chiefs of New Zealand, in favour of Mr. William Eppes Cormack, on the 31st December, 1839. That the sale, transfer, and consideration, as therein expressed, constituted as fair, open, and *bona fide* and honourable transaction of business, as ever was effected between buyers and sellers.

That there was not any intoxicating liquor given to the natives to induce them to sign away their land, as has frequently been resorted to by agents and others since that time.

That the sale was purely voluntary on the part of the said Native Chief and others; that they were perfectly aware of the Deed and the extent of the tract of land alienated thereby, the boundary marks being well known and defined among them.

That the said Native Chief, Koenaki and others were perfectly satisfied with the consideration then delivered in my presence, for the said tract of land, which was ample at the time, and much prized and coveted in New Zealand, whereas the land, of which they entirely extinguished the the Native title, was comparatively useless to them. That money was at the lime utterly valueless to the natives of New Zealand. That I was well acquainted with the said William Eppes Cormack, and with his land transactions in New Zealand, and he informed me at the time, that the money which paid for the goods given in consideration for the land, described in the said copy of the original deed, came from Arthur Willis, or Willis' House, and I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, and by virtue of an Act of the General Assembly of New Zealand, entitled "The Justices of the Peace Act, 1866."

(Signed) G. W. WHITE.

Made and declared at Nercury Bay, this 24th day of February, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six, by me, Robert Wegmore, J.P., a Justice of the Peace for New Zealand.

I, LACHLAN ALLAN MCCASKILL, of Hikutaia, in the Province of

Affidavit by Lachlan Allan Allan McCaskill.

Auckland, in the Colony of New Zealand, settler, do solemnly and sincerely declare:—

That I have resided thirty-six years at the Thames, in the Province aforesaid.

That I was well acquainted with Mr. W. E. Cormack, and was present at Coramandol, in the Province aforesaid, when the said W. E. Cormack delivered a quantity of merchandise to the late native chief Koenaki, as a consideration and in payment for a tract of land in fee simple on the River Piako, as expressed and described in a certain deed bearing date on or about the Thirty-first day of December, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-nine, which said deed was executed in my presence.

That the said native chief Koenaki, and all his tribe then present who claimed any right or privelege, tribal,

tributary, or in any way appertaining to the said tract of land on the Piako aforesaid, were perfectly satisfied with the consideration then delivered by the said W. E. Cormack to the said native chief.

And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, and by virtue of an Act of the General Assembly of New Zealand, entitled "The Justices of the Peace Act, 1866."

L. A. MCCASKILL.

Made and declared at Mackaytown, in the Province of Auckland aforesaid, this Twenty-ninth day of May, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-five. Before me

ALBERT J. ALLOM,

A Justice of the Peace for the Colony of New Zealand.

Appendix B.

Dear Madam,

Letter from H. and R. Badcock, Bankers.

Messrs. Stuckey and Co. have this day presented, to us for acceptance the bill, copy of which is annexed, and as to which we beg your instructions. We have promised an answer in the course of the morning.

Yours truly,

H. & R. BADCOCK.

Mrs. GEORGE BEADON.

No. 326. Exchange for £1000.

No. 78. _____ NEW SOUTH WALES, SYDNEY, 20th July, 1840.

No. 295. At thirty day's sight pay this our first of exchange (second and third not paid to our order) One Thousand Pounds Sterling, value received, which place to account of Lieut. George Beadon, R.N.

WILLIS, SANDEMAN, & Co.

To Messrs. BADCOCK, Bankers, Taunton.

Payable at Messrs. RANSOM & CO., Bankers, London.

Mrs. GEORGE BEADON. LONDON,

10th December, 1840.

MADAM,

Letter from Arthur, Willis. Sons and Co.

In reply to your letter of yesterday, we beg to say that the draft of £1000 is due in London on the 2nd January, but it would be necessary to make provision for it at Messrs. Ransom's a day or two before. The letters by the China mail are delivering this afternoon, and we trust you may have letters from your husband. If, as you mention, that Lieut. B. contemplated investing another £1000 in 1841, it is clear that the further purchases which have been made for him were necessarily made earlier than he perhaps contemplated, and for which the interest of his shares due at the end of the year could not be made available. If you decide on paying this bill, we are quite willing to bold ourselves responsible to you for the due application of its amount in investments for your husband's account, and our respectability may be readily ascertained on inquiry here—but if you decline paying it, we shall certainly consider it a breach of faith on behalf of your husband, and we cannot spare such an amount for nearly a twelvemonth, which must expire before we can be reimbursed, without insisting upon the usual damages, which we mentioned in our last letter.

You will oblige by an early intimation of your decision.

We are, Madam,

Your most obedient servants,

ARTHUR WILLIS & CO.

Mrs. GEORGE BEADON, Hope Corner, Taunton.

TAUNTON BANK,

23rd December, 1840.

DEAR MADAM,

We are favored with your letter without date, enclosing £1000 for the credit of your husband's account, and directing us to accept the bill for £1000, which shall be duly attended to.

We are, Dear Madam, Your obedient servants,

H. & R. BADCOCK.

Mrs. GEORGE BEADON.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE AMOUNT OF TRUST MONEY, UNDER DIRECTIONS FOR INVESTMENT BY GORDEN SANDEMAN, FOR CAPTAIN BEADON, BETWEEN OCTOBER 18, 1835, AND DECEMBER 31, 1842 .

Dr Cr. £ s. d. 1838. October 31—Bill on Badcock, Taunton 630 0 0 1838. October 31—Bill on Badcock, Taunton 650 0 0 Cheque on Bank of Australasia 72 0 0 1840. March 27—Bill 1,000 0 0 July 20 1,000 0 0 1842. Bank of New South Wales, four years' Interest ... 640 0 0 Rent of two houses for two years 320 0 0 Sydney Bank, two years 140 0 0 £4,452 0 9 £ s. d. 1833. October 18—Bank of New South Wales Site ... 1,350 0 0 1830. 88 Sydney Bank Shares 352 0 0 Allowed to be advanced to Cormack by Sandeman 750 0 0 Money supposed to be returned by Cormack, per Sandeman, to other parties 435 0 0 Port Phillip Section 500 0 0 Balance of Trust Money, still due to Beadon, unaccounted for by Willis, Sandeman & Co. 1,005 0 9 £4,452 6 9 N.B.—Beadon has supposed that the money stated to have been received by Cormack from others, to have been returned to them out of Beadon's Trust Money, by A. Willis, or Sandeman, or Cormack, so that payment for the whole Block came through Willis.

Appendix C.

Affidavit by Hugh J. Chambers.

I, HUGH JOHN CHAMBERS, of Market Square, Collins Street West, in the City of Melbourne, in Victoria, solicitor, do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare:—

1. The paper writings hereto annexed marked respectively A. and B., were the original written instructions which accompanied a power of attorney forwarded from England by Captain George Beadon, of the Royal Navy, to the firm of Messieurs D. Chambers and Holden solicitors, of Sydney, New South Wales, in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-two.

2. At that time I conducted personally a branch of the buisness of the said firm in their office in Sydney, and attended to the buisness contemplated by the said power. Acting in pursuance of the said instructions and power on its receipt in December, One Thousand Eight Hundred and forty-two, or January, One thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-three, was thereupon duly notified to the firm of Willis Sandeman and Company, at Sydney, who thereupon ceased to act as Attorneys for the said Captain Beadon, and where at the same time required to account for the investments of his funds in these colonies.

3. The affairs of the said firm Willis Sandeman and Company, about that time became embarrassed, and were ultimately wound up by insolvency or otherwise, leaving, to the best of my recollection and belief, a large unsecured balance still remaining due and owing by them to the said Captain Beadon, which I am informed and believe never was satisfied.

And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, and by virtue of the provisions of an Act of the Parliament of Victoria, rendering persons making a false declaration punishable for wilful and corrupt perjury.

HUGH J. CHAMBERS.

Declared at Melborne, in the Colony of Victoria, this Twenty-third day of September, One Thousand Eight

Hundred and Seventy-three. Before me
JOHN A. PASS. J. P.

COPY FROM -----, CHIEF CLERK, NEW ZEALAND L. C., 74-34. OFFICE OF THE COURT OF CLAIMS,
WELLINGTON,

July 11th, 1874.

SIR,

The land granted by fraudulent misrepresentation.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 1st, ult., transmitting copy of a letter addressed to you by Mr. Brookfield, relative to land claimed by Capt. Beadon, on the Piako river, and stating that the land is also claimed by Mr. Geo. Graham.

I have to inform you that the claim of Messrs. Willis and Graham to land at Piako has already been settled by the issue of Crown Grants. I have the honor to be,

Sir

Your most obedient Servant,

E. W. HAUGHTON,
For the Land Claims Commissioner.
THE CHIEF JUDGE, Native Lards Court, Auckland.
A Native on Abolition.

A Native on Abolition.

THAT the time has come for a change is only too manifest. That such a state of affairs as at present exists is sufficient proof.

But the change proposed is no more what is wanted than that which it is to take the place of.

All admit that our system of government (if system it can be called) is all muddle and confusion; but the proposed change would only result in confusion worse confused.

Why does no one amongst the army of genius on the Opposition side propose some really sound and beneficial scheme in this time of our need? Is it to be left to an inexperienced native-born son of the soil to come forward and show the way out of the labyrinth of confusion in which our Parliament has landed us? Let us hope not. He is content with his present lot, and has no wish to exchange it for any other; but when he sees a necessity for coming forward, he will not flinch. Meantime pray let him offer a few suggestions, in the hope that they may be of service to those who are earnestly seeking to solve the problem of how to get out of the maze.

We, the people, want a change, but it must be for the better : nothing yet offered answers our requirements.

Here then is one, not perfect by any means, but forming a basis upon which to build up a perfect system of government.

The first and most important duties of a State are—

- To provide education for its youth.
- To provide employment for its adults.
- To provide support for its aged and infirm.

Let these things be secured to the people and they have little more to ask for.

If these things are provided, there will be small necessity for providing large sums by taxation for the support of law and police. A well-educated and well-employed people do not incline to the committal of crime.

I will presently show how these things may be done without taxation; meanwhile, a few words on these three leading duties of the State.

1st. *Education for its youth.*

For its own sake the State should do it, and for its own sake it should be done thoroughly. Every addition to the knowledge and power of the individual, by training in useful habits and pursuits, is an addition to the wealth and power of the nation, and a step towards its attaining a leading position amongst nations.

But if done at all it should be done thoroughly. The State should take over, at a certain age, the entire

control, support, and management of every child; for without such is done, thorough education and training cannot be uniformly carried out. The leading principle upon which to base the education of the child should be, that it must earn all it receives at the hands of the State, that it is in its power to earn anything that it is in the power of the State to give, not as a favor but as a right. Food, clothing, everything, in quantity and quality, depend only on how much industry, energy, patience, and other good qualities the child displays. He or she will thus be led naturally to develop and strengthen all that is good in their nature, and to eradicate all that is bad. They will daily see and feel practically the good of being good and the folly of being bad. In this way could children be induced freely to devote themselves to the task of acquiring knowledge and such things naturally distasteful to their natural inclinations. The State should willingly pay the child for all the knowledge it might acquire, because that child is a part of itself, and it will one day return to the State tenfold what it now receives. So that in reality the State merely paid a florin out of one pocket to-day that it might reap a profit of a pound to-morrow. The child on its side would willingly do the work naturally distasteful to it, for the sake of the substantial reward it would receive, that it might obtain an abundance of those things in which it took pleasure.

I shall go no further into details on this branch of my subject, though prepared to do so if occasion may require.

Proceed to Duty 2nd—*The providing employment for the adult population.*

The advantage of doing this has been sufficiently demonstrated by the prosperity of this country during the performance of the public works. The fault of this public works scheme was that it forced too much employment on the country at once—more than it required and more than it was able to perform without outside assistance.

All that is required is a sufficiency of employment to keep up the rate of remuneration to a certain standard scale. The State should not leave these things to private enterprise—it has a perfect right to exercise all the privileges it confers on private individuals and companies: the cry of interference with private enterprise is prejudicial to the State, and that should be sufficient for its condemnation. The State and its advantage should take precedence of all minor interests : that is admitted on all hands. The State is the people in this country : we have no sovereign, no lords. We are all people and have only one common interest. But if we are not on the alert there will arise amongst us a party who will try, who are trying, to appropriate to themselves the rights and privileges of an aristocracy. This will not do; and that an opening exists for them to do so is a sufficient proof of the necessity for a change. Therefore, I say, let us not study individual interests, let us devote our whole attention to the weal of the State. By so doing we study the welfare of the whole body of individuals of which it is composed, without favor to one or injury to another. With a prosperous State we have a prosperous people, and *vice versa*.

Having provided education for our youth, let us provide employment for them in every possible branch of useful industry in which their inclinations and other inducements lead them to engage. Let the State take upon itself the responsibility and risk of providing all the necessaries of life, and supplying all the requirements of its people—that is, its own requirements. It is absurd to say that it should leave these things to private enterprise. Why should it leave to others to do imperfectly, what it might do for itself systematically and at far less cost? I say that by the State entering into competition with the individual in supplying all its requirements, the cost of living might be greatly reduced, the expenditure of labor greatly economized, and the good results to the nation as a nation, and to the individual as an individual, would be increased to an incalculable extent : to the nation as a grand total, and to the individual as a general average. If any one doubts it let him study the Post Office. Could the same results—cheapness, despatch, and system—have been obtained under the management of private enterprise? Let him thoroughly understand the reason why it is better the State should have the management of the Post Office, and he will understand why it would be better that it should enter into other fields of enterprise. Without it can do this it cannot give employment to its workers, and the advantages of good education given to its youth are in great measure lost. One of the greatest inducements to young men to persevere in acquiring knowledge, &c., is the prospect of getting State employment according to their merits; and the State should be in a position to give employment to one and all as a light which the individual can demand. What more could man demand on entering life? Freedom from the tyrannical control of any man, with his prospects of success in life depending, in the main, on his own innate goodness and soundness mentally and physically. With the way open to him to win his way, by the exercise of his own talent, patience, industry, and honesty, to the highest positions in the State, or at the least to have the certainty of being able to earn sufficient to enable him to enjoy all the simple comforts and joys of life with which most men would be content.

To be able to offer this employment to one and all, the State must enter into the ordinary business of life in a business-like way; set to work to organize a system and carry it out as it has done in other matters, such as the Post Office, telegraph, and railway. Why should it not deal in tea and sugar, tape and calico, &c., up to the more dignified gold and silver, bonds and notes, when it already sells halfpenny stamps, and performs the work of an errand boy in carrying for that trifle a newspaper either to the next street or the other end of the Colony? How

can it manage to do this? By unity and organized system. How else could it be done but at a loss? And yet from this twopenny-halfpenny business a large revenue is obtained, which helps to relieve the people of part of their burden of taxation. Let us then follow up the advantage gained, and relieve ourselves entirely of this burden. There are difficulties in the way, but they are things that are made to be overcome.

Now for *the maintenance of the aged and infirm*, the 3rd Duty of the State.

The leading principle should be reward or pension in proportion to the position attained by the individual by his efforts during his prime. The prospect held out in this way would be another inducement to the individual to do his best while he was able. The worthy would fairly earn and deserve the rest and enjoyment their declining powers required. If I thought it necessary I could bring forward many arguments and precedents in support of the necessity for the State undertaking this duty, and the good results it would effect; but I trust a good deal to the knowledge and intelligence of my reader. If I find it necessary I will supplement these remarks in another letter.

Now for the means to do all these things. The natural source of revenue is to be found in the land and the natural products thereof. This should be in the hands of the State as a State and no other. Let the wealth of the individual depend upon himself, his own natural, physical, and mental power, and how he uses it; but never let him acquire whole and sole control over what should, from beginning to end of time, be the common property and heirloom of the people in the form of their State; from the State inalienable. We have yet a large estate left; let us take care of it, and let the iniquitous system of selling the national heirloom piece by piece for messes of pottage cease. If we must have money, let it not be at the cost of committing so vile a crime as robbing the rising and future generations of what is as much theirs as our own (but which they are powerless to defend), and in its place leaving them a millstone of debt about their necks. If we must rob, let us not attack the helpless and even unborn babes, but let us assail men who are able to defend themselves. No ! we dare not do this, because they would defend themselves. Well, then, let us enter into fair and open competition with them, and earn, by fair means and the honest sweat of our brow, what we need. This will be distasteful to many, but I have a better opinion of my country and its people than to suppose that "many" are in the majority.

Let this great public estate be turned to the best possible advantage, but never part from it. Lease but never sell; and in time I hope to see even the necessity for leasing depart, for surely an individual with the limited means at his disposal cannot afford to pay such a rental into the State coffers as the State itself, with the advantages of unlimited means and magnitude of its operation, could afford to pay. But to perfect the system here proposed, time is required. The youth, or rising generation, must be trained to occupy the different positions in the various departments necessary under such a system. Meanwhile let us commence by imposing one uniform tax on the great natural source, namely, land. So much per cent, on the value to sell. Let the value to sell be fixed by the owner with this condition, that the State may buy at that value in lieu of accepting the tax. Let the tax be paid into the Treasury by the owner at stated periods; failure to comply involving the necessity on the part of the State of ascertaining the value by sale by auction, and deducting percentage for tax and costs from the sum realized, handing balance over to the seller.

The necessities of the State might thus be met without unnecessary expense, and Customs and all other cumbrous and expensive methods of collecting revenue might be swept away.

Here a word on the evil of drunkenness, and the effect this would have on it. With the sweeping away of all Customs and other taxes for the one proposed, one of the chief obstacles to the temperance movement would be removed. But a word to the wise is enough.

Set us suppose, now, the necessities of the State for the forthcoming financial year are known. How meet them?

After estimating all other sources of revenue, the balance needed would be known.

Then calling for owners' estimates of value to sell, the sum total would be estimated, and the percentage necessary to cover balance required by State to meet its expenditure could be struck, and owners being informed, the amount the amount would, in a short time, be in the State coffers, or, in default, the necessary proceedings taken at owner's expense to have it placed there.

Is that a simple enough system of taxation? Of course, owners will bark and show their teeth; but who would not? If they do not like the burden, the State offers the alternative of shifting it on to its own shoulders.

Let those who really wish to arrive at the best possible course of action look well into this; compare it with other systems, and a hundred other arguments in its favor will suggest themselves. But again I must observe that, if necessary, I will supplement this letter in further explanation and support of what I suggest.

Now as to who shall manage the affaire of State. Once the system is organized and fairly started, the whole management of State affairs will be as simple as the management of any ordinary business concern. Then an ever-increasing supply of trained and educated men will be forthcoming to fill positions of all grades from the lowest up to the highest. There will be no scrambling as at present: every aspirant must first qualify himself, and then work his way steadily up or remain at a standstill, according to his inclinations and merits. Every

position will be open to the competition of those who have qualified themselves by passing necessary examinations and serving in subordinate positions in the department to which they belong.

Such is a rough sketch of a system of government such as I hope will one day exist in reality in this my country; by the adoption of which she may really become the first among nations, for it is based on the principle that unity is strength. At present we have that weakest of Governments, "a house divided against itself." Each man for himself seems to be our motto. Each province, each district, all are for themselves. To every man, woman, and child in New Zealand I would say forget, for one single day even, forget self, forget family, forget district, province, all but country, and bend your whole mind, heart, and soul to the task of thinking how she may be rescued from the band of legalized political brigands who are now engaged in such fierce contention to see who shall have the spending of the spoil which they unite in taking from ourselves. We are the Government, we the State: these men should, but do not, represent us. Let us send men to our next Parliament pledged to do our bidding, to represent us in reality, or forfeit their seats to men who will do our will. I have offered my mite, and will give more; let others do the same, and so arrive at some definite plan of action. Let us not be led by the nose by either party, but show both that we, the people, are the masters, they the servants. It matters little which party wins unless some really sound scheme of State management be submitted in place of that which is being broken up. Let us be a united nation and we may become a leading one. In place of being a borrowing colony, over head and ears in difficulty and debt, we may become a lusty, powerful nation, lending from our abundance, happy in substantial prosperity, free from taxation and debt, free from individual tyranny, governed by ourselves, but with the best men our national system of education and training can produce at the head of our affairs, and sending forth our armies of intelligence and industry to colonize and civilize the nations of the old world, as they in their day sent out their mixed armies of intelligence and ignorance, industry and idleness, to occupy the waste places of the earth. But with still other armies at home making a smiling garden of the wilderness, engaged on stupendous works of irrigation, draining, and other means of making the waste places productive, such as could never have been undertaken by the individual. Agriculture carried to the highest point of perfection, and on a scale of grandeur beside which the most gigantic performances of the present day would sink into insignificance. Commerce without its roguery, adultery, and robbery, on an equally grand scale. Vessels to and from all parts of the world, bearing exchanges of wealth in the form of produce.

All working bees in this army, none of the drones who laugh and grow fat on the accumulation of spoil handed down from generation to generation, on the labours of those who for their lives sake are obliged to pay tribute, and that a heavy tribute, to these drones for the privilege of occupying and utilising what should be their own common heirloom, but which had by their forefathers been alienated for messes of pottage to satisfy their own selfish appetites. But the drones in the hive to-day need not take alarm, for I for one would not urge haste in carrying out this proposal. It is a work of time, and what now exists should be allowed to die as natural a death as possible, or at least be given ample notice and time to take itself elsewhere, unless it chooses to conform to the altered state of affairs.

The two most pressing wants are the matters of education and taxation. The former should be begun at once, and the latter as soon as possible; but taxation under this system would gradually cease as the value of the national property became enhanced, and, consequently, the revenue therefrom increased. The State should lose no opportunity of acquiring possession of all property not already in its possession, until, in tune, all the country would be national estate, and yield a revenue such as no nation on the face of the earth now enjoys, and afford the means to carry on the great work of improving, by every possible method, the value of the national estate, such as by the construction of public works and otherwise. For the present enough.

If the picture I have thus roughly sketched is not sufficiently clear and distinct for most readers to understand and fill in from their own brains, I will ere long try and find time to fill in the details.

Meanwhile I beg to be allowed to remain, as heretofore,

AN ATTENTIVE WATCHER OF PASSING EVENTS.
New Zealand

Sept. 21st, 1875.

The Study of Economics, And Savings-Bank in the School A Plea for Economics Theoretic and Practical, Being the Prospectus of an Association For Promoting the Introduction of the Study of Economics as a Branch of Ordinary Education Into the School, and Encouraging Habits of Thrift Among the Young People of the Colony, Through

The Agency of the Government Savings-Bank.

Patrons :—

The Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby, K.C.M.G., Governor of New Zealand. The Marchioness of Normanby.

"It has been sometimes said that Political Economy is a foe to all enthusiasm, to all generous motives. Wait till its work is done. The historian of a future age may have to report that this study, more than any other one cause, is educating us for the highest of all enthusiasms—desire for the public good."—William Smith.

"*Thorndale*."—Quoted by Dr. HODGSON.

"I wish I could write all across the sky, in letters of gold, the one word SAVINGS-BANK."—REV. WM. MARSH.

"Habit is ten times nature."—DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Fergusson & Mitchell, Printers Dunedin Princes Street

In preparing this little brochure—a humble effort to render a service to the Colony—many works have been consulted, and quotations freely used, from the feeling that the thoughts of many, some of whom have made the subject of them a life's study, must necessarily carry an authority far beyond anything which the present writer might attempt to say. From the works of Mr. William Ellis, of London, and Dr. "W. B. Hodgson, of Edinburgh, many extracts have been taken, and also some quotations used by the latter. To these gentlemen deep indebtedness is acknowledged.

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

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

Notes in Support.

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

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

"An economic millennium would be an epoch in which there was no waste—no waste of human lives, no ignoble sloth, no disease and decrepitude engendered by ignorance or neglect of natural laws, no waste of useful things in vulgar, insolent vanity; above all, no waste of health, substance, and self-respect in drunkenness and its attendant vices."—MR. NEWMARCH, *Address at Leeds*, 102 A October, 1871.

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

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

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

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

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

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

SHORT TITLE:—Economics Society.

Patrons: The Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby, K.C.M.G., GOVERNOR OF NEW ZEALAND. The Marchioness of Normanby.

President.

- MAJOR, THE HON. SIR J. L. C. RICHARDSON, C.I.B. Speaker of the Legislative Council.

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- James Pope, Esq., Principal of the Ballarat College, Victoria.
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- Rev. J. W. Stack, Christchurch.
- A. South, Esq., Hokitika.
- Robert Stout, Esq., M.H.R., Dunedin.
- J. Stenhouse, Esq., District School Teacher, Tuapeka.
- Spencer Von Stunner, Esq., R.M., Inspector of Native Schools, Hokiauga.
- H. J. Tancred, Esq., Christchurch.
- Mrs. Tancred.
- W. Waring Taylor, Esq., Member of the Wellington School Committee.
- J. Todd, Esq., Hokitika.
- Richard Woon, Esq., R.M., Wanganui.

British and European Associates.

- W. B. Hodgson, Esq., L.L.D., Edinburgh.
- William Ellis, Esq., London, Author of Religion in Common Life, &c.
- George C. T. Bartley, Esq., London, Hon. Secretary to the Provident Knowledge Society.

- A. de Malarce, Esq., Secrétaire perpétuel de la Société des Institutions de Prévoyance, Paris.
- J. S. Fitch, Esq., M.A., London, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.
- Miss Buss, London, Founder of the North London Collegiate Schools for Girls.
- M. Laurent, Professor of Civil Law in the University of Ghent, Belgium.
- William Meikle, Esq., Glasgow National Savings Bank.
- Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G., London, Agent General for New Zealand.

Corresponding Members.

- Henry Worthington, Esq., Head Master City East School, Auckland.
- Charles C. Graham, Esq., Secretary to the Provincial Education Board, Wellington

Provisional Committee.

- Professor Macgregor.
- Mrs. Burn.
- Mr. W. Norrie
- Mr. R. Gillies.
- Mr. J. B. Park.
- Miss Dalrymple.
- Mr. Downes.
- Mr. R. Stout.
- *Hon. Sec.*—Mr. W. Dalrymple, Port Chalmers.
- *Hon Treas.*—Mr. P. G. Downes, Port Chalmers.

decorative feature

The Practice and Theory of Economics in the School.

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

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

W. B. HODGSON, preface to "What is Seen and What is not Seen?"

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

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

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

Thinking and intelligent persons are now generally agreed that the science of Economics should form a part of the ordinary school education of every child; yet in the programmes followed at most of our schools, how

seldom do we find that this branch has a place ! On the part of teachers, perhaps, absence of the science from their own course of studies during school life, has something to do with this; but even when its increasing needfulness as a guide in life is acknowledged, there seems to lurk a doubt as to whether the kind of teaching necessary for making it a school study can be accomplished. Proof that it *can* is not far to seek; for those teachers amongst us who have made the subject part of their programme, as well as the most gifted teachers at home, tell us that such teaching is not only possible, but that the subject forms one of the greatest interest, not only to boys, but to girls. It is under-stood by many to be either abstract or abstruse, or both, when in truth it is neither, if properly taught. And, inasmuch as, says William Ellis—"All science should be presented to children in an applied form; that is, as it may be seen interwoven with the proceedings, the wants, and the feelings of everyday life—neither unapplied nor misapplied," in one important section of it—the dealing with money—a most fitting occasion for the application would very frequently present itself in the event of the Savings Bank becoming part of the machinery of the school. But, whilst the inculcation of the *practice* of Economics in the school was yet a thing of the future, Mr. Ellis, in the preface to his "Outlines of Social Economy," graphically tells of the motives which prompted him at that time to persevere in his endeavors to have the *theory* of the Science introduced as a branch of systematic education. "I had," he says, "for many years been a student of economic science, or social economy; it had fallen in my way, so to speak, by accident. I was conscious of the benefit I could trace to this happy accident of my early years; I felt, as I still feel, grateful to the kind, enlightened, and accomplished men—strangers to me at the time—who led me to begin, and assisted me to follow up my studies; and I could see no reason why, if we had but teachers qualified for the work, the instruction which came imperfectly and accidentally to me, should not be imparted with certainty and completeness to every human being. I was in this position : I felt that I did know something of social economy. No schoolmaster, as far as I could learn, was teaching, or thinking of teaching it, in our schools, and I was conscious that my aptitude for teaching must necessarily be of the smallest. Nevertheless, it appeared to me—here is a work which ought to be done; which, perhaps, must be done indifferently at first; but which, if there be worth and vitality in it, will be well done in the end. These were my excuses to myself for becoming teacher of social economy. I have lived to see it taken up by numerous able school masters." Mr. Ellis has lived to see more than this, but it is left for another, of the highest authority in such matters, to tell it, and no apology is offered for repeating it here.—"He has long and effectively vindicated in all teaching of both sexes, and of every rank, the true place for Economics as a branch of moral science, needful and fit to guide, conduct, to train character, and to shape condition, as well as to develop intelligence."

Dr. Hodgson.

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

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

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

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

the honor, &c., BERNARD LEICHTENSTEIN, H.M. of the Dunedin H.S.

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

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

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

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

c'est la base de la moralité."

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

Samuel Smiles,

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

To revert to the subject of Economics. Every day brings into the field fresh advocates, for the science being taken up as an ordinary school study. Professor Fawcett, speaking to an English audience in October last, maintains "that no science is more useful and necessary. Politicians, traders, consumers and producers, employers and employed, all need its guidance; and clergymen, philanthropists, everyone in short, who attempts to better the condition of his fellow man, will find that his efforts will prove futile—will often bring about results the exact reverse of those intended, if he is not directed and controlled by the application of economic laws, and no time in life so fitting to begin the study of these as during the impressionable season of youth." That true friend of her sex, Mrs. Butler, of Liverpool, pleads for it a place in the programme of every girls' school. She says that a knowledge of it ought to guide every woman in the management of her domestic matters, and, that when educated women become more enlightened in regard to it, obedience to its laws would be felt as a moral duty. And, "would not," wrote the late Canon Kingsley, "some acquaintance with Economics be to a woman, not only thrift of money, but thrift of brain, worry, anxiety, care, all of which eat out health as well as heart."

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

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

Dr. Hodgson.

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

It has been said that the present effort to make the practical knowledge of the use and value of money part of the school curriculum, will not meet with the approval of one class of our teachers—clergymen. That this is not wholly true is proved, by one of the promoters of the movement being a clergyman of the Presbyterian

Church, the offer of hearty co-operation by several Bishops, and the fact, that a Wesleyan clergyman applied for copies of Mr. Fitch's pamphlet for distribution among his brethren at their late conference. However, it cannot be denied that there is not unanimity of opinion in regard to the wisdom of the step. In the preface to a little book called Lessons on the Phenomena of Industrial Life, the Dean of Hereford makes some valuable remarks on the point in question. They are these :—

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

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

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

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

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

The Committee desire to render cordial thanks to these editors for kindly forwarding their respective papers. Thereby they were enabled to judge of the degree of estimation in which the subject was regarded by

the Press generally. Whether the pamphlet was reviewed in more of the Colonial journals, the Committee have no means of ascertaining.

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

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

As saving habits are altogether at variance with drinking habits, the inculcation of the practice of thrift means the inculcation of temperance. Mr. Bartley may again be quoted with advantage for a few pithy remarks on this point. He says :—"Another very important consideration is the effect of saving on intemperance. Who can imagine a young man who has got into the habit of saving so much a week, also getting into the habit of spending so much a week on drink? . . . Oil and water will mix more readily than those two qualities. Inculcating habits of thrift consequently implies indirectly inculcating habits of temperance, and, strange as it may seem, it will be found that the money put by does not really straiten . . . The best, if not the only way of effecting an improvement in any class of persons is to begin with the children. With this end in view, it is strongly urged upon the managers of schools, and on all who really believe in the blessings which an extension of provident habits would secure, to lose no time in opening Penny Banks in all the schools, and thus practically to help forward the cause of frugality and providence throughout the length and breadth of the land." And Mr. Smiles, in the latest of his very charming books, "Thrift," says;—"One of the best methods of abating the Curse of Drink, is to induce old and young to practice the virtue of thrift." He calls thrift the basis of self-help, and when speaking of School Banks, says that he trusts, before long, they will be established in every school throughout the kingdom.

A CONSTITUTION FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

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

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

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

dealing with the subject, augurs well for the future appreciation of the study, and we may be permitted to congratulate the Association on the correct judgment which dictated a resolution so pregnant with sound principle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX A.

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

"To the Honorable the Postmaster-General of New Zealand.—The Memorial of the undersigned, being a Committee for organizing a Society to Promote the Study of Economics in the common Schools, and to Encourage Habits of Thrift among the Young People of the Colony.

"Your Memorialists venture to ask you to assist them in their efforts to awaken an interest in, and induce a practical recognition of the above objects on the part of teachers, parents, and all who are desirous of advancing the well-being of their fellow-colonists. In particular, they allude to the introduction of the Savings Bank into the School as a means of teaching a branch of systematic education, and of inculcating the practice of such virtues as forethought, self-dependence, and self-denial. For practical illustration of this, they respectfully direct your attention to the accompanying pamphlet descriptive of its working in the Schools of Belgium.

"What your Memorialists specially desire is, that you would second them in their wish to see a similar system of education carried on in the Schools of the Colony by your being pleased to authorize that the Savings Bank should be conducted in the Schools as a supplementary branch to that of the Post Office; and, in the event of your consenting to this, further, to cause such arrangements to be made as would reduce the work of the teachers—connected therewith, to a minimum.

"Your Memorialists humbly submit it as their conviction, that the subject is one of vast importance to the community, and they feel confident that, aided by the countenance and support of the Government, the proposed Association would be instrumental in effecting a much needed reform of improvident habits, and which would conduce largely to the moral and material wealth of the Colony. They are also of opinion that the carrying out of the proposed objects would be a powerful though indirect agency in helping to check the terrible scourge of the age—Intemperance.

"Your Memorialists have pleasure in calling your attention to the fact, that his Excellency the Governor and Lady Normanby have been kind enough to become patrons of the Association."

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

The promoters are glad to be in a position to state, that a subsequent communication from the Postmaster-General, has informed them that steps are now being taken to give practical effect to their suggestion.

APPENDIX B. Opinions of the Press.

(From the "Weekly Chronicle," Wanganui.)

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

(From the "Press," Canterbury")

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

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

(The "Evening Star" Dunedin.)

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

(From the "Evening Argus" Wellington.)

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

number, is to strengthen and elevate the moral character, and, in this proposed training of the child, he is being braed to withstand, not only the temptation to indulge in drink, but all other temptations, by the cultivation of those habits which make the exercise of self-restraint and self-control the easy going path of every day life.

(The "Western Star" Riverton.)

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

(From the "Church Gazette Auckland.)

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

(The "Marlborough Express")

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

(The "Southland News. ")

. . . . The ultimate social effect of this early adoption of provident habits has, of course, to be waited for, but in the meantime it is fairly enough assumed that it cannot be otherwise than beneficial. The compilers of the pamphlet, while admitting that wide differences exist between the condition of the industrial classes in Belgium and New Zealand, point out that, although relatively the workers are here much better paid, there is none the less need to foster provident habits. They give it as their opinion that, as a rule, resources are not economised as they should be, and that but a very small proportion make provision for the future. While not prepared to endorse this statement—which is contradicted by local observation—we are quite willing to admit that the easy circumstances of the bulk of the population may have led them to overlook the importance of instilling into the minds of the young the value of habits of frugality. It is a matter of common remark that children in this colony think less of sixpence or a shilling than those at home would of a halfpenny or a penny. Yet the purchasing

power of money is not so much less or the remuneration of labor so much greater as to fully account for the difference. If a continuance of prosperous times could be relied on, the rather lavish expenditure of either parents or children would not so much matter; but there is bound to be a "rainy day," and the present is the time to provide against it. Hence we cordially endorse the views of the gentlemen whose proposal is here outlined. At the same time it must be admitted that there are some practical difficulties in the way of its adoption. For instance, how will the teachers receive a suggestion, the immediate effect of which would be to burthen them with duties for which they did not bargain when taking office? Clearly the first step of the Society should be to place itself in communication with them, in order to ascertain their feeling on the subject. If it were favorable, all other obstacles might be overcome.

(The "Manawatu Times.")

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

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

decorative feature

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

Donations. Cr. £ s. d.. By His Excellency the Governor 5 0 0 " A Friend, per Miss Dalrymple, 5 5 0 " His Honor Mr. Justice Williams, Dunedin 1 0 0 " Mr. Hill Jack 1 1 0 " Mr. Hugh M'Niel 1 1 0 " Mr. David Baxter 1 1 0 " Mr. Walden 1 1 0 " Messrs. Sargood, Son, and Ewen 2 2 0 " Mr. F. G. Downes, Port Chalmers 1 1 0 " Mr. Dalrymple " 1 1 0 " Mr. R. Glendinning (of Ross and Glendinning... .. 1 1 0 " Messrs. Kempthorne, Prosser, & Co. 1 1 0 " A Friend (C.R.), Dunedin 1 1 0 " Mr. Downie Stewart " 1 1 0 " Mr. James M'Kerras " 1 1 0 " Mr. W. Hepburn 1 1 0 " J. M. " 1 1 0 " Mr. Robert Stout " 1 0 0 " Mayor of Dunedin (Mr. Walter) 1 1 0 " Messrs. Wilson & Co. 1 1 0 " Mr. Allan Holmes 1 1 0 " Messrs. Robinson & Co 1 1 0 " A Friend (W. D. M.) 1 1 0 " Mr. Jno, R. Reid 1 1 0 £34 6 0 Cash advanced by Hon. Secretary, Mr. Dalrymple... .. 11 6 4 £45 12 4 EXPENDITURE. £ S. d To 2000 copies of pamphlet, the Savings Bank in the Ghent Schools, printed in London, and expenses connected therewith 9 12 6 " Covers for 950 of above, printed in Dunedin 1 10 0 " 1000 additional of same pamphlet, printed in Dunedin 9 3 0 " 70 copies of Provident Knowledge Society's tracts and Lord Derby's speech on Thrift (procured for circulation) 0 13 6 " Brochures and pamphlets from Belgium (procured for circulation) 0 17 6 " Books and periodicals procured for

reference 1 16 0 " Newspapers, bought and posted for distributing information ... 0 15 0 " 2400
 "Papers" on opening of School Banks in Scotland and Liverpool, printed in Dunedin 3 15 0 " Postage
 of Letters to England, Belgium and France, and P.O. orders 0 12 6 " Postage of 136 letters to G. T. and other
 Lodges m N. Z., with 272 pamphlets to same... .. 1 2 8 " Postage of 370 letters within N Z.
 3 6 0 " Postage of 4500 pamphlets and "Papers" 7 6 0 " Stationery (say) 2 0 0 "
 To incidental expenses in collecting money, making arrangements, &c.,&c., (say) 2 0 0 £45 12 4
 (Signed) F. G. DOWNES, Hon. Treasurer. September 1, 1876.

The Savings-Bank in the School. An Economic Experiment at Ghent, Adapted to New Zealand
 (*From "Macmillan's Magazine"*),

And Issued by the Society for Encouraging Habits of Thrift Among the Young People of the Colony.
 Harrison and Sons, St. Martin's Lane, London: Printers in Ordinary to her Majesty. 1875

The Savings-Bank in the School.

PRUDENTIAL warnings against thriftlessness and waste have become so trite, and devices for encouraging the practice of saving are now so familiar to most of us, that a little diffidence may well be felt by one who ventures to again expatiate on this well-worn subject. Not only in the chief cities of the colony, but in remote townships and far "up country"—be that north or south, or east or west—New Zealand is far from behind in having its Savings-Banks, Building Societies, and numerous other provident associations, and few even of the very out-lying districts remain long unvisited by the Government lecturer on the advantages of life assurance; but the extent to which any or all of these influence the habits of people as a whole is comparatively insignificant. The proportion of earnings drawn from immediate consumption and reserved as part of the capital of the future is very small, and the number of persons who habitually save is relatively still smaller. The constantly recurring instances of pecuniary demands upon us for the support of families suddenly plunged into the depths of poverty by the death, or temporary suspension from work by accident or illness, of the bread-winner of the household, furnish ready proof of this. It would seem as if all the economic truisms about the sin of improvidence and the duty of saving were spoken to the winds or written on the sands of the sea-shore, so insufficiently are they in practice recognized. Mr. J. G. Fitch, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, and who contributed this paper as it originally appeared in "Macmillan's Magazine," on a recent visit to Ghent made himself acquainted with the details of a remarkable experiment now being carried out in connection with the Primary Schools of that town. It furnishes a forcible and striking example of the triumphant results of *practice*, during a period of six or seven years, over many times that number in endeavouring by *precept* merely to bring about similar results. It is, in fact, a bright and happy illustration of the favourite motto—"Deeds, not Words."

It will be understood that Mr. Fitch is the narrator, the language being altered only when occasion requires it to suit the circumstances of the colony. Mr. Fitch proceeds to say that Ghent is a thriving town of about 121,000 souls; it contains a Free (*i.e.*, a non-clerical) University and many Primary Schools, which are said to be very efficient, and are under the supervision of a Communal Council. This Council, though it sustains the schools and periodically inspects them, does not dispense with voluntary aid, and two important societies—the *Société Collier* and the *Cercle pour Encouragement de l'Instruction Primaire*—co-operate with the Council, by the offer of prizes in the schools and by various forms of stimulus and help to the teachers. Some seven years ago, it occurred to M. Laurent, the Professor of Civil Law in the University, that much might be done through the agency of the Primary Schools to familiarize the people while young with habits of economy and forethought. Accordingly he called the teachers of the Ghent Public Schools together, explained to them his plans, and having inspired them with some of his own enthusiasm on the subject, proceeded, with their full concurrence, to visit the schools one by one, in order to give simple economic lessons to the children. He went from class to class enforcing and illustrating the advantages of saving and showing how it might be practiced. A plan was devised by which the teacher of each division undertook to receive the little savings of the children from day to day, even a single centime (about the tenth part of a penny) at a time. As soon as the deposits of a pupil amount to 1 franc (10*d.*) he receives a Savings-Bank book, and a deposit account is opened in his name with the State Savings-Bank, which gives interest at the rate of 3 per cent. Each school also opens at the Savings-Bank its own separate account, in which all the smaller deposits are placed from day to day, the pupil's deposit being transferred under an arrangement with the bank into his or her own name as soon as it amounts to a franc. Simple books and cards of account are provided by the administration of the bank, and the children receive duplicates to be carried home from time to time for the information of their parents, but generally to be preserved at the school. The signature of a parent or guardian is required whenever any money is to be withdrawn.

By these simple arrangements the opportunity of making little savings was brought closely within reach of every child of the Ghent Schools, and the moral influences of gentle and kind persuasion were brought to bear by Professor Laurent and the teachers with singular success. The response made by the children and the parents to his appeals has been marked during the last six years by an emphasis and a steady persistence which are well deserving the attention of all who have the future well-being of the young people of New Zealand at heart.

The public schools of the city of Ghent fall into four classes : those most numerously attended are the Free Primary Schools, maintained in great part at the expense of the Communal Council. In these there are 4,315 boys and 3,674 girls, in all 7,989. Then there are the *Écoles Payantes*, primary schools of the same educational character, but not gratuitous, and designed for children of a higher social rank. In these there are 1,079 scholars. In the *Écoles Gardiennes*, or Free Infant Schools, there are 3,039 children, and in the Adult Schools, which are held in the evening or on the Sunday, there are 3,285 men and women under regular instruction. Out of this total of 15,392 pupils, no less than 13,032 are this year in possession of accounts in the Savings-Bank. The uniformity and steadiness with which the system has taken root in the schools may be estimated from these figures.

I.—*Number of Depositors.*

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|--------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|--------|----------|---------|
| 1867. | 1869. | 1871. | 1873. | Number of Pupils | 1873. | Free Primary Schools | 4,182 | 6,995 | 7,229 | 7,583 | | |
| 7,989 | Paying Schools..... | 491 | 666 | 628 | 640 | 1,079 | Infant Schools | --- | 1,075 | 1,572 | 1,920 | 3,039 |
| Adult Schools | 628 | 1,801 | 2,724 | 2,889 | 3,285 | 5,301 | 10,537 | 12,153 | 13,032 | 15,392 | II.—Sums | |
| Deposited. 1867. | 1869. | 1871. | 1873. | frs. | frs. | frs. | frs. | £ | Free Primary Schools..... | 23,014 | 55,685 | 172,643 |
| 274,602 | or 10,984 | Paying Schools..... | 3,666 | 13,220 | 19,347 | 22,687 | 274, 907 | Infant Schools | --- | 4,880 | 37,803 | 66,523 |
| 96,298 | 297,996 | 463,064 | or 18,522 | Adult Schools | 5,227 | 22,513 | 68,203 | 99,252 | 274, 3,970 | 31,907 | | |

Thus the average sum now standing to the credit of each depositor is about 3 5 francs. It will be seen that, relatively to the numbers, the largest success has been attained in the schools of the first class, the scholars in the ordinary juvenile schools being necessarily more amenable to influences of this kind than those of the second class, older and more thoughtful than those of the third, and with habits of extravagance which, if acquired at all, are less, confirmed than those of the fourth. The work has been done without Government authority or pressure of any kind, but simply through the energetic initiation of one earnest man, aided by the sympathy of the teachers and local managers. The reports show that there is also a steady growth in the interest with which the parents regard the experiment. At first the act of economy was mainly that of the child, who was induced to put by the halfpence he would otherwise have spent to indulge his appetite. But besides this, children are often intrusted by their parents with small sums expressly for the purpose of being added to their store. And the general result, that in a single town of moderate size upwards of 10,000 children have opened separate accounts in the Savings-Bank, and that nearly 15,000*l* are deposited in their names, is one which is full of encouragement to the thoughtful philanthropists who devised the plan, and which has already produced a very marked effect on the social and moral life of the working classes of Ghent. The experiment has created great interest throughout Belgium. In Antwerp, in Bruges, and in the rural districts, successful efforts have been made to secure the adoption of the same plan, and last year a new association for the special encouragement of saving has been formed under distinguished auspices, with its head quarters at Brussels, and designed to operate on all the Communal and State Schools of the country in a systematic manner.

Belgium abounds with associations for promoting healthy recreation and amusement, as elements which tend to foster a sound moral tone among the labouring classes. Many of these societies seek to attain their object by means of rewards and scholarships, designed to encourage children to remain longer at school; others aim at the formation of workmen's clubs for historic readings and discussions, for simple theatrical exhibitions and fetes, and for organized visits to famous factories, museums, and monuments. But in all of them the plan of explaining and recommending the use of the Savings-Bank, and bringing that institution close to the pupils in the school or the evening class, is now becoming recognized as one of the chief engines of usefulness. For example, there is an active society at Brussels especially designed to improve the education of girls and young women, and the object is attained to a considerable extent by means of prizes to meritorious pupils, and to those governesses whose efforts to raise the standard of instruction have been most successful. But the prizes and bursaries thus distributed always consist, in whole or in part, of a Savings-Bank book, inscribed with the pupil's name, and crediting her with a small sum of money, which is not to be withdrawn till after a given time.

It is surely unnecessary to dwell on the significance of these humble but useful efforts in their bearing on our own social and industrial life in the colony. Our labouring classes are better paid than those of any other country, but they are not richer, perhaps with one exception—the ploughman or yearly agricultural

servant—and they do not as a rule economise their resources, and a very small proportion of them make provision for the future. The same remarks may apply to numbers of tradespeople, and many others who regard their social standing as above that of either the tradesman or artisan. Reckless spending is the rule. Compared with Great Britain or the Continent of Europe, money is a plentiful commodity with everyone, but by very many never realized or capitalized in any of those permanent forms by which the dignity of family life is established and sustained. But until a man begins to care about this and some of the many substantial comforts and blessings which accumulated savings can alone procure, he has no motive to put forth his best energies to become a first-rate workman, a respected tradesman, or a confidential and trustworthy clerk, but every temptation to degenerate into a drunkard or a gambler. The degree with which, a man cares about such things forms, in fact, the measure of his prosperity, and his self-respect is the surest guarantee for his future industry and happiness. With those who receive their income in the form of weekly wages, economy and thrift may be somewhat difficult, but they are also more necessary when the horizon of a man's resources and of his expenditure is narrowed by the inevitable circumstances of his life; and a man is enriched and ennobled in just the proportion in which this horizon is enlarged, and in which he learns to see the actions and the sacrifices of to-day in their relation to to-morrow. Dr. Johnson's famous sentence, "Whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate "over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings," expresses with characteristic solemnity an indisputable truth. The difficulty, however, is to convert a truism like this into a practical maxim for the conduct of daily life.

It is not in the natural order of things for employers, even when they see the need of frugality and temperance, to take measures for urging the duty upon those they employ. In this direction, in the home country, many and various efforts have been made, some employers going so far as to offer a bonus of so much per cent, over that allowed by the banks upon all sums deposited, but nowhere has the experiment succeeded. Motives, it is supposed, were misinterpreted, and the deposits that had been made on first impressions were generally withdrawn. Perhaps, however, the true cause of failure might be attributed to the fact that, when first yielding to the proposals, the workmen acted under persuasion, not conviction—teaching had begun with them too late in life.

There is one class of teachers who might use their power to much advantage, and these are our ministers of religion; nor are we wholly without outspoken proof that the subject does not entirely escape their attention;

At a recent public meeting at Iokomairiro, Otago, the Rev. Mr. Coffey, in speaking of the vice of intemperance, recommended the practice of saving, as tending to lessen it. He said, "the joining of a benefit society would, he thought, "encourage thrift, and to encourage thrift was to discourage vice. A benefit society "by inculcating habits of saving, encouraged habits of self-control." The Rev. Mr. Stanford, in introducing resolutions for the discouraging of intemperance, at the meeting of the Anglican Synod, in Dunedin, in September last, used remarks to a similar effect.

but it must be owned, that generally speaking, the inculcation of saving as a substantial part of practical morality is, for some unexplained reasons, not dwelt upon with anything like the urgency or frequency which, as a great motive-agency for good, it ought to be. It is, after all, in the schools that the work can be most efficiently done. School committees and teachers have opportunities of constantly bringing the matter before the attention of the children, and can readily furnish to them simple facilities for carrying out the lessons of economy which are learned in the class; moreover, their disinterestedness is unquestionable, and they are less likely than any other persons who are brought into contact with the pupil to be suspected of selfish motives. Much might be done by the help of judicious lessons, by the use of wise and simple text-books, like Mr. Ellis's "Outlines of" Social Economy," and Archbishop Whatley's "Easy Lessons on "Money Matters;" also Bastiat's little book, "What is Seen and What "is not Seen,"

Messrs. Reith and Wilkie, Booksellers, Prince's Street, Dunedin, Otago, have kindly agreed to procure a supply of these books.

translated into English by Professor Hodgson, of Edinburgh, whose labours in that city and elsewhere to render the principles of economic science interesting and intelligible to young people have been remarkably successful. These text-books illustrate the need of economy, and the increased power of usefulness and of enjoyment which it gives to those who have learned it. But it must ever be kept in mind that thrift is an act—a habit to be learned like other habits, not mainly by teaching or lecturing, but by *actual practice*. All experience shows that it is hard to learn it for the first time in adult life, but if it be acquired in early life it will probably never be lost. Habit is second nature, and there is as much room for its exercise in the life of a child at school as in that of a grown man who is earning wages. To him, as well as to his elders, there are temptations to waste that might be resisted; there are frequent opportunities for little acts of forethought and self-restraint which ought to be embraced. It may seem a trifle to speak of pence which children spend in sweat meats and other trash, but economy is essentially a matter of trifles, and even of petty details. Relatively to his resources and to, his wants, these are the items which make up the extravagance of a child. The boy or girl who is encouraged to

deny himself or herself some immediate gratification and to prefer to it some future permanent advantage, who has once experienced the delight of receiving a letter by post inscribed "On Her Majesty's Service," and containing an acknowledgment from the Postmaster-General for the sum deposited, or who in some temporary trouble of the family has given relief by a draft upon the accumulated store, has learned a lesson in self-sacrifice which will abide in memory for life.

It may seem like special pleading to identify very high qualities too closely with so worldly a matter as the management of money; yet in truth there is no one problem or duty of life that calls into exercise so many moral attributes, or connects itself in so many subtle ways with the growth of the whole character. He who said "that a right habit of getting, of saving, and of spending money "argued a perfect man," was scarcely guilty of exaggeration. From the very beginning of responsible life the inclination to spend the whole of what we possess, becomes a potent temptation to spend or to enjoy a little more than we possess. And the records of our law courts and our police courts show that impecuniosity and extravagance are the parents not merely of much of the crime of the world, but of shiftiness, of evasion, of falsehood, and of the sins which enfeeble and degrade men most. The best remedy for this evil is to train children very early in the habits of distinguishing between real and unreal wants. "Artificial wants," says M. Laurent in his pamphlet, "which are at once the sore and the curse of riches, are "not unknown among the humbler classes." Everyone who can refuse to satisfy one of these, however slight, or who puts aside any portion, however small, of the resources of to-day to make part of his supply for future use or enjoyment, is, in a sense, a capitalist; and in this sense not only every man and woman, but every boy and girl who has the command of a single luxury, should be encouraged to become a capitalist.

It may be argued that it is cruel and unwise to interfere with the joyousness of childhood by prematurely burdening the mind with thoughts of the future; but I do not believe that the objection, however natural on a first view, would long be seriously maintained by any careful thinker. The penurious spirit, the calculating, hard, and grasping habit of mind, has doubtless its dangers; but it is not the fault to which colonists are at all prone, nor against which it is needful to take any elaborate precautions. The tendencies of colonial life are unquestionably in the opposite direction. Our dangers are of another kind; and, in truth, we are not encouraging a hurtful egotism and suppressing generous instincts when we invite children to set aside the pence with which they would otherwise satisfy a craving of the appetite. To spend money for such a purpose is in no sense more generous or unselfish than to reserve it for some future gratification in the choice of which thought and judgment shall be exercised. Both are self-regarding actions; but the one has elements of sacrifice and of wisdom in it, the other is a mere act of careless and short-sighted indulgence.

To translate is but to weaken the vigorous sentences of M. Laurent's allocution to the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who deal with the objection; nevertheless, here it is. "It is believed," he says, "that children are by nature generous, whilst the truth is they are egotistical and selfish. Look at that child. It is a holiday, and his parents, who are very poor, give him some small coin for pocket-money. He rushes off and buys some little dainty. Does he think of sharing it with his parents or his playmates? Not he. He gobbles it all up himself, and it never occurs to him that his father and mother have denied themselves a pleasure in order that he might have one. Supplies of pocket-money to children for present gratification serve little other purpose than to teach and cherish selfishness. To counsel a child to put by the trifling sums he receives seems at first as if teaching him to think only of himself; but in reality it is giving him practical lessons in self-denial and self-conquest—qualities which form a part of all that is good and noble in the human being."

Such is a sketch of the simple and judicious experiment initiated and carried forward by Professor Laurent and his friends in the Belgium schools. It may be considered as having passed its time of trial. As has been previously stated, it has been introduced to the home public by Mr. Fitch, who earnestly recommends its imitation by the thoughtful and benevolent interested in the well-being of the rising population of Great Britain. In a like

In a recent article, the "Otago Daily Times" recommended it to the attention of the Schoolmasters of the Province.

spirit it is now recommended to the consideration of the same classes of persons in New Zealand; more especially could it be wished that an active interest in it would be taken by our clergymen and teachers, in whose hands rest, it may be said, the training for good or evil of the great majority of our young people. In this movement we see an engine to mould to great might, and strength. With the exception of the societies alluded to at the commencement of this paper, little or nothing has been done amongst us to foster and encourage the practice of thrift. Many of the members of these societies, we are aware, feel it as no small hardship to save for their weekly or monthly payments, notwithstanding the indisputable fact that the income of all of them is more, and of most from two to four times greater, than that of which they were in receipt at home, and this also in the face of the necessaries of life being much less expensive. It arises, no doubt, from the single circumstance that the restraint necessary to save has been begun too late in life. What is needed is to make the habit of thrift part of the child's education—to make him store and save up his pence, for, in his eyes, their own sake, but in the

eyes of the teacher also for the far-reaching effects the training to such a habit will have in the future life of the child. Here, indeed, were the practice of this begun in the school, would be introduced that teaching, that education, which is, apart from mere book knowledge, the beginning of the realization of a dream—a fond hope of many a despairing soul. Dr. Hodgson, whose name has already been mentioned, was among the first to urge the teaching of economics in schools to both boys and girls. In one of his lectures on the subject he remarks, most truly, that the evils arising from their ignorance retard our social progress, deform and disgrace our civilization, and make good men despair of any remedy or even serious abatement. "I am Utopian enough," he says, "to believe that it is in the school-room that the work of teaching economics can be done. Thirty years' experience of old systems and of new, gives me confidence in the issue of such an extension of the scope of our school teaching, high and low, as shall amount, in spirit and in purpose, to a radical reformation. . . . Some readers may well think that 'I imagine a vain thing;' nevertheless I know what I am saying. Economics I hold to be a part, and no small or unimportant part, of morality; they are, indeed, at the very root of practical morals, for morals decay alike amid squalid poverty and thriftless waste. Into all social relations does money somehow enter—in getting or spending, in lending or borrowing, in sowing or reaping, as well as buying and selling. Money means independence, leisure, culture, peace of mind, freedom from corroding and debasing care, the power and the right to be generous, to direct and pay labour, individual and social progress; and the disregard of it, so loudly professed by some, is either stupidity or hypocrisy, or both. Few things are indeed more important than money, the means by which it is acquired, the ways in which it is employed. Wealth may be abused, and so may health, but that cannot be used which is not possessed. What training then is given in this most vital theme? A schoolmaster once told me that he considered wages a branch of arithmetic. At Eton a late head master, who expressed the very needless fear of his influencing the boys too much, when asked if he did anything to repress extravagance amongst them, replied that he forbade the use of easy chairs—an answer worthy, for its *naive* irrelevancy, to rank with that of Jerrold's sailor, who, when asked about William's moral character, replied, 'Moral character : why, sir, he plays the 'fiddle like an angel!'"

Dr. Hodgson deplors that in schools the subject should be almost ignored. He says that in the few where it is taught there experience goes to prove that no other subject has more interest for the pupils, or is more easily taught without loss, nay even with gain, to other ones. The need of such teaching appears on every hand to all whose eyes are not blinded that they cannot see. Has not, as Carlyle's Professor would say, has not custom hoodwinked us in New Zealand, and has not prejudice been our lawgiver? There are honourable exceptions, but we cannot find that generally the science of economics forms any part of the programme of studies in the public schools of the colony.

But to return to the subject proper of this paper, and to keep more to Mr. Fitch's remarks. Some may say that there are Post-office Savings-Banks everywhere, or at least, that they increase in number as townships and schools make way in outlying districts. This is doubtless true, but it must be remembered that these banks themselves, however numerous, can never be brought close enough to the children while the habits of their life are in process of formation. Nor is it possible that the banks should ever receive sums so small as those by which the habit of saving must be formed. When the child grows up he is already familiar with these truly useful institutions, and this is a great step, indeed more than half the battle gained.

The last report of the Postmaster-General shows that Savings-Banks were established in New Zealand on the 1st of February, 1867, and on the 31st of December of that year there were 2,156 depositors, with an average of 33*l.*-5*d.* to the credit of each; in 1870 the number had risen to 8,317, with an average of 35*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* to the credit of each; while in 1873 there were 17,132 depositors, or 1 in 17 of the population, with an average of 38*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* to the credit of each. This will compare favourably with the published report of the Victorian Savings-Banks, in which, in 1874, the number of depositors was 1 in 30 of the population, with an average amount of 37*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* to the credit of each. In Massachusetts the depositors amount to one-fifth of the population; in Switzerland the proportion is 1 in 12, and in Ireland it is only 1 in 50. But in New Zealand the full development of the Post-office Savings-Bank system is hindered by several causes; there are many districts in which no bank is yet attached to the Post-office, and the rule which limits each deposit to a minimum of 1*s.*, and forbids the receipt of sixpences even when tendered with larger amounts, and which is most noticeable in the case of half-crowns, acts unfavourably in encouraging the practice of the smaller economics; and the fact that the banks are closed in the evenings, especially on the Saturday evenings, when working men generally receive their wages, is also very unfavourable for the timid and irresolute. Suggestions for reform and improvement in these matters of minor detail have, however, seldom had a better chance of being favourably regarded than at the present moment. The position of Postmaster-General is held by the Hon. Mr. Vogel, whose career has been characterized by so much administrative capacity, and whose readiness to adjust means and measures to suit the circumstances of every class of colonists is proved by the admirable provisions recently made for encouraging life insurance. Mr. Vogel is also honourably distinguished by his insight into other social problems, and by the earnestness with which he has helped to solve them, and it is far from likely that he

regards the department of the Post-office Savings-Bank as nothing more than a mere source of revenue or an instrument of public convenience. It is not too much to believe that the present movement will have in him a deep and active sympathizer, and by his help and wise administration the Post-office Savings-Bank of New Zealand may be made a potent teacher and an unfailing aid in the grand and glorious work of true education.

That great results can be accomplished with the aid of the teachers, even with the resources at the command of the scholars in the district schools, is manifest from the fact that upwards of 10,000 children in a single town, where the earnings of the parents are far below those of the colony, have saved sums averaging 30s. each. It is probable that very little, if any, of this money would have found its way to the bank but for the agency of the school. The work is one the success of which will much depend on the spontaneous efforts of the teachers, combined with those of the school committee, and the influence brought to-bear upon children individually by benevolent and thoughtful people. Each province can now boast of a well organized system of public instruction, but even with that there is still much room for the exercise of that personal zeal and that affectionate interest in the welfare of the scholars which have always characterized both the parochial and the voluntary systems in the old country, and for the exercise of such exertions, here is one field in which the harvest truly may be great. In proportion as our schools increase in number, and the advantages of education become better understood, so will school attendance be prolonged and the number be greater; in like ratio a larger proportion of children become amenable to such simple reasonings and influences as have proved so efficacious at Ghent. And those who will take the trouble to associate themselves with the teachers in bringing the Savings-Banks into the school, and making the simple arrangements by which the business part of the matter may be done smoothly and in proper order, may fulfil a most useful function. They will aid the work of true education in an effectual way, not only by thus giving practical and experimental lessons in economic science to the scholars, but also by enlarging their comprehensions and increasing their power of self-control. It is, however, not a panacea. If adopted ever so earnestly and successfully, it will leave much improvidence unremedied; but in its daily practice as part of the discipline of life, it may, with the Divine blessing, prove one instrument for establishing such a basis of character in the rising youth of New Zealand as shall elevate the whole of their social and moral life.

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English & American Law, A Lecture Delivered to The Otago Law Students' Society, ON 24TH JUNE, 1876,

By WM. Downie Stewart, ESQ., OF THE SUPREME COURT OF NEW ZEALAND BARRISTER-AT-LAW. Published By Request, (revised).

The laws have, or ought to have, a constant reference to the constitution of government, the manners, the climate, the religion, the commerce, the situation of each society.—DAVID HUME.

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English & American Law.

PROBABLY there is no country to which we can look, so far as jurisprudence is concerned, with greater interest and profit than to the United States of America. Not, indeed, that we may not consult with advantage the laws of other countries, such as Canada, India, and our neighbouring colonies; but the laws in force in America, from its historical associations and present importance, demand special consideration. Being once a dependency of Great Britain it was subject to the laws of England, so far as applicable, and these laws may be taken as the basis, on which the jurisprudence of all the present States of America is founded.

So, with us, the origin and principles of our laws are English, although numerous innovations have been made from time to time. The law in operation in this colony is divisible into what may be termed substantive and adjective law, the former giving the right, and the latter regulating the remedy.

It may not be uninteresting to allude to some of the changes which the Americans effected before, but more especially since, the Revolution, which severed their connection with the Home country, and which led to their becoming an independent nation. We occasionally hear allusion made to the law of America, but such a reference is somewhat ambiguous, and is certainly calculated to mislead. The expressions law in America and the law of America frequently convey totally different meanings. The laws in operation in the

United States

may be considered under two heads—namely, Federal Law on the one hand, and State and Territory Law

on the other. The constitution of the United States, and also the constitutions of the various States, make ample provision for the ordinary legislative, judiciary, and executive functions of a government. It may be safely asserted that no two States or Territories have similar laws, which however though varying in details are generally not dissimilar in principle. Each State has apparently vied with the other States in producing a system as free from anomalies as possible. Although I am far from maintaining that we should blindly adopt the innovations which have there been made in the English law, still I am satisfied that we should give them more attentive and impartial consideration than they generally receive. Hitherto we have confined our attention too exclusively to the English statutes, which have been to our legislators a sort of text-book. Nearly all the important changes which have been made in our laws have been adopted, and that, sometimes, very tardily, from the Home statutes. Before proceeding further it may be desirable to draw your attention to an important distinction between the

Constitution

of Great Britain and that of the United States. The constitution of the former is unwritten, and has been moulded from time to time as circumstances required. The parliament of Great Britain has supreme authority to make, re-peal, or modify any law it pleases, and the judges have no power to call in question the validity of any statute passed, although they may be of opinion that it is unjust or even unconstitutional in the sense in which the latter word is used in England. Moreover, one parliament cannot pass an Act fettering in the slightest degree the power of a subsequent one; but even there the word "supreme" must be understood in a relative sense—the ultimate power being in the people. The constitution of the United States, however, is a written one, and any Act passed by Congress which conflicted with its terms would be inoperative and disregarded by the judges; or, if necessary, declared illegal. Each State also has its own written constitution, and any law of the State Legislature passed at variance with its provision would be declared unconstitutional. There is, however, a broad distinction between a statute passed by Congress, and one passed by a State legislature. The former can legislate only on matters specifically authorised by the Federal Constitution, whereas the latter can pass laws relating to all matters not expressly prohibited by the federal or local constitution. In referring to the power possessed by

American Judges,

Austin, in his 39th lecture, states that Colonel Murat, who practised in some of the American States, informed him that the Acts of some of the State legislatures were habitu-ally over-ruled by the Bench and Bar; that, in fact, it was quite a common thing for the judges, after a session of the legislature, to assemble for the purpose of considering the Acts passed and determining which of them were binding, and that if an Act were considered unsuitable it was rejected *sans cérémonie*. It would appear also that the opinion of the judges was uniformly endorsed by the public at large. With very great deference to the authority of Colonel Murat I am disposed to think that his statement is calculated to convey an erroneous impression. That the judges of some of the States were in the habit of assembling in the manner stated I do not doubt, but in so doing they were acting extrajudicially, and their opinion had no legal effect. The judges, I apprehend, have no authority except in cases actually under their consideration to give a decision on the effect of a particular statute. Indeed, according to two comparatively recent cases, one of which was decided in Iowa and the other in Pennsylvania, the Courts held that unless a statute violates the constitution clearly, palpably, plainly, and in such manner as to leave no reasonable doubt it will not be held unconstitutional. Having made these general remarks I may now proceed to consider the

Procedure

in our Supreme Court, which is unnecessarily cumbrous, and the expenses are generally out of proportion to the interests involved. The result is that the public in all parts of the colony have a dread of litigation, and instead of readily re- sorting to this Court to have their grievances redressed, they prefer submitting their disputes to arbitration or reducing their claims so as to bring them within the jurisdiction of the lower courts. The remarks of Herbert Spencer in referring to the administration of justice in England in his interesting work on "Social Statics," may, with little modification, be applied to the judicial system in force in this colony. He states "that we, the independent, determined, self-ruling English should daily behold the giant abominations of our judicial system, and yet do nothing to rectify them, is really quite incomprehensible. It is not as though the facts were disputed. All men are agreed upon them. The dangers of law are proverbial. * * * This gentleman has been cheated out of half his property, but dare not attempt to recover it for fear of losing more, whilst his less prudent companion can parallel the experience of him who said that he had only twice been on the verge of

ruin : once when he had lost a law suit, and once when he had gained one." A radical reform in the present system of administering justice is much needed, otherwise the

Supreme Court

will fail to serve the purposes for which it was constituted. One or two suggestions may not be unworthy of consideration. The jurisdiction of the District Courts might be extended so as to enable them to take cognizance of all cases over which the Supreme Court has jurisdiction, except certain special business, such as cases of divorce, remedial writs, &c, in which matters the Supreme Court could retain original jurisdiction, and be an Appellate Court in other respects. The facts of a case could be ascertained at comparatively little expense in a District Court, and a simple mode of appeal provided whereby either party dissatisfied with the decision of the lower court on the law bearing on the facts could have had it reviewed by the Supreme court. Another course might be adopted, namely, to simplify the procedure in the Supreme Court. The system of involved pleadings might be improved by making it more simple and less hazardous to litigants. Even under the present practice the real facts in controversy are frequently not discovered until near the close of a long trial, or probably not until it is over. The result is a miscarriage of justice, eventuating in an application for a new trial at considerable expense; the second trial may be attended with no more satisfactory result. The merits of a case are, under the present rules of pleading, occasionally sacrificed, neither judge nor jury being permitted to give an opinion on them. Moreover, the expenses of an action in the Supreme Court are excessive, and are almost the same in amount whether the money or property at stake is much or little. An action for £200 in the District Court may be heard and determined at a cost of about £25, whilst one in the Supreme Court for, say £220, may entail on the losing party a sum for costs in excess of the amount sued for. Indeed, there are many cases in which the sum for which a verdict is given forms but a small item in the total amount which the defendant has to pay. Nor does a successful plaintiff always reap much from the fruits of his judgment. His solicitor may have incurred a great deal of expense in resisting vexatious interlocutory applications in Chambers on the part of the defendant. In addition to these considerations one out of many illustrations may be given to show how imperfect and in some respects incongruous the present practice is. An application may be made to a judge in Chambers on summons taken out by one party to have the pleadings of the opposite party amended or struck out. The learned judge, after listening to elaborate arguments by the solicitors on either side, and after taking time to consider his decision may give judgment in favour of the defendant. The plaintiff, being dissatisfied with it, may make an application in Banco for a rule *nisi* to rescind the order made in Chambers. After argument, a rule *nisi* may be granted, and in due course set down for argument by the same solicitors, who are now, however, designated counsel. They may repeat the same arguments, cite the same cases, and the result of all this may be that the Court (represented by the learned judge who sat in Chambers) affirms the decision of the learned judge who made the order. The costs of the application in Chambers were probably not more than two or three guineas, whilst those connected with the proceedings in Banco not unlikely involve the losing party in a liability of £30 or £40. Of course many of you are no doubt aware how interminable some actions are, one motion after another being made in Chambers and in Banco until the question which the cause was commenced to settle becomes of secondary importance. On the other hand the practice in some of the

Lower Courts,

particularly in the Resident Magistrate's Court, is open to serious objection. The costs allowed a successful party are much too small, and this circumstance encourages liti-gation. A defendant may refuse to pay a just debt in the hope that his creditors will not sue for its recovery, and well knowing that he (the defendant) may put the plaintiff to trouble and expense, for which he can get no com-pensation except in having the fee for the summons refunded. The defendant should, in all cases in which he pays the money into Court (if not previously tendered), or confesses judgment, be saddled with the costs of the plaintiff's solicitors up to the time the action is settled, and these costs should be proportioned to the amount really due. Whilst on this subject I may observe that the Lord Advocate of

Scotland

has been endeavouring to effect a reform in the judicial system in operation there. At present the Sheriffs' Courts have very extensive civil jurisdiction. All cases decided in them are first heard before the Sheriff-Substitute, gene-rally a judge of great experience and learning. From his decision an appeal lies to the Sheriff, from whose judgment, when the amount involved is beyond a certain sum, an appeal lies to the Court of Session. The contemplated reform, if brought about, will extend the jurisdiction of the Sheriffs' Court yet further, and make the Court of Session practically a Court of Appeal only. Whether with us the jurisdiction of

the District Court should be enlarged or the procedure in the Supreme Court simplified the great aim of any reform should be expedition, reduction of costs in the higher court, and finality of litigation. I shall now give some particulars regarding some of the

Courts in America.

which may be useful. The United States (Federal) Courts are numerous. The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and eight associate judges, six of whom form a quorum. The Court has exclusive jurisdiction over all cases relating to treaties, maritime and admiralty cases; controversies between States or the citizens of different States; questions affecting the rights of ambassadors, &c. It has also an extensive appellate jurisdiction. The States have been divided into something like 56 districts, sub-divided into nine circuits, in which Federal Circuit Courts are held. These Courts dispose of cases which the State Courts are incompetent to entertain; for example, in actions in which the United States are plaintiffs, and in proceeding!; under the Revenue Laws. There are also Courts of Claims, to which I need not particularly allude, and Territorial Courts. In the territory of Utah there are three judges who collectively constitute the Supreme Court, which is an Appellate Court Each of the judges, when sitting separately, acts as a district judge, and as such has original jurisdiction in nearly all matters, and when the amount involved is over 1,000 dollars an appeal lies from the local Supreme Court to the United States Supreme Court. Each State has its own Supreme and Inferior Courts. There is a general similarity between the respective Courts of many of the States, and probably by describing briefly the judicial system in one State an idea may be gained of that in force in several of the other States. From the judgment of the Supreme Court of a State there is no appeal Its decisions are final, and are not amenable even to the highest Federal Court. Indeed, the State and Federal Courts are as independent of each other as are courts of different nations; nor has the President of the United States power to pardon or grant a reprieve to a person found guilty and sentenced by a State Court. The judges in most of these States, except those in the six New England States, are, I believe, elected by the people. This has always appeared to me to be a serious blot; yet I never met with an American who did not support this right. They reason the matter some what after this method : All public servants should be appointed by the people. Judges are public servants, *ergo* they should be elected by the people. In California the courts are the Supreme Court, District Courts, County Courts, Probate Courts, and Justices' Courts. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is chiefly of an appellate nature, but it has original jurisdiction in dealing with writs of *Habeas Corpus*, *Certiorari*, and *Mandamus*. There are five judges, and the one who has the shortest term of office to run presides as chairman. The business brought before the Court is very great, and is expeditiously disposed of. The judges constitute a strong Bench, and their decisions are highly respected as evincing ability and impartiality. Sacramento being the capital of California is nominally the head-quarters of the Court, but it frequently sits in San Francisco for the convenience of the profession. The latter city, from its commercial importance, is likely, ultimately, to be the principal seat of the Court. When in San Francisco the Supreme Court was sitting there, and I had therefore an opportunity of paying it a visit. All the judges were on the Bench, and there were about one hundred lawyers present. Neither judges nor counsel wore wigs, bands, nor gowns. Chief Justice Wallace was chairman, and on either side were the Associate Judges—namely, Judges Crockett, Niles, Rhodes, and McKinstry. The case before them was an application for a new trial. The counsel addressing the Court was a good speaker, and delivered a very able address, in which he pointed out the origin of the difference between an application to a Court of Equity and that to a Court of Law for a new trial. The judges interposed occasionally with such questions as, "Would your arguments apply if, &c.," and "Do you contend that, &c." None of them manifested any desire to anticipate the arguments of counsel, nor did any of them interrupt counsel unnecessarily. There is a weekly publication of the reports of the Court issued every Tuesday called the "Pacific Law Reporter." There are now something like 50 volumes of standard Californian reports.

The Law Library in San Francisco is very large, containing probably about fifteen times as many law books as there are in the Dunedin Law Library. So also in New York there is a very large Law Library, equal, if not superior, to that in the west. When in New York I met the librarian, and also his assistant. I furnished particulars regarding our reports and statutes, and should any of you visit that city a year or so hence you will most likely find in the Law Library the reports and statutes of these colonies.

The District Courts have no appellate jurisdiction, but they have an extensive original jurisdiction in all causes where the sum involved amounts to three hundred dollars and upwards. The Court can decide disputes relating to the title or possession of real property, and dispose of all equity business. A jury may be dispensed with by the consent of both parties. This is probably preferable to the opposite course of trying an action without a jury, unless the plaintiff or defendant demands one. These Courts are held at various places throughout the State. The County Courts hear appeals from Justices' Courts, and have jurisdiction in insolvency and other business not coming expressly within the jurisdiction of the other State Courts. The Probate Courts

have jurisdiction in regard to wills, and the administration generally of the estates of deceased persons. And the Justices' Courts have jurisdiction in cases where the amount in dispute is under three hundred dollars.

I have given a brief description of the judicial system in force in California for several reasons. It is a comparatively young and yet a very important state, and its legislators have been able to profit by the experience of the legislators of older states. Moreover, its code of civil procedure is probably more complete and instructive than that of any of the other states. In Michigan there is a Supreme Court which has original jurisdiction to issue Remedial Writs, such as writs of *Mandamus*, *Prohibition*, &c. In other respects it is an Appellate Court exclusively. There are Circuit Courts which have, with certain special exceptions, jurisdiction in all actions and proceedings, and there are also Probate and Justices' Courts.

Nearly all the States have a

Code

of procedure, and it would certainly be a great advantage if such a code existed in this colony instead of having Acts relating to the administration of justice in almost every volume of the statutes of the General Assembly. Nor would such a code be difficult to frame, it being a very different proceeding from codifying all the laws of the colony. As an illustration of the tendency in America to codify I may mention that in the State of California they have a penal code, a civil code, a code of procedure, and a political code. Amongst the important alterations effected by the New York code, passed many years ago, I may mention that the distinction between legal and equitable remedies was abolished, and that where the violation of a right admits of both a civil and criminal remedy, the right to prosecute the one is not merged in the other. An injunction may be obtained to protect a defendant's property where it appears by affidavit that he threatens to dispose of such property so as to defraud his creditors. One of the sections provides that the allegations in a pleading shall be liberally construed so as to effect substantial justice between the parties. Except in certain actions all costs are in the discretion of the Court, and when costs are allowed the amount is fixed according to a scale. For example, for all proceedings before notice of trial in an action in which the plaintiff would be entitled to judgment without application to the Court, 15 dollars, and to either party on appeal before argument, 30 dollars; for argument, 60 dollars. Under section 218 the defendant may recover, by way of set-off, any amount due to him in excess of the plaintiff's claim (see our rule 105); or if it appears that the defendant is entitled to any other affirmative relief judgment must be given accordingly. A somewhat similar provision has been inserted in the rules framed under the English Supreme Court of Judicature Act, 1873. Already, in the case of *Hillman v. Mayhew*, decided in February last, and reported 34 L.T. N.S. 256, a decision on this branch of the Act has been delivered. Singularly enough the circumstances of that case came almost within the letter of the precedent given in the rules framed under the Act. In the Colony of Queensland, under the Common Law Procedure Act of 1867, it is provided that all matters which were then only the subject of a cross action might thereafter, by leave of a judge, be pleaded by way of set-off.

I may here remark that in California an applicant for admission to practice in a State Supreme Court must be at least 21 years of age, and produce satisfactory evidence that he has a good moral character. He must also declare his intention to become a *bond fide* citizen of the State, and pass a strict examination in open Court. On admission to the Supreme Court the applicant is entitled to practice in all Courts in the State. He may, however, apply to be admitted to practice in the District or County Courts, in which case on admission he can practice only within the respective limits of these Courts. No articles of clerkship or pupilage appear to be necessary.

I may now refer to several important distinctions between the laws in America and England respectively in regard to rules of evidence, and I shall begin with the question of

Criminal Procedure.

The treatment to which accused persons were from a very early period subjected in England was not creditable, and the reforms achieved from time to time conceding only a reasonable measure of justice to prisoners have been very gradual, and in some instances have met with unreasonable opposition. I need scarcely remind you of the time when counsel for a prisoner accused of felony was not allowed to address the jury on his behalf, although such a right was granted to one charged with treason or misdemeanour. An agitation for a reform in this branch of the law began in 1824, but for a long time met with considerable opposition, especially from Lord Lyndhurst. The desired change was most strenuously supported by Lords Brougham and Denman and Sir J. Macintosh, and also at a later period by Lord Campbell. However, it was not until the year 1836 that the law was amended. Lord Lyndhurst ultimately withdrew his opposition out of deference to the opinion of Sir Michael Foster. Messrs. George Lamb and Ewart are, however, entitled to as much credit for this amendment as any of the others whose names I have mentioned. It is a fundamental principle of the American law that a

prisoner may be defended by counsel. By the Californian penal code a pauper prisoner is entitled to have counsel assigned him without any fee. In some places where counsel, at the request of the Court, defends such a prisoner, he is entitled to claim remuneration by virtue of statute law. The legal profession will, it is to be hoped, ever be willing to render assistance gratis to a prisoner in destitute circumstances, more especially when the offence with which he is charged is one of a grave character. Yet there is no reason why the defence of such a prisoner should be left even to the sympathy of lawyers, one or more of whom should be appointed by the judge of the district, or by the legal profession therein, to defend persons accused of crime, and who are unable to command professional assistance, the counsel defending being entitled to be paid by the Government reasonable remuneration. Not only so, but a prisoner should be furnished at least seven days before the trial with a copy of the indictment intended to be laid before the grand jury, and also gratis with a copy of the depositions. In civil proceedings ample safeguards exist against a defendant being suddenly called on to defend a claim, with the nature of which he may be unacquainted. How much more important is it that in criminal proceedings an accused person should not be taken by-surprise by being required to answer probably an abstruse indictment, the preparation of which may have taxed the legal knowledge of the prosecuting counsel. Moreover, a prisoner should have compulsory process without charge for the attendance of witnesses on his behalf. No opportunity should be allowed to haggle with prisoners whose circumstances may be doubtful regarding payment of fees for a copy of the depositions or for a subpoena. In California the State even makes an allowance to cover the expenses of witnesses called for the prisoner.

I have for a long time been strongly impressed with the idea that a prisoner should be entitled to give evidence on his own behalf in accordance with the maxim "audi alteram partem." In several of the States a prisoner charged with crime is entitled to give such evidence. The law, which was for some time watched with interest and misgiving, is now regarded in the States in which it is in force with the greatest favour, and there is apparently a growing tendency amongst the Americans to extend the benefit of this provision.

I hope that the New Zealand Legislature will at no distant date abolish the unjust law which prevails here, by which a prisoner is sometimes condemned practically unheard. In after years our posterity will be more astonished at the present law than we feel surprised at the objectionable and unjust rules of evidence which have from time to time prevailed in England in regard to the trial of prisoners. At one time a prisoner was not allowed to call any

Witnesses

at all, as such a proceeding was calculated to reflect on the evidence brought forward by the Crown. This rule assumed what was unfortunately not always the fact—namely, that the Crown was desirous of having simple justice done, and that its officers had procured all the evidence obtainable for as well as against the accused. Afterwards a prisoner was allowed to call witnesses on his own behalf, but they were not sworn, and their statements were not only looked on with suspicion, but doubtless in many instances with absolute distrust.

When public opinion could tolerate this unjust practice no longer a statute was passed in the first year of the reign of Queen Anne, whereby it was enacted that "in all cases of treason and felony witnesses for the prisoner shall be examined upon oath in like manner as the witnesses against him." This was undoubtedly an alteration in the right direction. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that although up to this time Courts excluded evidence for the prisoner, judges were not wanting who endeavoured to entrap the accused by asking him ambiguous and improper questions. A notable instance of this occurred during the trial of the Duke of Norfolk in 1572. There are certain

Exceptions

in the English law to the rule which I am now considering—namely, in cases of affiliation, and in certain prosecutions under the Licensing law. Moreover, by an Act of the Imperial Parliament passed last year amending the Merchant Shipping Act, a further innovation was made. Under this Act it is a misdemeanour for the owner of a vessel to allow it to proceed to sea in an unseaworthy condition, and the onus of shewing that the vessel is seaworthy is thrown on the accused, who, however, is expressly allowed to give evidence in the same manner as any other witness. Our own Act of last session on this subject, although somewhat qualified in its terms, has worked very satisfactorily.

It was at one time doubted in America whether the fact of a prisoner entitled to do so not giving evidence was a circumstance on which the prosecuting counsel was justified in commenting to the jury. For a time conflicting decisions were given by the judges, but the law may be taken as settled that no inference unfavourable to the prisoner can be drawn should he decline to avail himself of this privilege. What is a privilege? Clearly a right of which a person may in his own discretion avail himself. Should a prisoner not elect

to do so, whether acting under the advice of counsel or not, no unfavourable comment or inference is allowable. The statute in Wisconsin expressly provides that a prisoner may give evidence for himself at his own request, but his neglect or refusal to testify shall create no presumption against him. And the statute in Minnesota enacts that no comment on such neglect either by Court or counsel shall be allowed. If the accused begin to give evidence he may decline at any step to proceed further, and of course, like any ordinary witness, he may refuse to say anything which might tend to criminate himself. As a further illustration of the unfairness of the law in force here it may be mentioned that the

Deposition

of a witness for the Crown examined before the committing justices may be given in evidence on the trial against the prisoner if the witness is dead, out of the colony, or too ill to travel. However, the deposition of a witness examined before such justices is admissible for the prisoner—that is, against the Crown, only if the witness is dead. Should he leave the colony, or be too unwell to attend the trial, his evidence is excluded. Why should this difference exist? It may be urged that a prisoner might induce a witness to leave the colony or feign illness. Is this likely? Is it not a fact that such a witness is certain to be cross-examined in the lower Court by an experienced person, whilst in many instances the witnesses for the prosecution are frequently not cross-examined with any rigour, and sometimes scarcely at all, by the accused. In Queensland, where the justices certify that the witness is unable to attend the trial, his deposition may be read, and the evidence of a witness about to quit the colony may be taken by consent of the Crown, and prisoner *de bene esse*.

The reforms in the law of evidence, even in

Civil Cases,

have been very gradual. The rule which formerly excluded the evidence of persons having any legal interest in the subject matter in dispute, although maintained from a praiseworthy motive, was found impracticable. Amongst the Romans the rule was more strict, excluding near relatives, and a son was unable to give evidence for his father, or *vice versa*.

It was not until the year 1843 that Lord Denman's Act was passed removing the disability on the ground of crime or interest, except in actions of ejectment. This qualification was abolished by Lord Brougham's Act of 1851. By this Act parties to the action were made admissible witnesses, and indeed became compellable to give evidence if required to do so. By the Amendment Act of 1853 (Lord Brougham's) husbands and wives became admissible as witnesses for or against each other, except in cases of adultery and criminal proceedings; but on the ground of public policy communications between such persons made during marriage were protected, and are no doubt likely to continue so. I observe that by the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, the husband or wife of a prisoner can give evidence for or against the accused.

Considering the implicit confidence which a client is frequently called upon to repose in his legal adviser, it is a well-established rule that the latter is not at liberty to divulge any information which may be communicated to him in his professional capacity. No such privilege, however, exists between a medical practitioner and his patient, nor between a clergyman and a member of his congregation. Such a privilege was very strongly insisted on in the case of *Regina v. Hay*, 2 F. & F. 2, in which the prisoner was charged with stealing a watch. One of the witnesses called was a priest, and it appeared that the prisoner was a member of his church. The priest was asked from whom he got the watch, but he declined to answer the question on the alleged ground that he was not at liberty to disclose any information which he acquired from a member of his church, and added that if he did answer the question his suspension for life would follow. Mr. Justice Hill, however, adjudged him guilty of contempt, and he was removed in custody. This case certainly shows how rigidly the rule against privilege may be enforced. The policy of the law so far as relates to admissions made to medical men and clergymen may be open to question. It is not difficult to conceive circumstances under which, if evidence of such admissions were insisted on, great injustice would be the result. In the States of California, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, and Kansas communications made by a patient to his physician whilst attending him professionally, and confessions made by any person to his or her clergyman or priest professionally—that is, in accordance with the rules of the denomination to which the parties belong—are privileged. Indeed, in some of the States, the privilege extends to statements made to a public officer in his official capacity.

I may here refer to a reform which might very properly be introduced in England as well as here. Under the Indian Evidence Act, to which I have referred, no confession made to a police officer can be proved against a person accused of any offence, and no confession made by a prisoner whilst in custody is to be given evidence of unless made in the presence of a magistrate.

A law prevails in several of the States which is well worthy of consideration. In Tennessee, where the

opposite parties are executors or administrators, evidence cannot be given against them of any statement made by the testator to the opposite party unless called upon to do so by them or by the Court. The principle of this law is in force in nearly all the States, although the language of the various statutes is somewhat different. The rule is general in some of the States, and extends to guardians, trustees, and others occupying a fiduciary position. In New Hampshire, if the executor gives evidence, or if the Court is satisfied that injustice would be done, the opposite party may testify. It is not necessary to say more on this subject than merely to observe that under the present law evidence given of conversations with a deceased person, or a person unable to give evidence, such as a lunatic, may place an executor or guardian at a serious disadvantage. There is much to be said in support of the opinion of Lord Brougham, who advocated an extension of the Statute of Frauds, and the adoption of the principle of the French law, by which all contracts for sums above a certain amount must be in writing. In his opinion, considering the progress of education, there was little excuse for contracts not being in writing.

In some parts of America executors or administrators can require a creditor to verify his debt by a declaration before the latter is entitled to commence an action. This is certainly a reasonable provision, as they have frequently to take the mere word of a creditor for the existence of a debt, with the alternative of being sued.

By the law in nearly all the American States the incompetency of a witness arising from his unbelief is removed, and such unbelief affects his credibility only. In Michigan a witness cannot be questioned touching his religious belief, and in Georgia it has been decided that a witness cannot be asked whether he believes in Christ as the Saviour.

The tendency of the English judges for many years has been to relax the rule which relates to the incompetency of witnesses, and to allow any special circumstances touching their belief or character to affect their credibility only. This principle, so far as religious belief is concerned, has been carried into practical effect by recent legislation. Under the Indian Evidence Act (s. 118) all persons are competent witnesses unless the Court is satisfied that they are prevented understanding questions by tender years, extreme old age, disease, whether of body or mind, or any other cause of the same kind.

In some of the States, such as Mississippi, persons who have been convicted of perjury or subornation of perjury are absolutely incompetent as witnesses, and in Tennessee persons who have been guilty of felony, and who have not been pardoned, are not admissible as witnesses. Provisions of this kind, I think, are open to objection, and the fact that a person has been guilty of an offence should merely affect his credibility.

Whilst on the question of evidence it may not be out of place to refer to the rule which prevails with us in regard to proving deeds. In order to prove a deed requiring attestation it is necessary to call the attesting witness, if within the jurisdiction of the Court. This law, when strictly enforced, is frequently attended with great inconvenience as well as much expense, and the calling of the witness to prove his signature is nearly always an idle ceremony. The rule which prevails in Scotland might be beneficially introduced here. There a deed appearing *ex facie* to be complete, and to have been duly executed, is admitted without proof, it being what is technically called probative. Indeed by section 38 of the Conveyancing (Scotland) Act, 1874, a deed is still probative, although the testing clause—now of less importance than formerly—does not furnish the particulars as to execution previously required, and where a deed is improbativ a special mode of proof may be resorted to under section 39 of the Act. If such a law be considered objectionable it might be modified by admitting only deeds attested by certain persons, such as justices of the peace, or solicitors. However, I see no objection to the rule in force in Scotland.

In Queensland, under the Evidence and Discovery Act of 1867, a witness to a deed may prove its execution by a declaration on oath, but the party intending so to prove the deed must give notice to the other side before the trial of his intention to do so.

Interest.

In many of the States there are traces in their laws of the disfavour with which usury was regarded in England. The rate of interest is fixed in most of the States, and in some of them a maximum rate is stated, and any excess cannot be recovered. In Tennessee the rate is fixed at 6 per cent.; in Michigan at 7 per cent., but in either State parties may agree to any rate not exceeding 10 per cent. In California the limit is 10 per cent., but any rate may by writing be agreed on.

Under our Resident Magistrates' Court Act a magistrate has a discretion in giving time to a defendant to pay by instalment the amount of the

Judgment.

Occasionally the magistrate may refuse to give time, and sometimes when indulgence is given the debtor abuses it, and the creditor loses his money. There may be many cases in which time would be an advantage to all parties, and instances may not unfrequently occur in which a defendant has a friend who may become surety, but to whom it may be inconvenient to advance the money at once. In Wisconsin execution on a judgment given in a lower Court can be stayed on security being given for the amount of the judgment. In Indiana, on giving sufficient freehold security, execution on any judgment, except for debts for breach of trust, may be stayed. A similar law prevails in other States. The period during which execution is stayed is fixed, and is proportioned to the amount of the debt

Although our Contractors' Debts Act, 1871, facilitates in many instances the recovery of wages due to

Workmen,

it places the contractor in no better position than he was formerly, nor does it give the workmen any greater rights than their employer had. Indeed the principle of the Act is similar to that of the provisions of the Law Amendment Act, 1856," whereby money may be attached in the hands of a garnishee or sub-debtor. In America they have probably gone too far in their desire to protect contractors and workmen. In the State of Connecticut contractors, when the value of the labour expended exceeds 25 dollars, have a lien for the sum owing on the land on which the building has been erected, as well as on the building itself. Proceedings similar to the steps necessary to have a mortgage foreclosed may be taken to have the lien satisfied. Verified particulars of the claim and premises must be lodged with the Town Clerk of the city in which the building is erected within 60 days after the completion of the work. In Alabama a similar lien exists unless the contractor has taken security, but the contract must be in writing and recorded within 60 days after it is made in the Probate Court of the county in which the work is to be done. In Illinois sub-contractors also have a lien, but notice must be given to the owner within 60 days after the money has become due, and if not paid within 10 days after such notice the debt must be sued for. The principle of this law is in force in almost every State and territory, but the procedure is not uniform. In some of the States a lien is also given to various other persons, such as wood-cutters, miners, &c. In regard to

Bankrupts,

each State has power to pass bankrupt and insolvent laws, which, however, may be modified or abrogated by any general law on the same subject passed by Congress. Provisions exist in the several bankruptcy laws in force in the various States whereby in some instances a large portion of the debtor's property is absolutely protected against the claims of the creditors. Under our own Debtors and Creditors' Act, 1875, a debtor is entitled to retain as his own property the tools (if any) of his trade and the necessary wearing apparel and bedding of himself, his wife, and children. However, this provision bears no comparison with what is termed the exemption and homestead law in America. It would occupy too much time to give even an outline of this law, and I shall therefore only refer somewhat particularly to the rule in force in the State of Michigan. A householder is entitled to a homestead not exceeding in value 1500 dollars; also sewing machine, wearing apparel, books, pew, &c., not exceeding 150 dollars; two cows, five swine, household furniture, fuel for six months, not exceeding in all 250 dollars; implements, horses, harness, &c., sufficient to allow the debtor to carry on his business, not more than 250 dollars in value, provisions, feed, &c., for six months. In New York the residence of the debtor being a householder is exempt to the value of 1000 dollars, and also a very large quantity of chattels, such as household furniture, library, tools, apparel, watch, &c., &c. In California, chairs, books, &c., not exceeding 200 dollars in value, are exempt; homestead not exceeding 5000 dollars; the cabin or dwelling of a miner, not exceeding 500 dollars; also a number of other articles, such as tools, household furniture, &c., &c. In Vermont a homestead to the value of 500 dollars is exempt; also household furniture, sewing machine, one cow, ten sheep, ten cords of firewood, 20 bushels of potatoes, three swarms of bees and hives, professional books, and instruments of physicians to a certain value; also bibles and other books, &c.

The legal status of a

Married Woman

has long been a blot on the English law. Except in cases where the husband is legally dead or the wife has obtained a protection order she has in a Court of law really no legal position. During marriage her legal existence is suspended. Efforts have been made for many years in Courts of Equity to extend her rights in regard to property held to her separate use, as will be seen on reference to the important judgments of Lord Westbury (in *Taylor v. Mead*, 34 L. J. Chancery, 203) and Lord Hatherley (in *Pride v. Bubb*, L. R. 7, ch. 64). These cases, however, decide no more than that she may dispose of her equitable estate in such property

without her husband's consent.

It may be doubtful whether the Married Women's Property Protection Act, 1860, and the Amendment Act of 1870, were ever intended to apply to persons likely to become possessed of valuable property. The primary object of these Acts was probably to protect the earnings of married women in indifferent circumstances who had to support themselves. The property of a married woman should be placed more directly under her own control, irrespective of the circumstance of having a drunken or cruel husband.

The American law on this subject is entitled to serious consideration. The policy of that law in nearly all the States is to place married women in the position of a *femme sole*, in regard to all property belonging to her at the date of her marriage or acquired by her during coverture. As a corollary to this position she is entitled to sue and is liable to be sued in all matters relating to such property as if she were unmarried. As a set-off against this the husband is not liable for the debts owing by her at the time of the marriage. These general remarks are subject to many qualifications; for example, in Oregon it would appear that property acquired by gift, devise, or inheritance only is free from the husband's debts; and in Columbia property given by a husband to his wife remains liable for his debts. In California all property acquired during marriage by either party is common property, with absolute power in him to dispose of it during his life, but on his death she succeeds to the half of it. In Michigan a wife can contract with her husband in the same manner as she may do with a stranger, and she is under no disability in regard to such contracts. In Indiana a widow who is entitled to property by virtue of her first marriage ceases to have any claim to it on being married again, and it thereupon belongs to her children by the first husband. The law in New York places the wife practically in the position of a *femme sole*. Moreover, in the Province of Ontario (Statute 35 Vic., ch. 16, s. 2), a married woman may carry on business alone, and all profits, earnings, and property derived there from may be disposed of without her husband's consent. By section 3 she may insure her own life for the benefit of herself and children, and the life of her husband with his consent. By section 8 he is not liable for the debts owing by her at the date of marriage, or incurred by her in carrying on business separately.

This branch of law has been very much altered in England within the last few years. The Married Women's Property Act, 1870, and Amendment Act of 1874, doubtless give substantial effect to the principle of the American law, to part of which I have briefly alluded, but these Acts are not in force in the colony, although it is to be hoped that the Colonial Legislature will without delay pass them in an amended form. In our law the power to sell the lands of

Infants,

unless affected with a trust or liable for debts, is unsatisfactory. A recent statute in England has altered the law on this head. In several of the States authority is given to the guardian of an infant or the executors of the estate of a deceased to sell land under the direction of a Court. However, in several of the States, such a sale is prohibited by statute.

Provision exists under the New Zealand Lunatics Act, 1868, for selling land under the authority of the Supreme Court. If such a right is proper it certainly would not be unreasonable to confer a similar jurisdiction on the Court in cases of minors. I quite admit that such an authority may be injudiciously exercised, the proceedings being necessarily of an *ex parte* character, but on the other hand injustice and loss may occasionally take place in the absence of such a power, the exercise of which might well be surrounded by sufficient safeguards.

In many, if not all, of the States there is what is technically called a

Betterment Law,

the object of which is to protect persons who in good faith improve land which they believe to be their own. The owner of land on which improvements have been made is bound to pay the value of the improvements unless he elects to have the land and improvements valued separately. Should the person claiming compensation refuse to purchase the land at the price at which it has been valued, he forfeits his right to compensation. In the Province of Ontario (statute 36 Vic., c. 22) a statute is in force having a similar object to those in force in several of the States. This Betterment Law is wider in its operation than the English Rule of Equity, which compels the real owner of property, who stands by and allows another person to expend money in improving the property, to compensate such person for the improvements, the reason being that the conduct of the real owner under such circumstances constitutes fraud. The English law on the subject will be found in the notes to the *Karl of Oxford's case* (2 Tudor's Leading Cases in Equity). The chief distinction between the American and the English law on this question is, that by the law of the former country the real owner may be ignorant of the fact that his land is being improved, the Courts looking almost entirely to the *bona fides* of the

person expending the money, whereas in England the owner must have knowledge of, and wink at, the improvements whilst they are being made.

However tempting the occasion, I feel that time will not allow me to refer at any length to several of the other

Important Changes

which have taken place in America. The abolition of the law of primogeniture, which was of feudal origin, and the fusion of law and equity in most of the States, protection against unreasonable searches, and various other alterations and improvements well worth considering,

I trust that these remarks may at least prove suggestive, and should they be the means of directing your attention with still greater enthusiasm to the study of the laws in operation in America I shall consider my labours abundantly rewarded.

The Ethics of Evolution.

WHEN honoured with a request to deliver a lecture in this series on the vexed question of Evolution, I expressed a strong reluctance to meddle with a subject upon which public sentiment in Dunedin was so divided, and upon which so much blood, or at least so much ink, had already been shed. I intimated my preference for some neutral topic, literary or social. When, however, the request was pressed, I did not feel at liberty to decline. The choice of the general subject, then, has not been mine, but that of the Committee.

The particular aspect of the question which I purpose to discuss is the incidence of the Doctrine of Evolution upon Theology, and, through Theology, upon Ethics or Practical Morals. I have felt some hesitation in introducing, in connection with a purely literary institution, a topic of a theological, or semi-theological, character. But I have reflected that it must have been this department of the question which the Committee wished me to treat. Had they desired a scientific exposition of Evolution, they would scarcely have applied to a member of my profession. Moreover, it is in the ethical bearings of Evolution that the Dunedin public has recently displayed so unmistakeable an interest. It is an honourable characteristic of the colonists of Otago that they are readily and warmly interested in topics metaphysical and theological. The controversy which has occupied the attention of this community for several weeks past would, in any other part of the Colony, have died a natural death within a week. We may flatter ourselves that intellectual life is more active here than in other colonial towns.

WHAT THE DOCTRINE OF EVOLUTION IS.

It may be taken for granted that everyone here has a general notion of what is meant by the scientific doctrine of Evolution. But probably not everyone has learned how comprehensive and far reaching, as a theory of the universe, that doctrine is. Evolution undertakes to account for the origin not merely of man, but of all animal organisms, of all terrestrial life, animal and vegetable, of the planet itself, of the solar system of which it is a member, of other systems, the central luminaries of which are known to us only as fixed stars; in short, of the physical universe. It runs back the ancestry of animal forms till their root is indistinguishable from that of vegetal life. It finds the beginnings of both, according to some of its exponents, in what is called the "primordial slime"—the *Urschleim* of German evolutionists—an albuminous substance existing in deep sea bottoms, which is said to be *alive*. "This living slime," says a German writer

"The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism," by Oscar Schmidt, p. 26. English evolutionists are sceptical as to the vital qualities of this albuminous slime. Professor Huxley is said to have surrendered the point. See "Popular Science Review" for April; Review of Haeckel.

, "the so-called Bathybius, does not even exhibit individuality, or the definiteness of a separate existence; it resembles the shapeless mineral substances, each particle of which bears the characteristics of the whole." The origin of the planet and of the solar system it refers to the condensation of diffused nebulous matter, such as is now discernible in various parts of the stellar universe. We have a compendious statement of the doctrine of Evolution in Tennyson's "Princess:"

This world was once a fluid haze of light,

Till toward the centre set the starry tides,
And eddied into suns, that wheeling cast
The planets; then the monster, then the man
Tattooed or woaded, winter-clad in skins,
Raw from the prime, and crushing down his mate,
As yet we find in barbarous isles, and hero
Amongst the lowest.

That is how the lady professor lectures her "sweet girl-graduates," and there are few professors of the other sex who could put the matter more neatly or concisely. Think what we will of the truth or falsehood of Evolution, it cannot be denied that it is a magnificent generalization. The law it affirms is as comprehensive as the law of gravitation—equally with gravitation includes in its grasp the animalcule and the star—but is more wonderful, in proportion as its effects are more various and more intrinsically marvellous.

IS IT PROVED?

"But what is the proof?" people are asking. And many persons, who during the last few weeks have heard of Evolution for the first time, are angry and incredulous because the proof cannot be given in a breath.

This impatience is unreasonable. There are many important and indubitable truths the certainty of which cannot be demonstrated out of hand. If I tell a man who has no acquaintance with elementary mathematics that the three angles of a triangle are always equal to two right angles, he will perhaps think the statement open to question. Triangles vary in shape, and angles in dimension—it seems very unlikely that in every triangle the angles should make exactly two right angles. If I tell him further that in every right-angled triangle the square on the side which is opposite to the right angle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides, he will perhaps think the statement quite incredible; or he may try to test its accuracy by some rough-and-ready method of his own, as I have seen a raw theological student testing a proposition of Euclid by measuring the diagram on the black-board with a piece of string! And if he suddenly demands from me *the proof*, what am I to say? I am reduced to a condition of helplessness. I am obliged to tell him that I cannot give him the proof—that no living man can give him the proof. To be able to see the proof he must go through a certain course of reading and of reasoning. It was Euclid himself, who, when asked by a royal pupil whether geometry could not be made easier, replied "that there was no royal road." And the man who shrinks from the toil or tedium of investigating the evidence upon which mathematical truth rests is scarcely entitled to complain of its want of proof.

I am very far from intending to suggest by these illustrations that Evolution has been, or can be, mathematically proved. There is, at most, only a probability of proof, but that probability is enormously strong. When two converging straight lines in the same plane have been traced almost to their point of intersection, and when their meeting in that point is necessary to complete some symmetrical figure—as a square or a triangle—the rest of which we can see, the mind naturally assumes the meeting of the lines, even though the point of intersection itself should lie beyond our range of vision. This is something like the state of the argument for Evolution. The converging lines do not yet meet, but most men of science assume that their meeting is certain enough for all practical purposes, and proclaim Evolution proved. An objector may allege that the proof is incomplete, and, technically, he is correct; but it seems to me a madcap and perilous thing to stake the existence of Christianity, as some are disposed to do, on the chance that the converging lines will never meet. Such a chance may be liberally estimated at one in a million.

SKETCH OF THE EVIDENCE.

It is not my purpose, then, to attempt to prove Evolution. Yet it is necessary for the end I have in view that I should indicate some of the leading features in the body of evidence upon which the doctrine rests, so far, at least, as it relates to the origin of animal forms.

The summary which follows is compressed from an article in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1869.

(1.) There is first what may be called the *invariable tendency to vary*, which is constant in all organisms. No two individuals of a family are absolutely alike.

(2.) Next, *variations may be accumulated* by the selection of the parents. It is upon this principle that the art of the stock breeder is based, and its results may be exemplified by the widely diversified forms, within the same species, of the race-horse and the London dray-horse.

(3.) All *living things have a capacity for increasing in a geometrical ratio*. If a pair produce ten young once

during their lives, and these again are reproductive at a year old, twenty millions will be produced in ten years. Many animals, and most plants, increase faster than this. Even the elephant, which has the slowest rate of increase, would in five hundred years multiply from a single pair to fifteen millions.

(4.) But notwithstanding this enormous rate of increase, *the number of animals and plants* in any country once stocked *never permanently increases*. It may fluctuate slightly from year to year, but the average remains the same. It follows that the deaths must equal the births. If the number of sparrows, say in England, is on the average half a million, and if a million of young ones are hatched every year, then before the next year a million sparrows must die. When a million sparrows die annually, what determines which individuals die and which survive? We know that wild animals die of diseases, of hunger, of cold, by the attacks of enemies, &c. Will it be the healthy or the sick that die of diseases, the strong or the weak that die of hunger, the well feathered or the poorly feathered that die of cold, the active and wary or the slow and careless that will be killed by enemies?

(5.) In the answer to these questions is involved the law of the *survival of the fittest*, or *natural selection*. Any minute variation giving an animal an advantage in the struggle for life would tend to be inherited. The law of "survival of the fittest," by simply determining which out of the immense surplus born annually shall be the parents of the next generation, must lead to the modification of every part of an animal's organisation that affects its welfare—sooner or later, of its whole organisation.

By the operation through enormous lengths of time of these principles stamped by the Author of Nature upon all organisms, have been evolved, from one parent form, or even from the "primordial slime," all living types of animals and plants. Such is the startling doctrine of Evolution.

THE ANCESTRY OF MAN.

Respecting, in particular, our own origin, the accepted theory is, that our ancestry may be traced back, not indeed, as is commonly said, to the anthropoid apes, but to some extinct form which was the common progenitor of the ape and of man.

Upon this especially interesting point I read an extract from Darwin's "Descent of Man":—

"Man is descended [at an interval, say, of a million years] from a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in its habits, and an inhabitant of the Old World. All the higher mammals are probably derived from an ancient marsupial animal, and this, through a long line of diversified forms, either from some reptile-like or amphibian-like creature, and this again, from some fish-like animal. In the dim obscurity of the past, we can see that the early progenitor of the vertebrata must have been an aquatic animal, provided with branchiæ [gills], with the two sexes united in the same individual, and with the most important organs of the body, such as the brain and the heart, imperfectly developed. This animal seems to have been more like the larvae of the existing marine Ascidiæ than any other known form."

A small, blunt point in the upper part of the infolding margin of the human ear is a relic of the "pointed ears" worn by our progenitor who swung himself from tree to tree in the forests of the Old World; the prolongation of the spinal column is a reminiscence of his tail; whilst the covering of the chin in males, and of the upper part of the head in both sexes, is a remnant of his shaggy coat, lengthened and improved, as well as limited in area, by the operation of what Darwin calls "sexual selection."

IS THE DOCTRINE DEGRADING?

After reading the extract just given, we can understand the vehement opposition which the doctrine of Evolution has provoked. First, there is a natural sentiment of revulsion from the idea that man is to be linked in family relationship with the brutes. It is a "degrading" doctrine; it assigns to man a "bestial origin;" so we have been hearing again and again during the controversy of the last few weeks.

Well, that may be: Evolution may be "degrading," and the origin it suggests may be "bestial," but we must not rely upon these epithets to rid us of the facts. "Facts are chieftains that winna ding," and the doctrine of Evolution is supposed to rest upon hard facts.

But consider a little whether we are entitled to insist so much on the indignity which this doctrine puts upon us. Look at a class of facts which are patent to us all, and which remain the same, whatever be true about the doctrine of descent. Is there not an actual *structural affinity* between man and brutes? He and they have the same bony structure, the same limbs for the same general uses, and these limbs terminating in the same digits,—the same organs of sense, of respiration and nutrition, the same arrangement of brain, heart, lungs, stomach. In these and other physical characteristics man notoriously differs less from the creatures below him, than they differ from each other. He is of the same flesh and blood, moulded upon the same general plan, and no classifier, not himself a man and thus biased, would dream of drawing an arbitrary line between man and the apes.

Further, every mental faculty of ours is traceable back through the brutes. Even a rudimentary *conscience* is to be discerned in them.

See a suggestive array of facts in a recent number of the 'Quarterly Journal of Science.' Article on "Conscience in Animals."

On the general mental and moral affinity which subsists, I quote the following passage from Agassiz—himself an opponent of the doctrine of descent:—

"The gradations of the moral faculty among the higher animals and man are so imperceptible, that to deny to the first a certain sense of responsibility and consciousness, would certainly be an exaggeration of the differences which distinguish man and animals. This argues strongly in favour of the existence in every animal of an immaterial principle similar to that which, by its excellence and superior endowments, places man so much above animals."—"Essay on Classification."

However repugnant, then, the idea may be to us, we cannot deny the fact of our actual affinity with the brutes in type and structure; we cannot deny a community of bodily instincts, appetites, pains, pleasures, a common dependence upon food and sleep, a common liability to accidents, diseases, and death. We cannot even refuse their claim to participation in our nobler qualities. Mother-love, sagacity, affection, fidelity, courage, all have their exemplifications in the brute world. We may imagine, indeed, one of our despised cousins expostulating with us much after the fashion of the Jew in the "Merchant of Venice :"—"I am an ape! Hath not an ape eyes? Hath not an ape hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in all else, we will be like you also in that."

The mention of revenge may remind us that in one respect our remote has an advantage over our later ancestry. The nature of the lower creatures is at any rate uncontaminated by moral pollution, and I confess to a feeling of sympathy with the remark of an American writer :—"For my part I had rather descend from apes than from some of the men I see around here." Much of the repugnance we feel to what is called a "bestial origin" may be set down to personal vanity. We set an inordinate value on an ancient and honourable lineage. A French marquis, in order to illustrate the high antiquity of his house, is said to have had a picture painted representing Noah carrying into the Ark a tin box, of the kind common in lawyers' offices, inscribed "Papers of the De Vaux family." There is a snobbishness common in society which, though not running quite to this length, takes the shape of a disposition to estimate a man not for what he is, but for what his progenitors may have been. "Pray, sir," said an exquisite to the venerable Indian missionary Carey, sitting as an invited guest at the table of the Governor-General—"Pray, sir, is it correct that your former vocation was that of a *shoemaker*?" "Quite incorrect," was the sturdy reply, "it was merely that of a *cobbler*." We sympathise with that reply, and our sympathy means that it matters little from whom or from what a man has sprung, provided only he *is* a man. With respect to Evolution, we must accept the inevitable, and, for my part, if it should be proved, as seems likely, that one of our remote progenitors rejoiced in "a tail and pointed ears," I should be disposed still to say with Burns, "A man's a man for a' that."

RELATIONS OF EVOLUTION TO THEISM.

We advance, however, to the more serious difficulties of the subject. Is the theory of Evolution atheistic? We have been told again and again of late that it is. Many of its advocates, we are reminded, are avowed atheists. It dispenses with a Creator, makes him unnecessary, excludes him from the universe. So we hear; and the substance of the objection is, that Evolution is necessarily inconsistent with Theism. We will look at this carefully.

It may be allowed at once that many of the German expositors of Evolution are atheistic—as Büchner, Haeckel, Oscar Schmidt, and others. This reproach, however, does not lie against Darwin, Wallace, and their principal English followers. In explanation of the endeavour made in some quarters to press Evolution into antagonism to Theism, we should remember that there may be an anti-religious as well as a religious fanaticism, and that the former sometimes finds it convenient to assume a scientific dress. When we find, as in the Germans just named, undoubted attainments in science associated with hostility to religion, we must not forget the earlier hostility of religion, or, at least, of theology and theologians, to science. These men do not forget it. They remember how the doctors of divinity gathered at Salamanca to demonstrate Columbus a heretic for proposing to seek the shores of India by sailing west; how Galileo was imprisoned, tortured, and died in a dungeon for asserting the motion of the earth; and how Bruno was burnt at the stake as late as the first year of the seventeenth century for suggesting the possible existence of other inhabited worlds. They know that every science has had to fight its way into acceptance against the opposition of the theologians; and so they see in the

ideas God, revelation, religion, only obstruction to truth.

We may extenuate thus, but not the less do we condemn, their infatuation, for infatuation it is. In their endeavour to make Evolution atheistic they are guilty of a flagrant departure from the true scientific spirit. They refer the origin of man, as we have seen, to the marine Ascidiæ, and that of the marine Ascidiæ to the "primordial slime." When we enquire concerning the genesis of their "primordial slime," we are further referred to the nebular hypothesis, and the condensation of sun and planets out of matter in a condition of "diffused nebulosity." And, when finally we ask, "Whence came your 'matter in a condition of diffused nebulosity?'" they answer, "Well, all we know is, that it was not created! Neither at that, nor at any other point in the evolutionary series, can we admit the intervention of a personal Power or Will." This seems to me Hindoo science. The Hindoo cosmogony represents the earth as resting on the back of an elephant, which stands on the back of a tortoise, which stands upon nothing. It is apparently a relief to the Hindoo mind to think that so ponderous a mass as the earth has something to rest on. Even an elephant is too big to be left absolutely without footing. But so insignificant a creature as a tortoise may contrive to shift without any material support. After much the same manner, German evolutionists seem to have concluded that such thin and unsubstantial stuff as matter in "a condition of diffused nebulosity," may come into existence without the aid of a Creator.

Evolution has been discredited by these attempts to push it into the service of Atheism, but it is not for that reason to be summarily rejected. There have been undevout astronomers, and it was a saying of Comte that the heavens declare the glory, not of God, but of Kepler and Newton. But that would be a poor reason for repudiating astronomy, or for doubting the calculations of the Nautical Almanac, through which that science lends its aid to navigation. To reject Evolution merely because some evolutionists are Atheists, would be like refusing to use imported goods because some captains of vessels are addicted to profane swearing. We may allow the scientists who say that Evolution cannot tolerate Christianity to pair off with the theologians who affirm that Christianity cannot accept Evolution, and so leave the field free to impartial investigators, who are not under bondage to invincible prejudice.

EVOLUTION ESSENTIALLY THEISTIC.

In truth the evolutionist conception of the universe is more strictly anti-Atheist than any other.

Evolution is the bringing of much out of little, the little out of less, the less out of nothing, and, as the 'Spectator' well says, requires a creative energy at every step.

Evolution is *continuous creation*. It is not merely the preservation of the *status quo*; not the maintenance of dead level; still less is it the winding of a watch which runs on with less and less energy till it runs down. On the theory of Evolution creation is still progressive. The universe is growing ever richer in organic forms, and existing organisms are ever travelling upward towards higher perfection.

From this point of view Evolution may even be described as *continuous miracle*. It is the miracle of the stream rising above its source, of the effect transcending the cause.

THE POPULAR CRAVING FOR CREATION BY FIAT, INCONSISTENT.

Still, popular sentiment craves for a creation by fiat, something scenic, dramatic, a method of creation that will stand out to the senses. A creation which progresses from the zoophyte to man in a million centuries is as good as no creation at all. To locate the creative force so far away as the nebula; is to push it out of the universe.

But this sentiment is inconsistent. To say that the universe is the product of Evolution is to dispense with the Creator, we are told. What Creator, then, has the existing generation of plants and animals? The organisms we now see were not created by fiat. They are the product of causes set in motion, at any rate, six thousand years ago. Has the world then been God-forsaken for six thousand years?

It is a truer theology and a more reasonable science to say that progressive development needs a creative force as strictly as the summoning a new existence out of nothing. "Forces of nature" are God's energies; "laws" are the modes in which they work. "It is but reasonable," says Herschel, in his "Outlines of Astronomy," "to regard the force of gravitation as the direct or indirect result of a Consciousness or Will existing somewhere." Much more reasonably may this be supposed of the evolutionary forces, whatever they are, which are forever throwing up new phases of life. It is through them that—

Out of darkness come the hands
That reach through nature, moulding men.

The objector who, in his zeal for the honour of the Creator, refuses to recognise His plastic hand in Evolution, is shut up to the absurdity of excluding creative force from the world since the Bible-date of Adam, for manifestly, since then, creation has been by Evolution. The whole relation of Evolution to Theism is well expressed by the Duke of Argyll in a single sentence :—"Creation by Law, Evolution by Law, Development by Law, or, as including all these kindred ideas—the Reign of Law—is nothing but the reign of Creative Force, working under the control of Creative Power, and in fulfilment of Creative Purpose."

IS EVOLUTION OPPOSED TO THE BIBLE.

But even if shown to be consistent with Theism, can Evolution be harmonised with the Bible? We have been told, with much emphasis, that it cannot. And I sympathise with the logic of the heart which instantly responds, "Then it cannot be true!" For there are thousands of men and women who *know* that the Bible is true, as surely as they know any fact of experience and consciousness, more surely than they can know any fact of abstract science. Whatever is noblest in them has its spring in Bible teaching; every better impulse, every movement of their nature towards good, every sacred feeling that lifts them above the material and the sensual, derives its origin thence. From the Bible has come to them the breath of spiritual life. Take away the Bible and they gasp in a vacuum. And when the Bible is gone, and with it the provision for their spiritual nurture, they will care little what you make out about their relationship to the brute. They will feel that they have already ceased to be men. Life will not be worth living, nor science worth knowing, if they are to be merely mechanism pulled by strings; and discussions about man's origin will seem to them utter futilities whilst they are left in the dark about his destiny. It will be an evil day for the world when this instinct perishes, when what seems to invalidate the Bible is heard of without alarm, or allowed to establish itself without challenge.

But, with respect to Evolution, there is no real cause for alarm. What I foresee is the smashing of much ecclesiastical china-ware, the levelling of many a scholastic house-of-cards, the ruthless brushing away of cob webberies spun out of theologic brains,—all that I foresee. But the Bible will emerge from the ordeal unscathed—nay, if I mistake not, having a firmer hold on the intelligent veneration and trust of mankind than before.

EVOLUTION AND GENESIS.

Genesis contains a cosmogony—a history of the origin of the universe and of man.

But for whom was that history written? "In every work regard the author's end" is a sound canon of criticism; let us apply it here. The history was written for a community of suddenly emancipated slaves—a people degraded, mentally and morally, by centuries of bondage amongst idolaters. The story of the Exodus and of the forty years subsequent desert life is filled with the proofs of their ignorance, petulance, levity, and general incapacity for receiving elevated teaching of any sort. They were, in short, a community of children, and this fact is the key to the teaching given them. The first lesson in their education was, that the Deity who had delivered them from Egypt, and now claimed their homage and obedience, was the Author of nature and of man. And this lesson was given, not in the terms of modern philosophy, but in those of a child's first lesson book.

AN ILLUSTRATION

What is the method of a child's first lesson book? Take an illustration. My little child is curious about the origin of the loaf on the breakfast table—wants to know where the bread came from. If I am a wise man, and not a pedant, what I tell him is something like this :—"There is a man called a farmer, and he has a field. He scratches up the field with a great iron hook, and when he has made a nice soft bed, he puts in it the seed, which is called the corn. The seed sleeps there for a little while, and then the sun and the rain come and waken it. Then the seed sends up a tiny point like the grass. 'Come up,' says the sun, 'higher—higher still.' So it grows and grows, till at last the corn comes out of the top of it. Then the farmer takes a great knife and cuts it down. Next he carries it to the miller. Now the miller has a great wheel fixed by a river, and he says to the river, 'River, turn my wheel,' So the river turns his wheel, and the wheel turns two great stones, and the great stones grind the corn into flour. Then the flour is taken to the baker, and the baker bakes it into bread, and brings it round in his cart for breakfast."

Now, would this account *be true*? Nay, would it not be in reality the very truest I could give? Would not such an account be a thousand times more rational and intelligible than if I assumed the style of a University Professor—talked learnedly about agricultural chemistry, gave the botanic name of the corn plant, described its dependence on the ammonia of the soil and the carbon of the atmosphere, stated the exact date of its sowing and the months of its growth, exhibited a diagram of a plough, explained the mechanism of a mill, and

expounded the principles of hydraulics upon which the motion of the wheel depends? And would there be any *sacrifice of dignity* in thus talking to a child within the range of a child's ideas and capacity?

But what sad havoc is made with my little history if it is treated in what may be called *the theologic spirit*—the spirit in which we are accustomed to construe the first chapters of Genesis! The "hook," then, is a literal hook, such, doubtless, as we see sticking in walls or in butchers' shops. Then the seed "sleeps," and in "a bed," and is "wakened,"—all to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, as the French say—with literal exactitude. Moreover, the sun and the rain *talk*, it seems,—mysterious, but true, or the narrator is untruthful, and we could not trust a word he says! And so on, in the fashion we know so well.

Equally disastrous is the effect if the story comes under the handling of the *scientific critic*. To him, of course, it is false at every point. The "hook" was not a hook at all, but a *plough*. Moreover, a plough is dragged by horses, of which agency the history said nothing, but even suggested that the farmer dragged it himself. The talk of the sun and the rain is plainly mythical. Then nothing was said about the thrashing—a most momentous omission. In short, my history is proved "unhistorical" from first to last.

And yet, after all, I am right, whilst both the commentator and the critic are wrong.

GENESIS—HOW TO BE HEAD.

In the light of this little parable you will see what is the nature of the reading which I would give to Genesis.

The purpose of the writer was to convey to a community of children, with a bias towards idolatry, a notion of certain great truths,—that God made the world, that He made man, that not the less did He make woman, and of the same flesh and blood—an assertion of woman's equality which has been wanted in the East in every age,—that man sinned and needed a Saviour. And the lesson is given much after the manner in which I described the origin of the loaf of bread.

When I open the first chapters of Genesis, everything warns me that I have entered a region which, whatever it is, is not the region of matter-of-fact prose. There is a serpent who talks; the trees have magical qualities; the animals come to be named; there is a woman who is made from the rib of a living man. I find the most startling anthropomorphisms. The Creator works his week and rests his Sabbath; He deliberates, consults, considers His work and finds it good, talks familiarly with man, and "the voice of the Lord" is heard "walking in the garden in the cool of the day." Is there any other example in literature of an apparatus of figure like this to which we would venture to give a literal use? Or if this stood anywhere else in the Bible should we venture so to use it? If we try to construe literally, we are stopped by impossibilities. The serpent is a literal serpent, we are told, yet no one would contend that he literally eats dust. The serpent's head is to be bruised, and theologians agree that this is figure. So that we have a literal serpent with a figurative head, which is to be figuratively bruised by a figurative heel, which is figuratively to be bruised in its turn. In other words, our thoughtless attempt to dispense with common sense, and treat figures as though they were realities, is rebuked by the starting up in our path of absurdities and impossibilities.

WATER-MARKS IN THE STORY.

"THERE IS NO KIND OF EVIDENCE THAT IS SO CONVINCING, OR IS RECEIVED WITH SO GREAT SATISFACTION, AS THAT WHICH, AFTER LONG AND DOUBTFUL SEARCH, IS SUDDENLY DISCOVERED TO HAVE ALL THE WHILE BEEN ON HAND, INCORPORATED, THOUGH UNOBSERVED, IN THE VERY SUBJECT-MATTER OF INQUIRY. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, A SUIT UPON A NOTE AT HAND HAD LONG BEEN PENDING IN ONE OF THE COURTS OF OUR COMMONWEALTH, PAYMENT OF WHICH WAS RESISTED ON THE GROUND THAT IT WAS AND MUST BE A FORGERY, NO SUCH NOTE HAVING EVER BEEN GIVEN. BUT THE DIFFICULTY WAS IN THE TRIAL TO MAKE OUT ANY CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE OF WHAT THE DEFENDING PARTY KNEW TO BE THE TRUTH. HIS COUNSEL WAS, IN FACT, DESPAIRING UTTERLY OF SUCCESS; BUT IT HAPPENED THAT, JUST AS HE WAS ABOUT CLOSING HIS PLEA, HAVING THE NOTE IN HIS HAND, AND BRINGING IT UP, IN THE MOTION OF HIS HAND, SO THAT THE LIGHT STRUCK THROUGH, HIS EYE CAUGHT THE GLIMPSE OF A MARK IN THE PAPER. HE STOPPED, HELD IT UP DELIBERATELY TO THE LIGHT, AND BEHOLD THE NAME, IN WATER-MARK, OF A COMPANY THAT HAD BEGUN THE MANUFACTURE OF PAPER AFTER THE DATE OF THE INSTRUMENT! HERE WAS EVIDENCE, WITHOUT GOING FAR TO SEEK IT—EVIDENCE ENOUGH TO TURN THE PLAINTIFF FORTHWITH INTO A FELON, AND CONSIGN HIM, AS IT DID, TO A FELON'S PUNISHMENT."—*NATURE AND THE SUPERNATURAL.*

I would make, then, no attempt to reconcile Genesis with science on the supposition that in Genesis we have a matter-of-fact history. Such an attempt will succeed only by doing violence both to the writer and our common sense. The story is not a history, like the later portions of the Pentateuch; it is not a poem, like *Paradise Lost*; nor a collection of myths, like the *Arthuriad*; nor an allegory, like the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It is an

idealised history, written within the intellectual range of a community of children.

Yet, because it is a history in any sense, the truth is there, and it is possible to indicate a remarkable series of coincidences between the Mosaic story and the results of science. This has already been partially done in an article by Mr. Fitzgerald in the 'New Zealand Magazine.' The egotism may perhaps be pardoned which leads me to say that in my teaching I had pointed out these correspondences before that article appeared. They are (1) that creation was progressive; (2) that the last product was man; and (3) that man's early history was a progress involving the following changes : (a) the birth of language—the first use of language being to give names to things; (b) the birth of conscience, or the attainment of the "knowledge of good and evil;" (c) the adoption of clothes; (d) the consciousness of wants which the earth did not spontaneously supply—the first step towards civilization; and (e) the increase of the pains of parturition, for which I believe there would be excellent physiological reason when the partial or occasional erect attitude was exchanged for the erect attitude constant and complete.

Now, these coincidences are remarkable upon any theory. Here is our oldest human document—forty centuries old, and inwrought in its very texture, like the water-marks we sometimes see woven into paper, are these main lines of correspondence with the results of modern science. I ask evolutionists who are eager to break with the Bible to consider this phenomenon, and explain it if they can. These are not features such as an inventor would be likely to hit upon, nor are they in the shape in which myths would spontaneously grow. There they are in the story, and you cannot get them out. I venture to believe that the time will come when they will be regarded as conclusive evidence of the superhuman origin of the book that contains them.

WHY SCRIPTURE DOES NOT TEACH SCIENCE.

It will occur to some to ask why, supposing the account of Creation given in Genesis to be adapted to an infantile condition of the human intellect, Scripture does not provide for more advanced ages an accurate and scientific account. Why did not later writers correct and amplify? I give the answer to these questions in an extract from one of De Quincey's Essays. It is a passage which will repay attentive examination :—

"It is no business of the Bible, we are told, to teach science. Certainly not; but that is far too little. It is an obligation resting upon the Bible, if it is to be consistent with itself, that it should *refuse* to teach science; and, if the Bible ever *had* taught any one art, science, or process of life, capital doubts would have [*unclear: couded*] our confidence in the authority of the Book. By what caprice, it would have been asked, is a divine mission abandoned suddenly for a human mission? By what caprice is this one science taught, and others not? Or these two, suppose, and not all?

"But an objection even deadlier would have followed. It is as clear as is the purpose of daylight, that the whole body of the arts and sciences composes one vast machinery for the irritation and development of the human intellect. For this end they exist. To see God, therefore, descending into the arena of science, and contending as it were for his own prizes by teaching science in the Bible, would be to see Him intercepting from their self-evident destination (viz, man's intellectual benefit), his own problems by solving them himself. No spectacle could more dishonour the Divine idea—could more injure man under the mask of aiding him. * * In whatever case God has qualified man to do a thing for himself, He has in that very qualification silently laid an injunction upon man to do it.

"But it is fancied that a Divine teacher, without descending to the unworthy office of teaching science, might yet have kept His own language free from all collusion with human error. Hence it has been argued that any language in the Bible implying the earth to be stationary, and central to our system, could not express a mere compliance with the popular errors of the time, but must be taken to indicate the absolute truth. But if a man sets himself steadily to contemplate the consequences which must inevitably have followed any deviation from the customary erroneous phraseology of the people, he will see the utter impossibility that a teacher (pleading a heavenly mission) could allow himself to deviate by one hair's breadth from the ordinary language of the times. To have uttered one syllable, for instance, that implied motion in the earth, would have issued into the following ruins :—First, it would have tainted the teacher with the reputation of lunacy; secondly, it would have placed him in this inextricable dilemma : On the one hand, to answer the questions prompted by his own perplexing language would have opened upon him, as a necessity, one stage after another of scientific cross-examination, until his spiritual mission would have been forcibly swallowed up in the mission of natural philosopher; but, on the other hand, to pause resolutely at any one stage of this public examination, and to refuse all further advance would be, in the popular opinion, to retreat as a baffled disputant from insane paradoxes which it had not been found possible to support. One step taken in that direction was fatal, whether the great heavenly envoy retreated from his own words to leave behind him the impression that he was defeated as a rash speculator, or stood to those words, and thus fatally entangled himself in the inexhaustible succession of explanations and justifications. In either event the spiritual mission was at an end; it would have perished in

shouts of derision, from which there could have been no retreat, and no retrieval of character. The greatest of astronomers, rather than seem ostentatious or unseasonably learned, will stoop to the popular phrase of the sun's rising, or the sun's motion in the ecliptic. But God, for a purpose commensurate with man's eternal welfare, is by these critics supposed incapable of the same petty abstinence."—De Quincey's "Essay on Protestantism."

THE DOCTRINE OF THE FALL.

But it is said that Evolution necessarily contradicts the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. If we accept Evolution we must surrender, to begin with, the *Doctrine of the Fall*. To ascertain whether the objection is sound, let us discriminate carefully between what the Scripture does and does not say about the Fall.

(1.) Without attaching too much importance to the presence or absence of a word, it may be pointed out that the Scriptures do not speak of a "Fall" or "Fall of Man." These terms are the creation of theology.

(2.) The Bible does not tell us that man was created in the possession of high moral or intellectual qualities. (I may say ere, in a parenthesis, that the popular notion of the "Fall" and of the primitive state of man is derived, not from the Bible, but from the "Paradise Lost" of Milton, and, through Milton, from the schoolmen of the Middle Ages). We read that man was made in the "image of God," but in seeking a meaning for these words we must not forget that an infant child is in the parents' image, although destitute, for the present, of the parents' moral and intellectual powers. The child *will grow into these powers*, and that is sufficient to make it in the parents' image and likeness.

See Gen. v. 3., where the terms "image" and "likeness" are used of the correspondence between child and parent.

(3.) We read expressly that the first state of man was one in which he had not "the knowledge of good and evil." And as if to define the phrase, and to show us that it is exactly equivalent to *moral capacity*, we have (after the "Fall") this remarkable statement: 'And the Lord God said, Behold the man *is become as one of us, to know good and evil.*' I ask the especial attention of Bible students to this passage. How was man advanced to "become as one of Us?" By what we call "the Fall!" And in what did his new likeness to the Deity consist? In the fact that he had attained "to know good and evil!" Getting "to know good and evil," then, by means of a *fall* made man in some sense more like God than he was before:—"Behold the man *is become as one of us, to know good and evil.*" He will be a bold expositor who will find for the '*knowledge of good and evil,*' in this passage—(Gen. iii.22.)—any other meaning than '*moral capacity*.'

(4.) And yet the Scripture tells us that, in becoming more correspondent to the Deity than he had been, man also *became a sinner*. It is only on the theory of Evolution that this riddle can be solved. On the theory of man's perfect moral capacity before "the Fall" it is completely insoluble. If Evolution is true, moral capacity was attained by growth. By its attainment man became, in a sense never possible before, like the Deity. And yet the very act which marked the entrance to this higher level of being, may have been, as the Scripture says it was, a *wrong* act—the transgression of a law—and so the *rise* would be a *fall*. The first consciousness of the newly-born moral nature would be the consciousness of sin, and from that fact would flow all that the Bible has to tell us about the need either of punishment or atonement. Precisely the same progression and the same results are to be observed in the development of every child. So far then from Evolution contradicting the Bible doctrine of what is called "the Fall," it is only on the theory of Evolution that the Bible doctrine becomes intelligible and consistent.

The matter may be summed up thus: Evolution teaches that moral capacity was attained by development. The Bible admits that it was not an original endowment, and adds that, having attained it, man fell. Contradiction there is none.

DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION.

Another fundamental of Christianity which Evolution is said to contradict is the doctrine of the Incarnation. The doctrine of the Incarnation is, as you are aware, that once in the ages a divine nature was united with a human nature. When I hear that on the theory of Evolution this is impossible, I confess myself lost in astonishment. The supposition of those who urge this objection must be that Evolution claims to be the parent of all that is or ever has been. But on that supposition Evolution contradicts much more than the doctrine of the Incarnation. It contradicts, amongst other things, the doctrine that there is such a town as Dunedin. On the supposition of this objection it can be shown that the existence of Dunedin is a philosophical impossibility. Evolution never quarried stone, nor moulded bricks, nor hewed timber, nor built houses. And yet somehow the city of Dunedin has come into being. Evolution did not write *Macbeth* or the *Tempest*. Evolution never chiselled a statue, nor painted a picture, nor built a bridge or a railway, nor preached a sermon, nor delivered a lecture. These are the products of *living human will* coming down upon the stream of natural causes and effects,

and varying them in ten thousand different ways. And if the *human* will may thus enter as a factor, varying indefinitely the natural evolutionary series, *á fortiori* may the *divine*. The doctrine of the Incarnation must stand or fall upon its own merits. It will neither be harmed nor helped by the doctrine of Evolution.

IMMORTALITY.

A third fundamental of Christianity that is endangered is, we hear, the doctrine of immortality. Why immortality should be less credible on the evolutionist theory of Creation than on any other I confess myself quite unable to see. This objection, like the one last considered, is good only as against the Atheist, and should be addressed to him in his quality of Atheist. It is good only against those who believe that if Evolution does not make man immortal there is no other Power that will or can. For my part, I believe in such a Power, and hence, whatever man's origin, can believe in Immortality. I said on a recent public occasion that the doctrine of Evolution helps our belief in immortality, and to that statement I adhere. Looking at the depths from which God has brought man, no height to which he may propose to raise him seems incredible.

EVOLUTION WILL HELP THEOLOGY.

My task is near its close. I have briefly sketched the doctrine of Evolution, have shown you that it does not degrade man, that it is not opposed to Theism or simple belief in a God, that it is not anti Scriptural, that it is in harmony with the fundamentals of Christianity. In closing I will indicate a range of topics in the investigation of which the doctrine of Evolution may be applied for the relief and benefit of theology.

One of the darkest problems of nature, on any scheme of theology, is the prevalence of pain and death amongst the lower creatures. For incalculable ages past there has not been a moment in which the atmosphere of this planet has not vibrated to the death cry of some creature of God's in the clutch of its destroyer. From the dawn of life upon its surface till now, the earth has been a vast slaughter-house. Theology has been able to give no satisfactory explanation of these facts. Paley, who has treated them at some length, has nothing better to say than this; that it is an advantage to an animal to be devoured in its prime, as it saves it from the misery of dying of disease or old age. We feel that this explanation leaves the difficulty just where it was, and that still one of the hardest demands upon our faith is—

To trust that God is love indeed,
And love Creation's final law,
While Nature, red in tooth and claw
With ravine, shrieks against our creed.

You have seen probably—and have wondered to see—a cat torturing a mouse. In one instance, which recently came within my own knowledge, a cat protracted *for four hours* the luxury of torturing a captured rat, before giving the death-stroke. In view of these and similar tragedies of brute-life we do not wonder at the question of the half-mad poet and painter Blake—a man mad by excess rather than deficiency of wit—in his "Apostrophe to the Tiger,"—

Tiger! Tiger! burning bright
Through the forests of the night!
What immortal hand or eye
Framed thy fearful symmetry?
Did He *smile* His work to see?
Did He who made the lamb make thee?

A most pertinent question! the type of a thousand which *will* spring in the heart of a man who has eyes to see what is going on in the world of creatures below him. The only ray of light which, so far as I know, has ever been thrown on this dark subject comes from the Evolutionary doctrine of Natural Selection. That doctrine shows us how, by making the conditions of life hard—by exposing all creatures to scarcity of food, and attacks from enemies, the Creator brings about the elimination of the weaker forms, and how—further—by the constant selection of the stronger forms, and by the accumulation of advantageous variations, there has been an upward progress of organisms, from the zoophyte to man. This doctrine does not remove all the difficulty, it does not show us *why* the Creator has chosen this means to His end, but at least it shows us that He has an end

and what that end is; and so we are helped to believe "that nothing walks with aimless feet"—

That not a worm is cloven in vain;
That not a moth, with vain desire
Is shrivelled in a fruitless fire,
Or but subserves another's gain.

Similar considerations will help us to understand the liability to accident and disease which is laid upon us all. This happens under the general law which is meant to secure the suppression of weaker and maintenance of stronger forms. The tendency of theology has been to refer the incidence of this law in each particular case to a special Divine intention, to assume that the burning of the "Cospatrick," for instance, was due to a Divine volition, or when a careless nurse lets fall a child, and the fall results in hip-disease and life-long misery—as I saw in the case of a young woman the other day—that that accident, again, was due to a Divine volition. We have all felt the strain which is put upon our faith in the Divine wisdom and benevolence by these representations. It is better to see in such cases the examples of a general law under which the *conditions of life are made hard*—first, in the interest of the physical type itself, and next, for "the irritation and development of the human intellect"—as De Quincey puts it—in avoiding the causes of these ills and devising the remedies for them. I do not insist here upon the moral ends in view. Christianity can turn even these physical evils to account in carrying on a spiritual discipline, and in true harmony with Evolution insists, "that life is not as idle ore,"—

But iron dug from central gloom,
And heated hot with burning fears,
And dipt in baths of hissing tears,
And battered with the shocks of doom
To shape and use.

And when Evolution reminds man of his lowly origin, of his affinity with the creatures beneath him, of his liability, under the sway of passion and lust, to revert to the animal types from which he has emerged, she is again the helper of Christianity in the field of Practical Ethics. The voices of both unite in the admonition which closes the stanzas from "In Memoriam" already partly quoted:—

Arise and fly
The reeling Fawn, the sensual feast,
Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die!

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