

# The Macleay Chronicle

## And Bellinger Advertiser.

Thursday, July 16, 1885.

### Imperial Federation.

THE following article from the pen of the Hon. Robert Stout appeared in the 'Pall Mall Gazette.' It treats of Imperial Federation in an able manner, and deserves close study, as the author is not only the ablest statesman in the Colonies, with perhaps the exception of Sir George Grey and Mr. Dalley, but is also a philosopher capable beyond either, of taking a colonial view of Imperial relation. The article treats especially of a Colonial Board of advice, and hence perhaps he has not touched on the improbability of the House of Lords permitting an Imperial Parliament, unless they were allowed similar power to that which they enjoy at present; nor of the broader question: what would happen, when by the increase of population in the Colonies the British members were outvoted? Would England itself be willing to resign Imperial control? In either of these cases did the Lords or Commons of England demand control and merely be willing to take advice, we would have the old question of the American Revolution revived with increased force, as the power of the people has grown immensely within the past century. Yet federation in any form is impossible either between the Colonies themselves, or with Britain unless it takes, as in America, the form of Constitutional law; and we see the dislike felt in most of the Colonies to the very idea of being bound, except by a slip knot that any colony can unloose, by a council entirely elected by ourselves. All this is natural. In spite of enthusiasm we would not like to continue paying for a war, say between Canada and the States, about some New Foundland fishing rights and we might be called up to do many things as unprofitable.; Mr. Stout says—

*"In dealing with what has been termed a 'Practical Suggestion' of Earl Grey's, being 'The First Step towards Federation,' I desire to ask, What is meant by Federation? From one point of view the British Empire is federated. There is a supreme Imperial Parliament which can over-ride the laws of the colonies, and which decides for the Empire all questions of foreign policy. Those who ask for Imperial Federation must mean that in their foreign relationships the colonies should be consulted, and their wishes regarded, if not given effect to. It seems to me that this necessarily implies the formation of a new Parliament an Assembly that would override both the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and have powers that might interfere with colonial autonomy. This new Legislature would have [unclear: to deal] with all questions of an Imperia character. The English Parliament would become a local Legislature, dealing thenceforth only with English affairs, and would have no greater powers than colonial Legislatures now possess Is the Empire ripe for this change? I do not think so, It may be asked, Why is there a demand at present for Imperial Federation? So far as one can gather; from English newspapers and magazines, &c., it is demanded for the purpose of binding the Empire more closely together. I believe that if Imperial? Federation were accomplished in the mode proposed by many in England—namely, giving the colonies representation in some new or remodelled English Parliament—the danger of dismemberment would be as great as, if not greater than, it is now. What is likely to cause dismemberment? The colonies do not desire any more legislative power than they now possess. They have the amplest power of dealing with their own local affairs. The English Government does not interfere with them. The only matter in which they are concerned, and in which they have no voice, is that of England's foreign policy; and unless that foreign policy leads to war, or prevents the natural development and growth of colonial trade, the colonies are not interested.*

*"Now, if there were an Imperial Parliament in existence, the colonies having representatives therein would be bound by the decision of this Parliament on all questions of foreign policy, and necessarily the colonies would have to be taxed to pay for the expenses of foreign wars. Were this to happen it would be likely to arouse feelings of irritation that might lead to the demand for the dismemberment of the Empire greater than any that would arise under the present circumstances. There is no doubt that, through the want of apparent interest in colonial affairs manifested by the Colonial Office in reference to New Guinea and the Pacific, many Australasian colonists have felt displeased with the action of the present English Executive. There has, however, been no diminution of loyalty to England, and not the slightest desire to see the Empire dismembered.*

*On the contrary, the feeling has rather been one of drawing the bonds closer together. But who can predict what might have happened if, say during the past thirty years, the colonics had been called upon to pay their proportion of the expenses of the foreign wars in which England has been engaged? Regarding many of them, colonial public opinion would have been opposed to such war expenditure; and even now, notwithstanding the offers of assistance in the present Soudanese struggle, the majority of the colonists regret that England has been engaged in such a war in Egypt.*

*"To create, then, a new Parliament in order to bind the Empire closer together would be a mistake. We are not ripe for such a proposal, even if the English people are willing that their House of Commons should be a local Parliament. But it is said that Earl Grey's suggestion is a practical one, and it meets the difficulties which may be pointed out regarding Imperial federation. I must confess that I do not see much benefit to be derived from Earl Grey's proposal. The Council that is to be created is, I understand, to deal only with colonial affairs. Unfortunately, perhaps, for the colonies, all the questions that interest them outside of those which can be settled in their own legislatures have become questions of foreign policy. For example, the annexation of New Guinea becomes a question between Germany and England, the Recidivists question and the annexation of the New Hebrides are questions between France and England, and the demand of the Samoan King and people that they should be allowed to join England or New Zealand leads to parleying between Earl Granville and Prince Bismarck. And outside of these questions that directly affect the colonies, the wider questions that affect them are peace or war, or commercial treaties. These questions are all questions of foreign policy; therefore this council, if created, could only be a council to press upon the English Government the views of colonies regarding those questions of foreign policy which must be decided by English statesmen. It might, it is true, bring home to the English people this fact—that any European war will affect the colonies more than it will England.*

Front Cover

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

*Information for the use of Branches.*

Issued by Authority of the General Committee. *December, 1884.*

OFFICES: 43, *St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, London, S.W.*

THE HON. Harold Finch-Hatton, *Hon. Treasurer.*

J. Dennistoun Wood, *Hon. Treasurer.*

F. P. Labilliere, *Hon. Treasurer.*

H. O. Arnold-Forster, *Hon. Secretary.*

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Bankers: MESSRS. Hoare.

*This Pamphlet is issued by the General Committee of the League for the information of persons desirous of founding Branches in any part of the Empire. It contains a summary of the objects and constitution of the League, as laid down at the Conference held on Nov. 18th, 1834, and also brief suggestions as to the formation and organisation of Branches, drawn up in conformity with the resolutions then passed.*

## **Imperial Federation League.**

### ***Nature and Objects of the League.***

AT a Conference on Imperial Federation, held in London on Tuesday, 29th July, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M. P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved—

- That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
- That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principle of Federation.
- That this Conference refers to a Provisional Committee all details connected with the establishment and organisation of such a Society, for a report thereon to be submitted for the consideration and approval of an adjourned Conference, to be held at a suitable period in the coming Autumn.

At the Adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE."

- That the object of the league be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
- That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
- That the Membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of one shilling.
- That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
- That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise branches of the League.
- That an Annual General Meeting of the League be held in London.
- That the affairs of the League until its next General Meeting be conducted by a General Committee.
- That the General Committee be now appointed, with power to add to its number.
- That the Branches of the League be empowered to appoint representatives to act on the General Committee.
- That the General Committee shall furnish a report to the next Meeting of the League.

## Formation of Branches, and Enrolment of Members.

*Information relative, to the following Resolutions of the, League.*

No. 6. "That the Membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of one shilling."

No. 8. "That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League."

British subjects forming any Association to promote the objects of the Imperial Federation League, and desiring to have such Association affiliated as a Branch of the League, are requested to be good enough to communicate, through their Chairman, or other duly appointed officer, with

*THE SECRETARY, Imperial federation League, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, London, S.W.*

For the information and assistance of all such Associations so formed, and desirous of being affiliated and enrolled as Branches of the League, the following provisional arrangements have been made:—

- A Branch of the League shall consist of not less than 20 enrolled members.
- Applications from any Association wishing to be affiliated and enrolled as a Branch of the League must be accompanied by:—
  - A copy of the resolution of the Association expressing a desire to that effect, and specifying the name by which it wishes to be designated as a distinctive Branch of the Imperial Federation League.
  - A copy of the rules, if any, by which the Association is governed.
- N.B. Time and correspondence will be saved if it appears clearly by the rules, or by the terms of the application for affiliation, that the Association invites the support of men of all political parties in the locality in which the Association is formed.
  - The names and addresses of the members of the Association.
  - A remittance of *not less* than one shilling for each member of the Association, such being the amount of the "yearly registration fee."
- On receipt of this necessary information and the remittance, a notice of the enrolment of the Association as a "Branch of the Imperial Federation League" will be forwarded, provided it appears that the Association is in harmony with the objects and general constitution of the League.
- The General Committee submits for the consideration of Branches established in any Dominion or Colony, the great practical advantages which would accrue should it be found convenient for them to combine with each other; with a view to forming central organisations representing the League in any Dominion or Colony, or in the provinces thereof.
- It would be advantageous to the general conduct of the business of the League if Branches established in the United Kingdom combine with each other, and thus, as far as may be convenient, form groups of

Branches.

*N. B. Such central organisations, if formed, Would be the mediums of communication with the General Committee in London.*

- Counterfoil books containing certificates of individual membership have been provided, in order to facilitate the entry of the names of all members upon the central register. Such books or sample sheets can be had on application. Their use will be found convenient to Branches, and the general adoption of a uniform system would greatly assist the conduct of the business of the League.
- Branches will be entitled to receive copies of all ordinary publications of the League, and additional copies in proportion to the number of members in the Branch.
- Individual members may be supplied with all publications of the League on special terms, on application to the Secretary.
- The General Committee hopes to be furnished with all published reports of meetings and other proceedings of Branches; or any publications issued by Branches, or contributed by individual members, with a view to giving them as wide a circulation as possible throughout the Empire.
- It is extremely important that Branches in the Colonies should furnish the General Committee with all facts and information of such a nature as may tend to enlighten public opinion in the Mother Country, on all matters of imperial importance.
- By the aid of the organisation of the League information can thus be readily obtained and diffused throughout the Empire, and by such means the precise nature of the "common interests" it is necessary to maintain, and the "common rights" it is essential to defend, by the united action of all parts of the Empire, will be better understood, while the necessity for some form of Imperial Federation will become more generally appreciated.
- It is most desirable by all and every means to encourage the formation of sound public opinion on so important a question. This may be done, for example, by organising public meetings, by lectures, and by discussions in parliament and in the press, etc., etc. The General Committee will, on application, be happy to assist as far as possible any efforts in these directions made by Branches. When the League is fully organised, and sufficient funds, properly available for the purpose, are at the disposal of the General Committee, arrangements will be made for public meetings when and where desirable, and for securing the services of properly qualified persons to deliver lectures when required.
- The annual registration fees of members will be payable on the 1st of January in each year.

Annual registration fees paid before the 1st of January, 1885, will be considered as paid for the whole year 1885.

N.B.—It is to be observed by all members of the League, and by all sympathisers with the movement, that the "annual registration fee" has been fixed at the small sum of one shilling, so as to admit of all classes of the community joining the League.

The Imperial Federation League, therefore, relies on voluntary aid. Although the General Committee only require the "annual registration fees" to be sent from Branches, still, considering the heavy expenditure which will have to be incurred in carrying out the objects of the League, they will thankfully receive contributions from the Branches as well as from private individuals.

## Publications of the Imperial Federation League.

*Report of the Conference on Imperial Federation, held July 29th, 1884. Price 6d.*

*Report of the Adjourned Conference and First Meeting of the League, Nov. 18, 1884. Price 2d.*

*Information for the Use of Branches. Price id.*

*The above may be had on thick paper in wrapper, or on thin paper for Colonial and Foreign circulation.*

*"There is no more idle conception, among all the vain imaginations that fill the atmosphere of Politics, than the conception which now and then finds vent, that there are in this country a party of men who are insensible to the great dignity and the great duties connected with the maintenance of the Colonial Empire of England. There have been superstitions gathering round the nature of that Empire. It may have been valued in wrong ways; but there is no man, I believe, worthy of the name of a statesman—no man known to me in the sphere of political life—who is not sensible that the business of founding and of cherishing those Colonies is one which has been so distinctly entrusted by Providence to the care of the people of this country, that we should almost as soon think of renouncing the very name of Englishmen, as of renouncing the very great duties*

*which, passing beyond the seas, are imposed upon us with regard to the more distant, but not less dear, portions of this great British Empire."*

—Speech of Mr. GLADSTONE at the Mansion House, August 7, 1881.

*"In my opinion no minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of re-constructing, as much as possible, our Colonial Empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land."*

—Speech of Mr. DISRAELI, 1872.

Front Cover

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE. Report of the Adjourned Conference, and of the First Meeting of the league, held November 18, 1884.

## Imperial Federation League.

*A League for the Purpose of Promoting the Cause of Imperial Federation having been now Formed, all British Subjects Throughout the Empire who Sympathise with the end in View are Invited to Enrol themselves as Members of the League, and to give all the Assistance in their Power Towards Ensuring its Success.*

*An Account of the Constitution and Methods of the League will be found at page 7 of this Report.*

Attention is called to the Resolution adopted by the Conference on Nov. 18th, in favour of the Establishment of Branches of the League in all Parts of the Empire, and the cooperation of all Friends of the Movement is invited towards assisting the General Committee to carry out this important feature of the Constitution of the League.

All Communications should be made to the Secretary of the Imperial Federation League,

43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, LONDON, S.W.

Subscriptions to the Central League should be made payable to the Hon. Treasurers,  
J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq.,

82, Ladbroke Grove, London, W.; or

The Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton,

19, Bury Street, St. James's, London.

*Cheques may be crossed "MESSRS. HOARE."*

- HILL, A. STAVELEY, Esq., Q.C., Conservative Member for West Staffordshire.
- HOLLAND, SIR HENRY, BART. K.C.M.G., Conservative Member for Midhurst; late Assistant Under Secretary for the Colonies: Member of the Imperial Defence Commission.
- HOGG, QUINTIN, Esq.
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- MAXWELL, SIR HERBERT, Bart., Conservative Member for Wigtonshire.
- MERRIMAN, THE HON, J. X.. formerly Member of the Cape Ministry.
- MOLINEUX, GISBORNE, Esq.
- MONCK, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, formerly Governor-General of Canada.
- MORLEY, SAMUEL, Esq. Liberal Member for Bristol.
- MACDONALD, THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN, G.C.B.. Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada.
- NORMANBY, THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF, G.C.M.G., successively Governor of Nova Scotia. Queensland New Zealand and Victoria.

- NORWOOD, C. M. Esq., Liberal Member for Hull.
- NUGENT, GENERAL SIR CHARLES, C.B.
- PELLY, SIR LEWIS, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.
- PLAYFAIR. THE RIGHT HON. SIR LYON, K.C.B.. Liberal Member for the University of Edinburgh: formerly Post master-General in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry. REAY. LORD.
- ROSE, SIR JOHN, formerly Finance Minister in the Canadian Government.
- ROSEBERY, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.T.: Under Secretary for the Home Department, 1881, in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry.
- ROBINSON. ADMIRAL SIR SPENCER K.C.B.
- RUSDEN, G W., Esq.
- RUSDEN, A., Esq.
- SANDFORD. W. AYSHFORD, Esq.
- SCANLEN, SIR THOMAS, late Prime Minister of the Cape.
- SEELEY. J. R., M.A. Begins Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge.
- SHAFTESBURY, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.G.
- SILVER, S.W., Esq.
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- SMITH, SIR FRANCIS.
- SMITH, SAMUEL, Esq., Liberal Member for Liverpool.
- SMITH, THE RIGHT HON. W. H., Conservative Member for Westminster, First Lord of the Admiralty in Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry.
- SOPER, W. G., Esq.
- STANHOPE, THE HON. EDWARD, Conservative Member for Mid-Lincolnshire; Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade in 1875 to 1878; Under Secretary of State for India 1878 to 1880.
- SOUTHEY, THE HON. R., C.M.G.
- SUMMERS, W., Liberal Member for Stalybridge.
- TENNYSON, Lord.
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- WILSON, SIR SAMUEL.
- WOOD, J. DENNISTOUN. (*Hon. Treasurer.*)
- YOUL, J. A.. Esq., C.M.G.
- YOUNG, FREDERICK. Esq.

The following is an account of the proceedings of the Conference.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., who occupied the chair, opened the Conference with the intimation that the friends of the movement were receiving the adhesion and help of most influential men of all parties in the State to the proposed League, and he then called for the Report of the Provisional Committee. Which was as follows:—

## Imperial Federation.

### Provisional Committee.

- The Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., *Chairman.*
- Fredrick Young; Esq., *Vice-Chairman.*
- Captain J. C. R. Colomb, *Vice-Chairman.*
- J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq., *Hon. Treasurer*
- Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton, *Hon. Treasurer*

The Provisional Committee suggest that the plan of procedure should include the following special methods :

- Publications, Lectures, and Meetings.

- The collection and dissemination of statistics and information bearing upon the object of the League.
- The interchange of views between friends of Federation in the United Kingdom and the Colonies.
- Providing, in a really available form, information relating to the common interests of the Empire, and tending to further the objects of the League.

The following is an abstract from the Hon. Treasurers' accounts:

The above does not include expenses connected with the publication of the Report of the Conference of July 29th.

W. E. Forster, *Chairman of the Provisional Committee.*

Francis P. Labilliere, 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C. *Hon. Sec.*

H. O. Arnold-Forster, 80, Eccleston Square, S.W. *Hon. Sec.*

## **The Marquis Of Normanby**

**Governor in succession of Nova Scotia, Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria.**

Moved the adoption of the foregoing report. Maintaining, as he did, the strongest possible feeling towards the Colonies of this great Empire, he could not, he said, but rejoice to see a movement of this kind taking place. The Colonies were now bound to this country by the bond of affection and loyalty, and, he might add, by self-interest, because there were no communities in the world which possessed such free and independent constitutions as the Colonies of this country did. While he had no fear, therefore, of any immediate likelihood of rupture between the Colonies and the mother country, he thought it was a statesmanlike view to look forward to the future as well as to consider the present, and he could not help feeling that as time rolled by and these great Colonies increased in wealth and population, unless the union was drawn close it would inevitably grow weaker.

## **Sir Henry Holland, M.P.,**

**Conservative Member for Midhurst, Assistant Under-Secretary for the Colonies 1870 to 1874; Member of the Imperial Defence Commission.**

In seconding the motion, said he attached especial importance to the fourth head of the scheme (as set forth above), the organised defence of common rights, and he expressed the hope that members on both sides of the House of Commons would endeavour to raise this important subject above all questions of political party. (Hear, hear.) He expressed his opinion that the first great step towards Imperial federation was to promote a scheme of federation among the Colonists themselves.

The Report was then unanimously adopted.

## **Mr. E. Stanhope, M.P.,**

**Conservative Member for Mid-Lincolnshire; late Under-Secretary for India.**

Then opened a general discussion by congratulating those present on the great strides which the cause had made since they last met a few months ago, and urging that they should proceed at once to form the League upon the basis proposed.

## **Lord Brabourne**

**Formerly Under-Secretary for the Colonies.**

Said that when he first went to the Colonial Office, where he had the honour of serving for more than three years as Under-Secretary. He well remembered that there were men in England at that time who spoke lightly of the Colonial connexions, who spoke of Canada, for example, as a country with which England might part with great advantage. He set himself from the very first day he entered that office till the day he quitted it to counteract such views. (Cheers.) There would be no clay so evil for England as that when any political party should cease to cherish the Colonial Empire as an integral part of England. If Colonists and Englishmen would meet more frequently and learn more to understand each other's interest the more would they find that these interests were identical, and they would form and create such feeling in this country and the Colonies that the man who would hereafter speak of the possibility of any severance would be laughed at as a visionary, whose opinions could not be tolerated. (Hear, hear.)

## **Mr. James Youl,**

**Tasmania.**

As representing one of the Colonies, cautioned the committee that proposals for federation must come from the Colonies them-selves, and to be careful not to interfere with their rights.

## **The Earl of Dunraven**

Remarked that in no practicable scheme of federation could any interference possibly take place with the local government and independence which the Colonies enjoyed. While it was natural for an Englishman to look at the matter from the point of view as it affects the United Kingdom, he did not think it possible, on the other hand, to over-estimate the enormous advantage that it was to Englishmen who live beyond those seas to have the military and naval power of England at their back. (Hear.) It was, however, on the growing strength and power of our Colonies that England could best rely in the future to be able to maintain itself in its position as a first-class Power, without burdening itself with the enormous weight of a huge standing army, or without resorting to conscription. And he believed, further, for himself, that it was on the growing wealth of our Colonies that we had, perhaps, principally to depend for the prosperity of our great industries, and our trade and commerce.

## **The Hon. J. X. Merriman**

**Late Member of the Cape Ministry.**

Desired some information in matters of detail. The Navy, for example, was attracting a good deal of attention just now in England. If the Colonies were asked to contribute their quota to the interest of any loan raised for the naval defence of the Empire, that would be a real practical step towards federation, and one which might be considered at the present time with very great advantage; but if they were to go into the idea of having a confederation of the Empire with a central Parliament, and representatives from the Colonies in that Parliament, he was afraid they would find a great many rocks ahead. There was a strong centrifugal force which was working the Colonies farther and farther away from the mother country. (Cries of "No.") He said "Yes." It was desirable that Colonists should know more fully what was proposed, so that they could advocate the scheme in their own Colonies. He thought the Colonies were entitled to claim rather more share in settling Imperial affairs concerning themselves than they had at present. At present they were entirely at the mercy of the Colonial Department, and that Department was not the speediest to get into motion in the world. There should be something of a Colonial Council established, so that some definite recognised opinion could be brought to bear on the Colonial Office, with the view of getting that office to move in time, and so save immense loss, trouble, and confusion.

## **Mr. W. E. Forster**

**Liberal Member for Bradford; Under-Secretary for the Colonies, 1865; Member of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet and Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, 1868 to 1874; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1880 to 1882.**

Again rose and said:—As a member of the Provisional Committee which drew up this Report, I think the time has come when I may offer some remarks upon the resolution. What Mr. Merriman says deserves our closest attention, but I still am of opinion that it would be premature for us to bring forward any detailed plan of federation at this time. (Hear, hear.) If you read the resolutions of the Provisional Committee, you will see that we declare what federation must not do, and what it must do. It must not interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs; but in any scheme of Imperial federation we should combine on equitable bases the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights. I am well aware that this statement is open to objection on both sides. We have our friends here, and I rejoice in having so many friends favourable to our object. But we must expect criticism from the Press and from other quarters, and I have no doubt that we shall be criticised from two directions, and that we shall be, as it were, between two fires. On the one hand, there will be a strong opinion, in which I agree, that any detailed plan of federation would be pre-mature; and on the other hand, there will be a statement to this effect: "Well, if you meet together and declare that it is a good thing that there should be an united Empire, what is that but mere talk?" Well, I think the more we look at it the more we shall see that the formation of such a league as we are now forming is anything but mere talk, and that it will have a great effect in substantial action. In the first place, there is no denying that there are disintegrating causes at work. There are

difficulties in the present relations between the Colonies and the mother country, and it is required that those persons—those British subjects here and in the Colonies—who are very anxious that unity should be preserved, should be ready to prevent those causes arising if possible, and if they do arise to diminish their effect as much as possible, and to remove them as much as possible. No one doubts for a moment the difficulties which we shall have to meet in forming a lasting federation; but that is no reason why we should not determine to overcome them, and as the absolute condition of being able to overcome them, we in England must get to know the feeling of the leading men in the Colonies, and we must obtain suggestions from them. I do not think that it follows that it may be years before we arrive at some conclusion; but it would be most unwise to take the thing into our own hands at once and to sketch out any particular plan. Mr. Merriman said a word about a Federal Council. Now a Federal Council—a Colonial Council—would be one form of federation undoubtedly; a Parliament would be another form. There is a good deal to be said for both: but "I repeat I do not think that the time has come to decide upon them. This I think we may very fairly do. We may consider what is the necessary condition of a future federation—what is the necessary condition of the change which we think must take place from self-governing Colonies, having, as I may say, nothing legally to do with the power of the Imperial Government in dealing with foreign States, into a relation in which they will have their share in controlling foreign policy. It is that change which we have to look forward to, and when that change comes, what must be its necessary condition? There is one condition which is absolutely necessary. It is that the union should imply mutual defence—mutual alliance with common citizenship. (Hear, hear.) There is no other condition absolutely necessary but that, though others may be added. Mr. Freeman, the historian, published several years ago an interesting first volume of a work which I trust he will complete—a work upon federation; and in his introduction he defines what he considers federation to mean in these words: "A federal commonwealth in its perfect form is one which forms a single State in its relations to other nations, but which consists of many States in relation to its internal government." (Hear, hear.) Now that admits of a wide margin, but I would reply to Mr. Merriman's suggestion by saying that we are bound by this absolute condition—that there should be this alliance for mutual defence, and that there should be this common citizenship. People may say that after all that means but little. To my mind it means a great deal. (Hear, hear.) It means in the first place peace among all the members of the Empire. It means, I believe, greater strength for each member of the Empire—(hear, hear)—the power of aiding and protecting one another. It next means a common career for every British subject, for every citizen, and that is no slight thing either for the Colonies or for us at home. At the present moment, perhaps, it is a greater boon for the Colonies that they should have great careers opened for them in England, and also in our dependencies of India and elsewhere; but I am not sure that the time may not come in which it will be felt in England that there would be great careers opened in the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) I am not going into the question of any interference with Colonial tariffs. That is a matter in which we shall do no good by attempting interference, but I have no manner of doubt that such a union as I have described, even with no other condition than I have attached to it, does mean more trade between England and her Colonies than would exist if there was a separation. (Hear, hear.) We Englishmen may lament over some of the Colonial duties, but you may depend upon it that if the Colonies who levied those duties were forced by England to separate from us those duties would be higher. (Hear, hear.) Then there is an advantage on the other side. England is a country of enormous resources and of accumulated capital, and there is great advantage in the great public enterprises which these Colonies undertake in their being connected in common citizenship with a country which is now, and which I trust will long continue to be, able to lend money at the easiest rate of interest—if I may put the other ill a purely business form—of any Power in the world. Again, there are greater facilities of emigration. I think those are all advantages which are worth striving to aim at. They are all advantages which are practical advantages of union, besides that sentiment which we must not neglect and which is a very strong sentiment, the feeling that we are proud of belonging to the greatest Empire that the world ever knew, and that we cannot reconcile ourselves to the thought of its being broken up. (Hear, hear.) Let us consider for a moment what are the possible tendencies towards separation which we should guard against, No doubt that which would be more likely to produce it than any other cause would be an attempt on the part of England to interfere with the Colonies. That we must guard against, and that your committee have felt it was absolutely necessary to put down in the very forefront of our proceedings, that there should be no interference with their local self-government. That is a fear which would be now perhaps more felt by the Colonies; but if the time comes, as I trust it will come, when the union will have lasted until the Colonies shall have become, some of them, almost as powerful and perhaps quite as powerful as England herself, then a fear might be felt by England if there was an attempt to interfere with the self-government of the United Kingdom. Therefore it is a principle which we are obliged to maintain. (Hear, hear.) Then the next danger is the fear on either side of foreign complications. I suppose there are persons in the Colonies who say, "We are in some danger from the action of your Foreign Office in London;" and on the other hand, there are men in England who say, "The Colonies may drag us into disputes which we do not desire." I do not deny that there is a degree of danger on both sides, but I

believe that the advantage of their mutual help and alliance is far greater than the danger. (Hear, hear.) If we look first to the United Kingdom, considering how our great Continental neighbours are banding themselves in large nations, with populations constantly increasing, and with their enormous standing armies, while the small nations, I am sorry to say, find greater difficulties in maintaining themselves, I think no one of us can doubt that England would find it hard to maintain her position unless she made use of what I believe no Continental statesman can for a moment suppose she would be so foolish as to neglect, the assistance which she can obtain from her Colonies. (Cheers.) But, again, I do not think that the Colonies ought to consider themselves perfectly safe. (Hear.) Now I am touching upon rather delicate ground; I hope I shall say nothing that will be imprudent. But take Australia itself. Australia may say, "We are on the other side of the world; what matters it what the nations of Europe think? We have a sentimental love for England, but, after all, are we in any danger?" I would ask them just to look at this fact, that the nations of the Continent are now finding out what it is for the English-speaking race to have possession of a very large portion of the temperate regions of the world, and they are wishing—and not unnaturally wishing—to have their share in it; and if the Australian Colonies were left by themselves, I would not guarantee that they would not find that they had foreign complications and had neighbours by their sides which would give them a Foreign Office—(a laugh)—with very much the same difficulty, but without the same power of obtaining assistance, as we have ourselves. Some people say that the Colonies will not enter into relations of mutual defence, and will make no sacrifice for that purpose. I entirely disbelieve that statement. (Cheers.) I see nothing to justify it. As far as I can see from every action in the Colonies, from what they have done as States, as self-governing communities, and from what their leading men say, and from what we believe to be the popular feeling, they are very anxious to bear their share in mutual defence. We have seen that in what has happened in Australia of late, where the different Colonies have been going to considerable expense in providing ships of war. And just allow me to say that here I think is an opportunity for strengthening the bonds between the mother country and the Colonies, especially with Australia. Advantage might be taken of this fact, and our Government ought to come forward, and I have very little doubt will come forward, with some plan of mutual defence, especially by ships of war; a mutual agreement to find the cost of a navy might be arranged, and put into working detail. (Hear, hear.) But I repeat that we have a great work-to do. We have first to gather together those persons, both here and in the Colonies, who look forward to permanent union, and not to separation. We have to ask them to join together in considering what would ultimately be the best form of that federation, and still more important for the present time, what steps should be taken year by year to make it more probable; and especially we have to ask them to rally themselves together to defeat any disintegrating influence that may be at work. (Hear, hear.) The movement has met with far greater support than some of us here, however earnest in it, had expected. I have rarely known so many noblemen and gentlemen of all parties wishing to aid in our object, and I believe that that arises from this feeling, that none of us who care about political action at all can avoid considering what is to be the future of our country, and that the future of our country depends upon this union. (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman then read letters from several distinguished persons. Lord Shaftesbury wrote :—"looking to the state of Great Britain externally and internally I see no hope for the future maintenance of this dignity and strength, but in one vast federation." That, he remarked, is not the opinion of a party politician, but of one who, more than any man, in his long and beneficent life, has gauged the influences at work among his fellow-countrymen. Then Sir Lyon Play fair wrote:—"I feel very certain that it is a wise thing to discuss the subject of federating Great Britain with the Greater Britain. The difficulties are no doubt great, but the realisation, though it may be postponed, will add so enormously to the safety and prosperity of the whole Empire, that it is worth while engaging in the work, however postponed may be the consummation of our expectations." Another letter was from Lord Tennyson's son, in which he said, speaking on behalf of his father, "We earnestly hope that the conference will further the cause. My father and I will be delighted to be on such a committee as you propose." There was another letter from Lord Monck, a late Governor-General of Canada, who wrote :—"I shall be very happy to join the League for Imperial Federation. I have long been of opinion that there are but two courses open to us in connexion with the relation of the Colonies to the mother country—first, to strengthen and develop the connexion with the view of making it permanent; secondly, to gradually relax the connexion with a view to ultimate independence. If we cannot accomplish the first, I think in justice to the Colonies we are bound to adopt the policy of looking to the latter alternative. Your League seems to be the first earnest attempt to connect the scattered elements of our Empire, and, if practicable, to ensure the permanence of the connexion between them." Lord Monck (Mr. Forster continued) exactly puts it as I believe is the real fact. If that opinion is to prevail which was held by not a few influential men a few years ago, that the final relation must be one of perfect Colonial independence, then I think, at whatever sacrifice of sentimental feeling, that we ought to prepare for it. But the great change that has occurred in the last few years is that men do not believe that will be the final result; and if so, then we must work to insure the other result. (Cheers.)

## **Mr. Murray Smith**

**Agent General for Victoria.**

Said that he had been instructed by his Government to express the cordial sympathy of his Government with the movement.

## **The Earl of Rosebery**

**Under Secretary for the Home Department, 1881, in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry.**

Said:—The main object of this meeting being a practical one, I should like to offer at least one practical suggestion. It seems to me that this meeting represents a very great national impulse as coming from the mother country. I have no doubt that if all those who sympathised with us were here to-day, not one hall such as this, nor ten halls such as this, would suffice to hold, not merely the masses, but the men of more or less "light and leading" who would assemble. That is an impulse that comes from the mother country; but there is another impulse which is needed, and that must come from those Colonies which we are anxious to unite; It seems to me that, as a practical matter, it would be an excellent thing to invite the Colonies, and those representatives of the Colonies who may be, here present, to form branches of this League in their respective Colonies, so that at any rate we may have a voice which would reach those parts of the Empire, and yet make those parts of the Empire feel that we are not lecturing them on what it would be good for them to do, but trying to raise a responsive echo in the Colonies to answer the voice which comes from the mother country. Now, that is a practical suggestion, and I think it is one of some moment. The relations of Great Britain with her Colonies are mysterious in their nature and origin, but are also extremely delicate. Anything that savours of dictation coming from this country to the Colonies is not likely to be very well received. The Colonies being self-governing and self-acting bodies, great empires like Canada and Australia, as some of them promise to be, are not likely to receive even suggestions coming from the mother country unless they have some power of deciding on them for their own part. The Chairman has alluded to me on two very delicate points, and they are so delicate that I am almost afraid to follow him in dealing with them. But allusion was made to the risk that a great country like Australia, with a comparatively or relatively sparse population, might run in danger of a war. The Chairman said, and said truly, that the other great nations of the world were beginning to see that they have an interest too in securing as much of the unoccupied places of the world as they can, and he intimated that Australia might run some risk of invasion. I do not believe that any Power in the world could control even the present population of Australia, being of Anglo-Saxon origin, so as to hold it for ever; but I do believe a hostile Power might inflict the greatest possible temporary damage on Australia by a navy, or a landing, or the exaction of a great fine in money. It is tolerably well known that at a time when the last Government felt themselves compelled to take warlike measures, which did not happily result in war, against another European Power, that European Power, unless we are strangely misinformed, was fitting out a fleet in America for the very purpose of invading the Australian shore. But to show that on their part the Colonies are not unprepared to take their share of the burden, I would point to this fact -that the Colonies of Australia are taking on their own shoulders a great part of the task of defending themselves; and though I believe that if their smaller fleets were so organised as to be comprehended in the British Imperial Fleet, it would be better for all concerned, yes, as a sign of effort and as a sign of goodwill, I think those navies are somewhat remarkable symptoms. I think allusion was also made to the causes that were making this question of confederation a very leading one, and I think there was one omitted which I will venture to dwell upon now. It is that since the time when what I may call the nullification school of politicians held sway in this country, and when it was almost deemed high treason against common sense to hint that the Colonies were anything else than a millstone around the neck of the mother country, great changes have passed over the face of the world. We have seen Italy form itself into a nation; we have seen Germany form itself into a nation; we have seen everywhere a movement for nationality develop and expand even among races which we cannot consider equal to ours, and the Reflection is inevitably forced upon us, why should that nation which, in our opinion, is the greatest of the nations, hold aloof from a movement so obviously in its own interest, and which in a short time will be one of absolute and imperious necessity.

(Cheers.)

It was pointed out in reply to the noble lord that his suggestion was Covered in the eighth of the series of resolutions above printed.

## **Sir John A. Macdonald**

**Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada.**

Said that when the intelligence arrived in Canada that a meeting had taken place, composed of so many men of influence and standing, in support of this object, it gave the greatest gratification to all the people of the Dominion. He testified to the loyalty of Canada, and declared conviction that her best interests were forwarded by her connection with the greatest empire that the world had ever seen. He believed that the whole policy of Great Britain was opposed to aggressive war, and in any other war the people of Canada would, he assured them, be ready to take their share of the responsibility and the cost. (Hear.) He moved the appointment of a long list of influential and representative names as the general Committee, to conduct the affairs of the League until next general meeting.

SIR WILLIAM FOX, late Prime Minister of New Zealand, seconded the Resolution, which was supported by SIR RAWSON RAWSON, West Indies; SIR FRANCIS DILLON BELL, Agent-General for New Zealand; SIR SAUL SAMUEL, Agent-General for New South Wales;—GARRICK, Agent-General for Queensland.

The motion was then adopted.

## Mr. Bryce, M.P.,

Liberal Member for the Tower Hamlets.

Moved formal resolutions giving certain powers to the Committee, and in doing so took occasion to mention that certain members of the advanced section of the Liberal party had hitherto refrained from joining the movement from some misapprehension that the term "Imperial Federation" was intended to imply something like a subjection both of Colonial Chambers and of our own Parliament to a central authority similar to that existing in the United States. He was glad to find that such apprehensions were entirely groundless.

## Mr. Alfred Simmons

Seconded these resolutions, which were adopted.

A vote of thanks was then accorded to the Chairman for presiding, acknowledging which,

## Mr. Forster

Said their proceedings that day would do two things—first, it would make it much easier to get over the difficulties of having a completely detailed federation hereafter, and, secondly, it would make it exceedingly difficult for any man or any body of men, or any Minister in England or in the Colonies, to neglect taking such measures as would preserve and promote the union which they were determined to maintain.

NOTE. The report of the speeches given above is taken from *The Times* of the 19th November.

The following is a complete list of those who attended the Conference held Nov. 18th:—James Austell. Esq., George Baden Powell. Esq., C.M.G.. R. M. Ballantyne. Esq., Sir Henry Barkly. K.C.B., G.C.M.G., James Beaty, Esq., H. C. Beeton. Esq. (Agent-General for British Columbia). Sir Francis Dillon Bell, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for New Zealand), Rowland P. Blennerhassett, Esq., M.P., Sir Arthur Blyth. K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for South Australia). Stephen Bourne, Esq., Lord Brabourne, Charles E. Bright. Esq., C.M. G., William J. Browne. Esq. (late South Australia). J. A. B. Bruce, Esq., Lord Castletown, Edward Chapman. Esq., F. W. Chesson, Esq., the Dean of Chester. H. B. Christian. Esq. (Cape Colony), Hyde Clarke. Esq., J. G. Collier (Secretary to the High Commissioner for Canada), Captain J. C. R. Colomb, Sir D. Cooper. Bart., K.C.M.G.. B. P. S. Costelloe, Esq., W. J. Courthope, Esq, Major Craigie. Jas. Cropper. Esq., M.P., Colonel Sir Wm. Crossman. K.C.M.G.. Sir Donald Currie, K.C.M.G., M.P., R. R. Dobell, Esq. (Canada), Jas. Dunn, Esq., the Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven, K.P., George Errington, Esq., M.P., Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton, Hon. M. Finch-Hatton, M.P., E. W. Fithian. Esq., H. O. Arnold Forster. Esq., the Right Hon. W. E. Forster. M.P., Sir William Fox, K.C.M.G. (late Premier of New Zealand). J. F. Garrick, Esq., Q.C. (Agent-General for Queensland), Wm. Gisborne. Esq. (late of New Zealand), J. E. Gorst. Esq., Q.C., M.P., Morton Green, Esq. (Natal). F. T. Gregory, Esq. (Queensland), Sir William H; Gregory. K.C.M.G., William Greswell. Esq., Vice-Admiral Vesey Hamilton, Admiral Sir J. Dalrymple Hay, Bart., M.P., E Heneage, Esq., M.P., A. Staveley Hill. Esq., Q.C., M.P., Jas. Hole, Esq., Sir Henry T. Holland, K.C.M.G., M.P., Hon. Thos. Holt. M.L.C. (New South Wales), R. V. Holton, Esq., E. W. Howson. Esq., Dr. C. Inglis. J.J. Irvine, Esq. (Cape Colony), J. P. Jeans. Esq., Captain C. Johnstone. R.N., E. A. Judges, Esq. (Canada), J. F. Kelsey. Esq., F. P. Labilliere, Esq., James Lansdell Esq., Nathaniel Levin. Esq., Sampson S. Lloyd. Esq., M.P., Lieut-General R. W. Lowry. C.B.. Colonel Henry Lumsden, Alexander M 'Arthur. Esq., M.P., Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.. Hon. W. J. Macdonald. R. B. Mackie. Esq., R. D. Douglas McLean, Esq., (New Zealand), A. Patchett Martin. Esq. (Victoria), Charles Marvin, Esq., Hon. J. X. Merriman. M.L.A. (Cape Colony), G. Molineux. Esq., S. V. Morgan. Esq., X. Mosley. Esq., Kenrie B. Murray. Esq., (See. London Chamber of Commerce). R. Lucas Nash, Esq., Thomas Niblock. Esq. (Canada). W. N. Nicholson, Esq., M.P., the Marquis of Normandy. G.C.M.G. (late

Governor of Victoria). G. Paton. Esq., Colonel Conway Poole. W. Agnew Pope. Esq., John S. Prince. Esq. (Cape Colony), Sir Rawson W. Rawson. K.C.M.G., C.B., G. M. Reid, Esq., the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, G. W. Rusden, Esq. (late Victoria), Albert Rutson. Esq., Sir Saul Samuel. K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for New South Wales), A. Sandbach, Esq., Sir Thomas C. Scanlen. K.C.M.G. (late Premier of the Cape Colony), Robert Scott, Esq., John Shrimpton, Esq., Charles Shuter. Esq., J. C. Silber, Esq., Alfred Simmons, Esq., Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P., Sir Francis Smith (Chief Justice. Tasmania), R. Murray Smith, Esq., C.M.G. (Agent-General for Victoria), Samuel Smith, Esq., M.P., W. G. Soper, Esq. (Cape Colony), Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P., D. Summers. Esq., W. Summers, Esq., M.P., C. Tottenham. Esq., Sir Charles Tupper, K.C.M.G., C.B. (High Commissioner for Canada), J. Stewart Tupper, Esq. (Canada), Alexander Turnbull, Esq. (Jamaica), T. D. Wanliss, Esq., the Karl of Wemyss and March. William Westgarth, Esq., Arnold White Esq. Captain A. C. White. Sir Samuel Wilson. William Wilson. Esq. (late M.L.C. Victoria). J. D. Wood. Esq., E. A. Wallace. Esq., James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G., Frederick Young. Esq.

*"There is no more idle conception, among all the vain imaginations that fill the atmosphere of Politics, than the conception which now and then finds vent, that there are in this country a party of men who are insensible to the great dignity and the great duties connected with the maintenance of the Colonial Empire of England. There have been superstitions gathering round the nature of that Empire. It may have been valued in wrong ways; but there is no man, I believe, worthy of the name of a statesman—no man known to me in the sphere of political life—who is not sensible that the business of founding and of cherishing those Colonies is one which has been so distinctly entrusted by Providence to the care of the people of this country, that we should almost as soon think of renouncing the very name of Englishmen, as of renouncing the very great duties which, passing beyond the seas, are imposed upon us with regard to the more distant, but not less dear, portions of this great British Empire."*

—Speech of Mr. GLADSTONE at the Mansion House, August 7, 1881.

*"In my opinion no minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing, as much as possible, our Colonial Empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land"*.

Speech of Mr. DISRAELI, 1872.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

Report of the Conference Held July 29, 1884, at the *Westminster Palace Hotel*,

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. Forster, M.P.,

*In the Chair.*

Published by Authority of the Committee. Cassell & Company, LIMITED: *London, Paris & New York.* 1884.

## Errata.

Page 54, note, for "Mid-Somersetshire," read "Mid-Lincolnshire."

Page 62, nine lines from foot, for "T. Dennistoun Wood," read "J. Dennistoun Wood."

## List of the Provisional Committee.

### Chairman.

- THE RIGHT HON. W. E. Forster, M.P.

### Committee.

- Frederick Young, ESQ. *Vice-Chairmen.*
- CAPTAIN J. C. R. Colomb. *Vice-Chairmen.*
- SIR Daniel Cooper, BART.
- W. J. Courthope, ESQ.
- R. R. Dobell, ESQ.
- W. Gisborne, ESQ.

- Alexander Staveley Hill, Q.C., M.P.
- J. B. Watt, ESQ.
- SIR Samuel. Wilson.
- THE HON. Harold Finch Hatton, 19, Bury Street, W. *Hon. Treasure.*
- J. Dennistoun Wood, ESQ, 82, Ladbroke Grove, S.W. *Hon. Treasure.*
- F. P. Labilliere, ESQ., 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C. *Hon Secretary.*
- H O. ARNOLD-FORSTER, ESQ., 80, Eccleston Square, S.W. *Hon Secretary.*

## Table of Contents.

### Preface.

A FEW words of introduction are necessary in placing this report before the public. The object of the conveners of the Conference was twofold. In the first place they desired to promote, as far as possible, the great end of Imperial Federation. In the second place they were anxious to record an effective protest against a belief which appeared to be prevalent to some extent at Home, and to a still greater extent in the Colonies, to the effect that there was a party, or important section of any party, in the United Kingdom which was careless of the Colonial Connection, and which looked forward with pleasure to an early disintegration of the Empire. That such a belief is happily erroneous will appear from a perusal of the names of those who attended the Conference, or who expressed their approval of its objects. It will be seen that among the number there are representatives of all parties and all shades of party. Being well aware that without the energetic co-operation of Englishmen beyond the four seas the objects they have in view are simply unattainable, the Committee have endeavoured to issue the present report in the form most useful and intelligible to Colonial readers. For this reason they have added short particulars of services rendered to the State by the bearers of the names recorded in the various lists of sympathisers. By so doing they believe that the truly representative character of the meeting will be more fully realised.

It will be seen from the report of the proceedings that at the close of the Conference a provisional Committee was appointed, charged with the duty of publishing this report, and of arranging for an adjourned meeting to be held at a later date. This meeting is shortly to take place, and it is intended to include in its proceedings the formation of a permanent society, having for its object the promotion of Imperial Federation. All those who desire to become members of such a society, or to receive any information with regard to its methods and constitution, are requested to communicate with the hon. secretaries, by whom all documents will be forwarded to such secretaries as the Conference may appoint.

### IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

The following is a list of those who attended the Conference:—

The Committee have endeavoured to include the names of all who attended the Conference: but fear that owing to the failure of some of those present to sign their names there may be omissions in this list.

- BADEN POWELL, GEORGE, C.M.G.
- BARKLY, SIR HENRY, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.
- BARLING, W. E.
- BENNET, J. B.
- BELL, SIR F. DILLON, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for New Zealand).
- BOMPAS, HENRY, Q.C.
- BORLASE, W. C., Liberal Member for East Cornwall.
- BOURNE, STEPHEN.
- BRUCE, J. A. B.
- BRUCE, THE HON. R. P., Liberal Member for Fifeshire.
- BRYCE, JAMES, Liberal Member for the Tower Hamlets.
- BURROWS, PROFESSOR MONTAGU.
- BURY, VISCOUNT, K.C.M.G.
- CAMPERDOWN, THE EARL OF.
- CHEETHAM, J. F., Liberal Member for North Derbyshire

- CLARK, G. B., M.D.
- CLARKE, HYDE.
- CLIFFORD, SIR CHARLES.
- CLIFFORD, G. H.
- CORNISH, J. W.
- COLOMB, CAPT. J. C. R.
- COOPER, SIR DANIEL, BART., K.C.M.G.
- COURTHOPE, W. J.
- COWEN, JOSEPH, Liberal Member for Newcastle.
- CROPPER, JAMES, Liberal Member for Kendal.
- DICKEY, THE HON. R. B. (Senator, Dominion of Canada)
- DOBELL, R. R., (Canada).
- EBRINGTON, VISCOUNT, Liberal Member for Tiverton.
- ERRINGTON, GEORGE, Liberal Member for Longford.
- FINCH HATTON, THE HON. HAROLD.
- FORSTER, H. O. ARNOLD.
- FORSTER, THE RIGHT HON. W. E., Liberal Member for Bradford. Late Vice-President of the Council and Chief Secretary for Ireland.
- FREELAND, H. W.
- FULCHER, PAGET.
- GIBSON, THE RIGHT HON. E., Conservative Member for Dublin University, Late Attorney-General for Ireland.
- GILLIAT, THE REV. E.
- GISBORNE, W. (New Zealand)
- GORDON, J. W.
- GRAHAM, CYRIL, C.M.G.
- GREENE, MOLESWORTH (Victoria).
- GRETTON, GEORGE LE M. (South Australia).
- GREY, THE HON. ALBERT, Liberal Member for South Northumberland.
- GZOWSKI, COLONEL, A.D.C. (Canada).
- HENNIKER-HEATON, J. (New South Wales).
- HOLLAND, SIR HENRY, BART., K.C.M.G., Conservative Member for Midhurst
- INGLIS, C., M.D.
- KEEP, EDWARD.
- LABILLIERE, F. P.
- LESTER, H. F.
- LENNARD, SIR JOHN.
- LITTLE, STANLEY.
- LOWRY, LIEUT.-GENERAL, R.W., C.B.
- MALLESON, COLONEL G. B., C.S.I.
- MAN, MAJOR J. ALEXANDER.
- MANNERS-SUTTON, HON. JOHN.
- MARTIN, A. PATCHETT.
- MAY, J.
- MCARTHUR, ALEXANDER, Liberal Member for Leicester
- MCCARTHY, D'ALTON (Member of the Canadian House of Commons)
- MCLEAN, R. D. DOUGLAS.
- MILLER, WILLIAM.
- MILLS, CAPTAIN CHARLES, C.M.G. (Agent-General for the Cape Colony).
- MOLINEUX, GISBORNE.
- MONTEFIORE, JACOB.
- MORGAN, O. VAUGHAN.
- MORGAN, S. VAUGHAN.
- MOUAT, F. J., M.D.
- MOWATT, THE HON. O., Premier of Ontario.
- MURRAY, KENRIC B.
- NORMANBY, THE MARQUIS OF, G.C.M.G., late Governor of Nova Scotia, Queensland, New Zealand, and Victoria.

- O'HALLORAN, J. S. (Secretary, Royal Colonial Institute).
- PATON, G.
- PRESTON, W. C.
- PRINCE, J. S.
- POTTER, GEORGE.
- RAE, JOHN, M.D.
- REDPATH, PETER.
- ROBINSON, ADMIRAL SIR SPENCER.
- ROSEBERY, THE EARL OF.
- RUSDEN, G. W.
- SAMUEL, SIR SAUL, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for New South Wales).
- SHRIMPTON, JOHN.
- SILVER, S. W.
- SIMON, MR. SERJEANT, Liberal Member for Dewsbury.
- SIMPKIN, CAPTAIN.
- SMITH, SAMUEL, Liberal Member for Liverpool.
- SMITH, THE RIGHT HON. W. H., Conservative Member for Westminster, late First Lord of the Admiralty.
- SMYTH, GENERAL SIR SELBY, K.C.M.G.
- SOUTHEY, THE HON. R, C.M.G., (formerly Administrator of Griqualand West).
- STANHOPE, THE HON. E., Conservative Member for Mid Lincolnshire (late Under-Secretary for India).
- SUMMERS, W., Liberal Member for Staly bridge.
- TUPPER, SIR CHARLES, G.C.M.G., C.B., High Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada.
- TUPPER, J. STEWARD.
- WALLACE, E. A.
- WANLISS, T. D.
- WESTGARTH, WILLIAM.
- WHITE, CAPTAIN.
- WHITE, ARNOLD.
- WILKINSON, H. SPENSER.
- WILMOT, SIR J. EARDLEY, Bart., Conservative Member for South Warwickshire.
- WILSON, SIR SAMUEL.
- WOOD, J. DENNISTOUN.
- YOUNG, FREDERICK (Hon. Sec. Royal Colonial Institute).

## **Letters approving of the objects of the Conference were received from the following:—**

- ABERDEEN, THE EARL OF.
- ANDERSON, ANDREW A.
- ARCHER, THOMAS, C.M.G. (Queensland).
- ARNOLD, EDWIN, C.S.I.
- AUSTIN, ALFRED.
- BADEN POWELL, G., C.M.G.
- BARHAM, A. H. FOSTER.
- BARNETT, THE REV. S. A.
- BARNS, THOMAS A.
- BUSBY, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., (New South Wales).
- BINNY, JOHN (U.S.A.).
- BOMPAS, H., Q.C.
- BORTHWICK, SIR ALGERNON.
- BOUSFIELD, WILLIAM.
- BROADHURST, H., M.P. for Stoke.
- BUNSEN, E. DE.
- BURROWS, PROFESSOR MONTAGU.
- CAINE, W. S., M.P. for Scarborough.
- CAMPBELL, WILLIAM (late Member of the Victorian Legislative Council).
- CHAPMAN, JOHN.
- CHEETHAM, J. A., M.P. for North Derbyshire.

- COOK, R. J.
- COODE, SIR JOHN.
- COSTELLOE, BERNARD.
- CURRIE, SIR DONALD, K.C.M.G., M.P. for Perthshire.
- DUFFY, SIR CHARLES GAVAN, K.C.M.G., late Premier of Victoria.
- DUNRAVEN, THE EARL OF, K.P.
- ELLIOT, THE HON. ARTHUR, M.P. for Roxburgh.
- FORSTER, E. P. ARNOLD.
- FORSTER, J.
- GALT, SIR ALEXANDER, G.C.M.G. (late High Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada).
- GELL, PHILIP L.
- GOLDSMID, SIR JULIAN, Bart.
- GREG, PERCY.
- HAMPDEN, VISCOUNT, G.C.B. (late Speaker of the British House of Commons).
- HANBURY, PHILIP C.
- HENEAGE, E., M.P. for Grimsby.
- HICKS-BEACH, RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL, Bart., M.P. for East Gloucestershire (late Secretary of State for the Colonies and Chief. Secretary for Ireland).
- HILL, A. G. STAVELEY, Q.C., M.P. for Coventry.
- HODGSON, ARTHUR, C.M.G. (formerly Premier of Queensland).
- HOLTON, R.
- JOURDAIN, HENRY J. (Mauritius).
- KNOWLES, JAMES.
- LEE WARNER, HENRY.
- LETHBRIDGE, ROPER.
- LLOYD, SAMPSON.
- LORNE, MARQUIS OF, K.T. (late Governor-General of Canada).
- LUDLOW, JOHN.
- MACFIE, R. A.
- MACLEAY, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G.
- MASKELYNE, N. STORY, M.P. for Cricklade.
- MCILWRAITH, SIR THOMAS, K.C.M.G. (late Premier of Queensland).
- MARVIN, CHARLES.
- MERRIMAN, THE HON. J. X. (late Member of the Cape Ministry).
- MONTGOMERIE, H. E. (Canada).
- NAPIER, PROFESSOR (in the University of Gottingen).
- NICHOLSON, SIR CHARLES, Bart.
- OSSORY, LORD CASTLETOWN AND.
- PENDER, JOHN, M.P. for Wick.
- PLUNKET, RIGHT HON. DAVID, M.P. for Dublin University (late Solicitor-General for Ireland).
- POTTER, GEORGE.
- REAY, THE LORD.
- ROTHERY, G. C.
- ROUQUETTE, A.
- SCOTLAND, THOMAS.
- SEELEY, PROFESSOR.
- SHAFTESBURY, THE EARL OF, K.G.
- SHAND, SIR CHARLES FARQUHAR (late Chief Justice of Mauritius).
- SIMMONS, A.
- SIMPSON, J. W.
- SMITH, THE HON. DONALD (formerly Member of the Dominion Parliament).
- SMITH, R. BARR (South Australia).
- STEAD, W.
- TOTTENHAM, C.
- TURNBULL, ALEXANDER.
- WALKER, WILLIAM (late of the West Indies).
- WANLISS, T. D. (Victoria).
- WATT, THE HON. J. B. (M.L.C. New South Wales).

- WEBSTER, R. G.
- WELLS, L. B.
- WHITE, A. CROMWELL.
- WILSON, E. D. J.
- WOLFF, SIR HENRY DRUMMOND, Bart., G.C.M.G., M.P. for Portsmouth.
- WOLSELEY, LORD, G.C.B. (Adjutant-General of the British Army).
- YOUL, JAMES A., C.M.G.

The following are extracts of special interest from letters received by the Committee bearing upon the subject of the Conference:—

### **THE MARQUIS OF LORNE, K.T., Late Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada.**

*"I much regret I shall be away in Scotland at the time of the Conference, or should certainly attend. Let me again mention to you my idea of the importance of ascertaining the views of the leading men in each of the great Colonies, as well as of the gentlemen who have been or are connected with them resident in England."*

### **LORD WOLSELEY, G.C.B., Adjutant-General of the British Army.**

*"Had not the pressure of official business made it impossible for me to do so, I should certainly have attended the Conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel, as the closer union between this country and her Colonies is a subject in which I have always felt the deepest interest, and, in my opinion, is of great national importance, and well worthy of the earnest consideration of every serious statesman."*

### **SIR ALEXANDER GALT, G.C.M.G., Late High Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada.**

*"I need not say that I sympathise most warmly in the object of the Conference, and will do all in my power to promote it."*

### **SIR HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G. Late Premier of New South Wales.**

*"As I have to leave England early next month, it would be useless for me to take any part in your projected Conference, which has my best wishes for its success."*

### **SIR CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY, K.C.M.G., formerly Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and Premier of Victoria.**

*"The politics I have retired from are party politics. My interest in Australia, or in Ireland, has not at all diminished, and I will gladly co-operate in any way I can with colonists like yourself*

*Mr. Dennistoun Wood.*

*in pushing the Federation of the Colonies into the field of practical politics."*

### **SIR THOMAS MCILWRAITH, K.C.M.G., Late Premier of Queensland.**

*"I would have willingly taken part in the Conference you refer to, but I leave for Australia next Tuesday. I thoroughly believe in the object of the Conference. I think it high time some action was taken in this country, and am glad to see so firm a statesman as Mr. Forster inclined to work. I believe he is in earnest in desiring the union of the Colonies with the mother-country on a more permanent basis."*

### **THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HAMPDEN, Late Speaker of the British House of Commons.**

*"The movement has my best wishes, and I hope that it will be guided to the end in view with judgment."*

### **SIR HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Successively Governor of Jamaica, Victoria, Mauritius, and the Cape.**

*"I have much pleasure in accepting the invitation you have addressed to me on behalf of the Committee for promoting the Unity of the Empire, to allow my name to be added to the list, and to attend the Conference."*

**SIR LEONARD TILLEY, K.C.M.G., C.B., Finance Minister for the Dominion of Canada (formerly. Premier of New Brunswick).**

*"I am heartily in sympathy with any practical movement for the Unity of the Empire, and wish you every success."*

**THE HON. LAVINGTON GLYDE, Recently Colonial Treasurer in South Australia.**

*"I sympathise entirely with the principle that "the Unity of the Empire should be permanently maintained;" and I think I may venture to say that nearly all the prominent public men in South Australia share the same view."*

**SIR JOHN ROSE, Bart., G.C.M.G., Formerly Finance Minister in the Canadian Government.**

*"I concur very heartily in the principle of the important object you have in view."*

**SIR DANIEL COOPER, Bart., K.C.M.G., Formerly Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales.**

*"I think you know how strongly I advocate the Unity of the Empire, to promote which would join in any movement."*

**THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, K.P.**

*"In my opinion there is no question of deeper importance before the country than that of Imperial Federation, and I shall at all times be happy to co-operate in any movement which will advance that object."*

**BISHOP PERRY, Late of Melbourne.**

*"I am quite willing to pledge myself to the principle that the Unity of the Empire should be permanently maintained."*

**THE BISHOP OF RIVERINA (N.S.W.).**

*"Many thanks for your letters, and the card for the meeting. I quite agree with its intention."*

**PROFESSOR SEELEY, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge; Author of "The Expansion of England."**

"DEAR SIR,

"As I am absent from England, and as it is impossible for me to attend your meeting, I hope I may be allowed to convey to it by letter my warm sympathy with those who have convened it. I am in hearty agreement not only with their purpose, but also with those more particular views of the Committee which are expressed in the minute of which you have sent me a copy.

"I heartily agree that it is not desirable at the present moment to raise a premature cry of Federation, or to discuss the details of a federal organisation. In such questions "ripeness is all;" discussed now, they might seem insurmountably difficult, but the difficulty will vanish if they are held in reserve till the proper time.

"I am also glad to hear that you receive support from both political parties. There is, indeed, no reason why

politicians of every school should not meet in furthering an enterprise like this.

"Some, no doubt, of those who pride themselves upon being serious politicians will exclaim, 'Child's play!' but surely, on your Committee there are those who will not be denied to be serious politicians. Surely, too, if it be true that we may have too much even of a good thing, this is a moment when we have at least enough of party politics.

"I suppose it is the effect of party politics, making passion and discord almost the one motive force in public affairs, that has betrayed us into the unaccountable attitude which we assume towards the Empire. How else can it be accounted for that on the question of the Unity of the Empire the majority of Englishmen have actually no opinion?—and this not because they have considered it with anxious care, and have been unable to arrive at a conclusion, but because they have never considered it, have never studied it, and have no knowledge about it at all.

"To enlighten public opinion is the main object which the Committee propose that a Society should be formed to attain; and even if they had not the strong conviction which they have—which all of us have—of the desirableness of maintaining and strengthening the unity of the Empire, it would still be urgently necessary that public opinion should be enlightened upon the subject—that, at least, the *existence* of this vast Empire should be impressed upon the mind and imagination of every Englishman, rich and poor, whether in England or the Colonies, is urgently necessary.

"The idea ought to be popularised and diffused—a whole literature ought to be devoted to it. The extension and vocation of the English race ought to be a subject of study to a whole staff of students, and of exposition to a brigade of popular writers; and so it ought to become familiar to all Englishmen alike.

"That this has not for a long time been the case is to me a matter of astonishment. I cannot understand the deadness of imagination which has made us remain, as it were, indifferent to the subject. I am sure that such melancholy narrowness and pettiness ought to cease. The main thing is to fill our imaginations with the great fact. Let this once be done, and I hardly think it will be necessary for the Society to inculcate any particular doctrine.

"If, when we have been once awakened to the question, and have learned to consider it with eager interest, we arrive at the conclusion that the Empire had better go, or at the still stronger conclusion that it should be left to chance to decide whether it shall go or not, be it so! In that case, we shall show ourselves a unique people! But it seems more reasonable to expect that some sort of *pan-Anglicanism* will spring up. In this century, when the idea of national unity has been everywhere so powerful—in Italy, in Germany—should we alone among nations remain insensible to it? But if we do, let us at least be sure that we resist the fascination from superior wisdom—that is, after due study of the subject—not from sheer dulness and indifference, not because the motions of our spirits are dull as night!

"Yours truly,

"J. R. SEELEY."

**LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, *Conservative Member for Middlesex; Under Secretary for India, 1874—1878; Vice-President of the Council, 1878—1880.***

*"I thoroughly approve of the object of the proposed Conference."*

**MR. JOSEPH COWEN, *Liberal Member for Newcastle.***

*"If I am at liberty, I shall be most happy to attend a conference for such a purpose as you indicate. I am in entire sympathy with your views."*

**MR. JAMES BRYCE, *Liberal Member for the Tower Hamlets.***

*"I am prepared to join in considering any schemes submitted by those who have given more attention to the subject, and feel very strongly the great advantages to the Colonies, as well as to Great Britain, in maintaining a political connection, and leading the various English-speaking peoples over the world to feel themselves even more fully one people than they do now."*

**MR. E. HENEAGE, *Liberal Member for. Great Grimsby.***

*"I regret that my absence should have made me over-look your important meeting relating to the Federation of England and the Colonies. I shall be very glad to join your Committee or Association, and heartily agree with the object of your Association."*

### **MR. N. STORY MASKELYNE, *Liberal Member for Cricklade.***

*"I have much general sympathy with the ends of the movement towards the consolidation of a greater England; and I hope, as time goes on, that the proposal may assume a practical shape. It is merely a truism to say that therein lies the difficulty, as is too often the case with the ideals of politicians. Is there heart enough for the thing on the side of Colonial as well as of Home England? Any way, it is a great purpose in our politics, and I for one bid it 'God speed' in its forward course."*

### **MR. ALFRED SIMMONS, *Secretary of the National Association for Promoting State-Directed Emigration and Colonization.***

*"Thanks for your note and card of invitation to Conference. Having two engagements in town on Tuesday, I am not sure if I will be able to attend; but if I find it possible, will certainly do so. I have no doubt at all that I should find myself in full sympathy with you on the principle involved in the expression on the card, for I have long felt it to be a tremendous blunder that the Government of the mother-country should take such small pains to more securely attach to herself the various Colonies. The time will come when it will be difficult, if not impossible, to secure Imperial Federation, and this is essentially one of those cases in which delay is dangerous."*

### **MR. J. FERGUSON (*Ceylon*).**

*"I trust that the outcome of the meeting to-morrow will tend to confirm the unity of the British Empire, fully convinced, as I am, that—at least in that part of the world with which I am best acquainted—the greatest evil which could befall the people of the Asiatic Dependencies or Britain would be their deprivation (from any cause) of the proud and happy title of 'British subjects.'"*

## **Report of Proceedings.**

ON the motion of Mr. F. YOUNG, seconded by Captain J. C. R. COLOMB, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.,

Liberal Member for Bradford, Under Secretary for the Colonics 1865; Member of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, and Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, 1868 to 1874; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1880 to 1882.

was elected to preside.

In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN said:—

I hope none of you will think, from my friend Mr. Young having moved that I should take the chair at this preliminary meeting, that I wish to put myself forward as the head of so important a movement as this. This is a preliminary meeting of gentlemen who feel interested in the matter, and I hope will be followed by other much more important, or at least much larger, gatherings when the object for which we have met to-day has been thoroughly discussed by the public. Short speeches are the necessary condition to a successful conference. (Hear, hear.) There are several gentlemen present from the Colonies, as well as others living at home, who, from their study and experience, are well qualified to give opinions upon this important matter. I am sure that you are, as I myself am, most anxious to hear them; and therefore I shall confine my remarks in opening the proceedings to the shortest possible introductory statement concerning the object and aim of our meeting.

We are here to-day because we wish to preserve the unity of the Empire (cheers) by binding the several parts together, and also because we think the time has come when those who have that wish should meet together to see how they can attain it. I will not take up your time with arguments in favour of this unity of the Empire, or against disruption. You would not be here to-day if you required convincing in that matter (hear, hear); and I think I may go further, and say that outside this room there are not now many Englishmen who believe that England would gain by the loss of her Colonies. (Cheers.) The question now is not is it well to keep the Colonies, but how we are to keep them. (Hear, hear.) It is quite true there have been some gentlemen, and there may still be a few gentlemen—but I believe they are becoming fewer every clay—who try to persuade themselves we should be better off at home if we were left to ourselves, and who look forward with

pleasure—perhaps I should hardly say with pleasure, but without pain—to Australians and Canadians and South Africans ceasing to be our fellow-countrymen. Well, to my mind that prospect is unbearable (cheers), and I believe it is to yours also. It means, in my opinion, the weakening of England, the increased probability of war among Christian nations, and—I do not think the words too strong—the throwing back of the progress of civilisation. (Cheers.)

It is sometimes said that England would be richer if she could get rid of her colonial responsibilities. Well, I believe that, as a rule, the material interests of a nation are not best served by making their promotion the sole, or even the chief, aim. (Hear, hear.) The result is national degradation, and with it the loss of power, and even the faculty of making money. But, putting aside this somewhat abstract consideration, there is no fact more proved by practical experience than that the trade does follow the flag. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, we may well believe that, if the flag be lowered, trade will suffer. So much for the English view of the matter, which I have endeavoured to express in a very few words.

There are influential colonists present who can—and I doubt not will—tell us that the prospect of separation is as hateful in the Colonies as it is here (hear, hear)—that, in their opinion, it means danger to the Colonies themselves, and an arrest of their growth; and I believe they will also tell you that there is no colonial feeling stronger than the longing that there should be such treatment of her Colonies by England as will make separation improbable, or even impossible. (Hear, hear.) We Englishmen, both at home and in the Colonies, have a different future in our mind's eye in this matter than we had a generation ago, or even than we had nine or ten years ago, when I remember trying to impress what were then thought to be rather fantastic views upon the public. But you see the reason why that is the case. The inventions of science have overcome the great difficulties of time and space which were thought to make separation almost a necessity, and we feel now that we can look forward, not to the isolated independence of England's children, but to their being united to one another, and with the mother-country, in permanent family union. I feel certain that, to the public generally, as well as to you, that prospect is as pleasant as the prospect of separation is painful. (Hear, hear.) In private affairs—and I think it is the same in public affairs—plans or hopes for the future greatly modify action in the present; and therefore we naturally are now asking ourselves what can be done to avoid the calamity of separation and insure the fulfilment of this beneficent idea of union. We are met here to-day to answer this question. We want to see how we can make this desire for union a fact, and how we can realise this grand idea, of unity. I believe we must not stand by looking on. We must not suppose that present ties are in themselves strong enough to beat-straining; they require to be pulled and knit together. Difficulties may arise—intercolonial difficulties, and difficulties, perhaps, between England and her Colonies—which might lead to separation if we do not take care to prevent them.

In the words of the resolution which will be submitted to you—simply submitted for discussion—it must be clear that the relations of our Colonies with the mother-country must ultimately end either in disintegration or in some form of Federation. We have given our Colonies—those of our own race—full self-government. We should have been acting with the greatest possible folly and injustice if we had not done so; but this self-government must, end in one or other of two ways—isolated independence, or some form of general union which is expressed in the common term Federation. (Hear, hear.) What will be the actual form of this Federation is not, to my mind, the question to-day. (Hear, hear.) The word does not necessarily imply a Federal Parliament. It may, for instance, be fulfilled by a council of representatives of the different Colonies. In fact, all that is implied is that there should be some combination together of the Colonies with the mother-country which would bind them so that separation would be felt to be a most improbable result. I think myself that they are the real foes of union—or at any rate the disbelievers or sceptics of its possibility—who would ask us to-day what should be: the form of Federation, or demand at this moment a written Federal Constitution. (Hear, hear.)

As the population and power of the Colonies increase, both absolutely and relatively to the power and population of England, it will every day become more and more clear that the ultimate terms of Federation must in some manner or another be framed on the principles of perfect equality. (Hear, hear.) That will appear more and more clear as time goes on. In the meantime, what is wanted is this—that those who have power and influence in England or in the Colonies should be possessed by the Federal idea, that they should seize every opportunity of working together in good fellowship and sympathy and mutual self-respect; that they should strive to co-operate in common defence, and that they should take counsel together in all Imperial matters, and especially as regards each colony in any relations with any foreign Government. (Hear, hear.) I said persons in power and authority. I do not by that expression mean simply the members of the respective Cabinets—either the Colonial Secretary in Downing Street, or the Prime Minister of any Colony—nor do I confine the remark to members of the respective Parliaments, but I include all who, by speech or by writing, can influence what now, in our English-speaking races, must be admitted to be the great governing force—the power of public opinion. (Hear, hear.)

The main object of our meeting together to-day, and of the society which we hope to form, will be to keep constantly the idea and aim of Union before all classes of the British public, both at home and in the Colonies—before the people both in Great Britain and in Greater Britain—and especially to show to the masses and to the workmen that it is to their interest as much as to the interest of the capitalists—that we should keep together, so that our rulers, both here and in the Colonies, should let slip no opportunity, as circumstances change from day to day, of developing this idea of union, and of hastening the realisation of this principle of Federation, than which, I believe, there is none more fraught with beneficence to England, and even to the world. (Cheers.)

MR. F. P. Labilliere, Hon. Secretary of the Conference Committee, read letters from several gentlemen who had been expected to attend.

## **The Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P.:**

**Conservative Member for Westminster; Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1871 to 1877; a member of Mr. Disraeli's Cabinet, and First Lord of the Admiralty, 1877 to 1880.**

I have no claim whatever to appear at a Federal meeting like this, for my connection with the Colonies is exceedingly slight. It consists only of that connection which, I believe, almost all Englishmen have—a connection of interest, a connection of investment, and therefore I can only speak from the point of view of an Englishman desirous of seeing the interests of his country and the interests of the Colonies, which are identified with England, promoted and advanced. But, gentlemen, I can quite understand why I have been selected to take part in this meeting. It is in order to show that politicians of this country of all orders, degrees, and parties have one common aim and purpose, and that is the security, the development, the advancement, and the prosperity of the Empire, that we regard our Colonial friends, our cousins, and our neighbours as Englishmen in the full and true intent of the word, and that they are entitled and should obtain as complete a place in the management and in the control of the affairs of the Empire as we Englishmen claim in our own little island. In saying this I do not wish to go an atom further than my friend, Mr. Forster, has gone. We are not here to discuss the details of any scheme of Federation. We are not here to prepare a scheme which shall be put forward for the acceptance of Great Britain or the Colonies. We are here to insist upon the principle to which your Chairman has given expression in the fullest and strongest terms—the principle of unity—a unity of sympathy, of common interest, of a common purpose, and of a common object. The resolution I am called upon to move is as follows:—

"That the political relations between Great Britain and her Colonies must inevitably lead to ultimate Federation or disintegration. That in order to avert the latter, and to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is indispensable."

It appears to me that that is a proposition which is absolutely incontrovertible. (Cheers.) In recent years, within the memory of those who are within this room, the progress of the Colonies has been so vast, their extension—to use the words of Professor Seeley—has been so enormous, that unless they become integral parts of the Empire, and unless they have a voice, a concern, a power of expression in its policy in those matters which are common to the Colonies and Great Britain, disintegration appears to me to be inevitable. (Hear, hear.) We have heard recently of an event which has occurred in the Australian seas. Unless there was a cordial feeling of sympathy and interest binding together the mother-country with the Colonies, it would be possible to conceive a different course of policy pursued by the Colonies from that which the Mother Country would seek to pursue for herself; and I can conceive no circumstances which would tend more to the disadvantage of the mother-country and also to the disadvantage of the Colonies than that a separate and distinct course of policy should be pursued on matters of that kind and importance. (Hear, hear.) But I can only refer to that question as an indication of the questions which certainly must arise in the course of the next few years unless we can find some mode of expressing that unity in stronger and more complete terms than exist at the present moment—some system by which the voice, the policy, the interests of the Colonies shall be blended with those of the mother-country, and expressed in the mother-country itself more completely than they are at the present time. (Cheers.)

My friend, Mr. Forster, has referred to our position in England. We have a large population; we have a vast amount of capital. The Colonies have great opportunities and great means for the employment of the population and for the development of their resources by means of the capital which is found to exist here. There is a basis of common interest and common advantage which we at home at all events cannot afford to neglect or leave undeveloped or unused. There can be no doubt whatever, however men may cavil at the sentiment, that the circumstances in which this country is placed require that we shall advance, and in saying that I do not wish it to be understood that we are to advance by force of arms, to advance adversely to the interests of community at large, or to the world at large. We seek no such means of advancement, but I will ask you to consider one question—that is the increase of the population of this country, which is something altogether independent of

law, or of any system which exists at the present time, to bring under control.

Our population advances; but it is certain the actual material resources of the country cannot advance in the same proportion. The increase of our population is out of all proportion to the increased capacity of the ground, the land in which we live, to maintain that population. We trust to the development of our manufactures, of our commerce, and of our trade, and these undoubtedly afford vast resources for our population; but no statesman, no Englishman can say that with all these magnificent resources at our command we dare shut our eyes to the fact that emigration, the peopling of the earth, is a necessity of this country, a necessity which we must endeavour by all means to make as successful as we possibly can. How can we do so with greater advantage to this country, to those who remain as well as those who go, than in connection with the Colonies of Great Britain, in connection with those communities which are English-speaking, which have English habits and customs, and which are in deep and real sympathy with England at home as well as abroad? I cannot myself see why every boy, if he leaves this country to become a settler in Australia or in Canada, should forego his right to take an interest, and his duty to take an interest, in the prosperity of his mother-country. (Hear, hear.) I believe in both the duty and the right. And although we do not seek to express the particular mode in which that voice shall be exercised, let us at least assert the principle that unity is to be maintained, that some method shall be found, some course adopted which shall give our colonists all the rights, and the interests, and the advantages which belong to resident Englishmen in Great Britain and Ireland. (Cheers.) I believe it can be done. At the same time, there is no worse method than by at the present time endeavouring to frame a constitution or basis of a Federal Council, or Federal Parliament, or anything of the kind. Federation means only at the present time an aspiration after union, and it means that those who have given their life to the interests of the Colonies—and I do not distinguish the interests of the Colonies from those of the country at large, but speak of them as one country and one people—should endeavour by discussion, by study, by application, by weighing of objections, by meeting them, to at last elaborate some system which will grow into the most perfect expression of the views and wishes and wants of our fellow-subjects and countrymen beyond the seas. (Cheers.) I read some time ago a paper by Sir George Cornwall Lewis, deprecating any attempt to give expression to the views and sentiments of the Colonists in England by anything in the nature of Parliamentary representation because of the enormous distance which separated the Colonies from this country. Well, what was the distance in time which separated Scotland and Ireland from the capital 100 years ago? (Hear, hear.) Was that distance less than that which separates England from Canada at the present moment? Is Australia more remote than many of the islands to be found on the west coast of Ireland and Scotland? For all practical purposes the electric telegraph and steam have brought the most distant and the most remote colony into nearer relations, and certainly into greater sympathy with the interests of Government in the capital of London than the distant and remote portions of Great Britain were some 100 or 200 years ago. (Hear, hear.) Government was possible then, and I believe Government will be possible under the altered conditions which I suggest may possibly arise. But let me say this, as an individual, that I do not contemplate any union, any federation, any system of any kind whatever which in the slightest degree interferes with the perfect domestic and local self-government of the Colonies. (Cheers.) I regard it as an essential condition of any arrangement or attempt at arrangement that entire independence, so far as local self-government is concerned, should be thoroughly and entirely respected. (Hear, hear.) It is impossible for us here to venture to pass laws dealing with local affairs, with the difficulties of which we are only imperfectly acquainted; but there are questions on which undoubtedly union must exist.

I could not help being struck the other day with an expression of the objects of Federation in the Bill which, I believe, has passed through one or two of the Parliaments of Australia within the last few days. It says, by way of preamble:—"Whereas it is expedient to constitute a Federal Council of Australia for the purpose of dealing with such matters of common Australian interest in respect to which united action is desirable as can be dealt with without unduly interfering with the arrangement of the internal affairs of the several colonies of the respective Legislatures." Instead of Australian I would insert English, and say that, without unduly interfering with the internal management of the several colonies by their respective Legislatures, you should have a common executive and a common power for the purpose of dealing with matters of common interest, for the purpose of dealing, for instance, with a common enemy, whether he be a convict who seeks to obtain entrance on your shores, or whether he be an enemy who seeks to take advantage of your weakness. I will venture to use the words used by Professor Seeley, in a book which I have read with great interest. He says: "All political unions exist for the good of their members, and should be just as large and no larger than they can be without ceasing to be beneficial." That is a doctrine to which I entirely adhere. If this union is not to be beneficial to its members do not attempt it. It is because I believe the union will be most beneficial to its members that I most earnestly advocate it, and I advocate it as something which will tend to advance the prosperity and happiness and strength of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Forster made one remark of great moment. He said he thought a union of this kind would have the effect of averting war. I believe that thoroughly. (Hear, hear.) There is nothing which tends to avert war so much as strength—strength exercised wisely and properly, and I believe

when we see England bound in a league of defence with her Colonies that war, so far as regards the Colonies themselves, will be impossible, and that war, so far as regards England herself, will become much less probable. It is therefore in the interests of peace and of the advancement of the human race at large that I most earnestly press this resolution on your acceptance. (Cheers.)

The Right Hon. Gentleman then proposed the first Resolution, as follows :—"That the political relations between Great Britain and her Colonies must inevitably lead to ultimate Federation or Disintegration. That in order to avert the latter, and to secure the permanent Unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is indispensable."

## **The Chairman:**

I have now the pleasure of calling upon a nobleman present who is not only well known in our islands, but is now well known—personally known—on the other side of the world. I am very glad, indeed, that Lord Rosebery has consented to address us. (Hear, hear.) He shows by his willingness to take part in these proceedings what he has learnt by his visit to Australia. (Hear, hear.)

## **The Earl of Rosebery:**

**Under Secretary for the Home Department, 1881, in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry.**

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I regard this meeting as one of very prime and special importance in the history of the Empire of Great Britain. I regard it as important for the reason that it shows that public opinion is awakening in a very marked way to what must be one of the dominant questions of the future; and in the second place, I welcome it because the presence of the ministers and the ex-ministers, and the ministers to be, at this Conference, shows that the question has been taken out of the hands of some who had dealt with it rather as a crotchet, an idea, and has become a practical and living question in this country. (Cheers.) I believe we have now put our hand to the plough, and are not likely to look back till we have some tangible result, and I view this as the inauguration of a crusade of absolutely vital importance to the future of this country. (Cheers.) Now, I think this is a matter of vital importance now; and let me tell the meeting the one reason why I think it is so at this moment. It is so now because the time will come when we shall all recognise it as a matter of pressing and supreme importance; and when the time comes it will very likely be too late to do what we ought to do now. (Cheers.) We have occasionally seen accounts of two vessels coming into collision. They meet in mid-ocean, and nothing seems to occur to them as to any necessity for avoiding each other till all of a sudden one looms on the quarter of the other, and the catastrophe takes place. My lords and gentlemen, I confess myself very anxious to see all danger to the unity of the Empire postponed by timely action within the Empire itself. (Hear, hear.) Now, my lords and gentlemen, I have had occasion already to make remarks not indirectly affecting this subject, and I have put in the forefront of what I believe to be true policy in this matter one very simple and somewhat selfish consideration, and that is, that I do not care in the future to see these seething populations of ours, these increasing populations, shut up in two islands, one of which does not particularly care about the other. (Hear, hear.) And if you carry out the doctrines which are more or less identified with the names of Sir William Molesworth and Mr. Goldwin Smith, that is the position to which you reduce the Empire of Great Britain. (Cheers.) That is, as I have said, a somewhat selfish view, but we have to take it into consideration as a practical view, and we can then, beyond the practical view, take what is a much higher view, which is this, that there is in these distant colonies a feeling of loyalty, which can only be described as a passion, which we are not ready to avail ourselves of now, when it is time, and which, when we are anxious to avail ourselves of it, it may be too late. (Hear, hear.) Of course, the question of cost may be urged against any project of this sort, and I can quite understand, with our annually increasing expenses, that the matter of cost is a very great one; but I venture to say, if this were a matter of expense, even that should not be allowed to stand in our way. As a matter of fact, it is no question of expense at all. We have seen, only the other day, the Australian colonists, when they urged a policy on the Imperial Government, which the Imperial Government was somewhat reluctant to adopt, cheerfully offer to bear the whole of the expense; and if there were any such expense involved here, which I do not believe, money would form no difficulty between the mother country and the colonies. (Cheers.) Suppose it did cost money, and this country had to find its proportion. You have had urged on you, very eloquently and impressively, by Mr. Forster and Mr. Smith, what we should get in exchange. We should get breathing space for the Empire, for we cannot say we have any breathing spaces in these islands, and direct this great tide of emigration—this nation which annually leaves our shores—to loyal and attached homes, instead of to countries which are not so attached. (Cheers.) As I believe it is better to-day—and this is a hint which I recommend humbly to the attention of the Conference—to put this Conference on as practical a basis as possible—because we have had discussions in which ideas have been too prevalent, and have been taunted with idealism—let me

give two practical illustrations of what I believe the effect of the unity of the Empire will be. There are two questions, both of them burning questions. One of them attracts much more attention than the other, but in my view both are of imperial importance. There is the question of the French recidivists. Do you believe, my lords and gentlemen, that if Australia had been as integral a part of Great Britain as Kent, it would have been seriously proposed to turn all the criminal refuse of France loose upon an island within a few days of her shores? (Hear, hear.) Do you believe, if Australia had been an integral part of this country, it would have been seriously proposed to poison with this criminal refuse not merely the islands of New Caledonia, but all the adjacent islands of the beautiful Pacific? (Hear, hear.) I believe that is a practical test. That point shows how this question affects the colonies. Let me allude to another question which affects the mother country. We are now all profoundly agitated about who is to have the paramount position in Egypt. I am not going to introduce controverted political matters. But does anybody here suppose if Australia and the colonies had the same position to this country that Scotland or Ireland have, that she would not claim to be heard to a very considerable extent as to who should have paramount influence on the banks of the canal, which is the nearest road between Great Britain and her Southern Empire? (Cheers.) I cannot touch any further on the subject; it is like dancing on hot coals. (Laughter.) But I do venture to point out that these two practical points do show the necessity of a united Empire. (Cheers.) Our being present admits the principle, I take it, of the necessity of federation; and therefore, anything said on that point, unless it was practical, would be so much surplusage. Therefore, I do not wish to dwell another moment on that point. One or two words upon a question which is always asked of the advocates of federation—"How are you to manage it?" We never meet with a man in private life who is not convinced of the necessity of imperial federation, but he almost always goes on to say that no scheme was ever propounded, and that no scheme ever could be propounded. No one expects that any scheme will be evolved by this Conference to-day. I should exceedingly regret to see any such scheme evolved, even if it were a practical and workable scheme, because it would have the stamp of haste upon it, and would not commend itself to the country. But there are certain points which no statesman, I think, who wishes to consider this question practically, can afford to disregard. One was stated clearly, and with the cordial assent of the meeting, by the last speaker. He said nothing could affect the local Government of Great Britain by its own Parliamentary institutions. I believe none of her colonies would wish to interfere with her domestic self-government, and I believe any proposition of that sort would be received with an outcry—and a just outcry—among the population of Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) But with regard to this point, I suspect that any proper scheme of federation would lead, not to a diminution of local self-government, but rather to an increase of local self-government. I am not sure that this is not an integral and vital part of any scheme. But in England, as I take it—certainly in the nineteenth century—there are two absolute necessities in any scheme of administrative reform. The first is that it should be preceded by inquiry, and the second—particularly in such a case as this—is that it should be tentative in its nature. (Hear, hear.) I am perfectly certain that if anybody were to introduce an absolutely perfect and complete scheme to the Parliament of Great Britain for the federation of the Empire, to which no possible objection of time or space could be urged, that scheme would have no chance of acceptance. The British Parliament would say, and wisely say, "We will go gently; we wish to see how this scheme works in minor matters before we proceed to any cut-and-dried Constitution of the British Empire." That has always been the way in the British Constitution, and I do not suppose that on this, the largest of all questions which could occupy Parliament, they would wish to depart from the traditional rule. (Hear, hear.) In relation to the two points I have urged, I want to say, as regards inquiry, I do think the Government might do two things. I think the Government might appoint a committee, or a royal commission, to inquire into the practicability of any such federal idea. I think they might do so for more than one reason. In the first place, you would get the best men to sit upon such a council—statesmen of tried experience, colonial representatives, and persons who would sift all the claims presented to them, and report exhaustively on them to the British Parliament. In the second place, if it were not able to achieve results such as these, it would, at any rate, have this effect: it would show throughout our vast colonial Empire that the Government of this country are not showing a want of interest in those distant colonies. (Cheers.) And let me remark in passing, it might do one thing more. Even if there was a disinclination to issue a royal commission, or to nominate a select committee, the Government might send out invitations to the colonial governments to ask them if they could suggest any scheme, or what their predisposition towards the idea might be. I believe that would have a healthy influence on the governments of Australia and Canada, because no one can travel in those countries without being aware of the sensitiveness, and just sensitiveness, of the colonists to the attitude of the British Government in relation to their claims. (Hear, hear.) As regards a tentative experiment in the direction we are seeking, I may be considered to be a person of one idea on this subject; but I do believe it might seriously be considered by the House of Lords if delegates from the colonies might not be admitted to sit as do delegates in the Senate of the United States. Of course, that would be a large change, but not so large as it at first appears. The main objection always urged is that of distance. I think that question has been conclusively dealt with by Mr. Smith, but I

would point out an even more recent illustration. I refer to the state of California, which, when a territory, and a distance of weeks from the main seat of government, sent delegates to the Senate of the United States without the slightest difficulty. I do not believe in the difficulty of distance; and I believe a tentative experiment in the House of Lords would not interfere with the financial control of the House of Commons over the affairs of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) I invite consideration to these two or three points. I see it is proposed that a society should be formed with the direct object of bringing this question before the country. I think that a very good idea. There is another idea I have long wanted to lay before such a meeting as this. I cannot see why there should not be formed some sort of vigilance committee; that is a word which explains practically what I mean, although it is not perhaps quite correctly used on this occasion—of members of both Houses of Parliament with regard to colonial questions, for the purpose of ventilating them, and keeping an eye on them in both Houses. (Hear, hear.) At present anybody who wants to take any action with regard to colonial matters, has not much support, simply because he has no means of knowing who are the members of Parliament who are interested in such matters. The other point is of minor importance—namely, that this Conference, if it feels it has done good work to-day, should adjourn to some day during the autumn session, when there will be more leisure for members of Parliament to attend. (Hear, hear.) I have dealt entirely with practical points, and I now come to the most practical of all. It is that you should not postpone this question till it is too late. On both sides the world—across the western ocean and across the southern ocean—you have two great countries—empires, if you will, stretching forth their hands to you in passionate loyalty and devotion to the country from which they spring. If you will not avail yourselves of that sentiment now, the time may come when you will bitterly repent it; and it is therefore from the timely and practical handling of this question that I hope to see the greatest benefit arise. (Cheers.)

## Sir Charles Tupper:

**High Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada, and formerly Premier of Nova Scotia, has held several important offices in the Dominion Cabinet.**

I cannot express sufficiently the regret that I feel at having been compelled by imperative official duty to be absent at the opening of this most interesting meeting, and the more because I was most anxious to hear the remarks of our distinguished Chairman, whose name, I need not tell you, is a household word throughout the British Colonics—(hear, hear)—and whose opinions are known to be so entirely in favour of the perpetuation of the colonial connection with the Empire as to command a degree of confidence and respect that could not be exceeded by any other name. (Hear, hear.) No gentleman in this assembly witnesses with greater satisfaction and pride than I do a meeting like the present, embracing gentlemen occupying leading and distinguished positions in both the great parties of this country, brought together upon a common platform—a platform calculated to carry out the best interests, not only of these British islands, but of the colonial portion of the Empire as well. (Cheers.) No person can witness with greater pleasure than I do the growing feeling that is exhibited in this country among the statesmen of all parties in regard to this most important and vital question. I do not believe it possible to discover, in all the great questions that occupy the attention of the statesmen of this country, a question in which these British is *[unclear: image not readable]* the great colonial dependencies of these islands *[unclear: a]* and deeply interested than the consideration *[unclear: image not readable]* means by which the tie that now binds them together may be drawn still closer and perpetuated indefinitely. (Hear, hear.) So far I am entirely in accord with the views and the sentiments which have brought this conference together, and although I had not the good fortune to hear the explanations in regard to this first resolution offered by the Chairman or the right hon. mover of this resolution, I may be permitted to say that, in the light of the statements and explanations given by the distinguished nobleman who has just taken his seat, I can find very little to take exception to. (Hear, hear.) But in justice to my own views and opinions I may be permitted briefly to point out the grounds on which I ventured, before the meeting assembled, to suggest to the Chairman the desirability of a slight alteration of the wording of the resolution declaring that "the political relations between Great Britain and her Colonies must inevitably lead to ultimate federation or disintegration." I am not prepared to agree in the declaration of that abstract opinion in an unqualified manner. (Hear, hear.) I will briefly state why.

The great Colony, the great British Dependency with which I am more intimately connected—the Dominion of Canada—has recently undergone a radical change in her constitution. Seventeen years ago, at the instance of all parties in the country, the Imperial Parliament was approached with a proposition to enable us to unite the various isolated provinces of British North America under one Government. We obtained the hearty co-operation of the Crown and the Imperial Parliament, and a new constitution was given, under which one Federal Government was formed, extending from the little island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence—Prince Edward's Island—to Vancouver Island in the Pacific. It would be impossible, I believe, for the most sanguine promoter of that great constitutional change to have anticipated the admirable results that have followed. The noble lord

referred in fitting terms to the enthusiastic loyalty to the Crown and the devoted attachment to British institutions which pervade the Colonial Empire, and I have no hesitation in saying it would be impossible for any constitutional change to increase that sentiment of loyalty to the Crown or that love of British institutions which animates Canada from end to end. The same may be said, no doubt, of the great provinces of Australasia. Those who have been watching the progress of Canada for the last seventeen years know that, under the influence of that great change, her progress during that time will bear favourable comparison with the progress of any portion of the great Republic to our south, rapid as has been its growth. If, therefore, a degree of progress has been made that is almost unexampled—seeing the improved credit and development of the country, such that we have had the means of grappling with vast public works of an imperial character; and knowing, as I know, the marked growth and development of devotion to the Crown and British institutions—if, I say, under our constitution this is what has taken place, I can hardly subscribe to the proposition that these relations must be changed in order to prevent disintegration. So smooth have been the relations between the Dominion and the Imperial Governments, so little friction has there been, that we have never come to them without meeting with a hearty and zealous response to all. Our efforts for the development of the country. Under these circumstances, while I hail with delight anything which will more completely bind the two countries together, I feel some difficulty in declaring that those relations must be changed if we are not to separate from the Crown. (Hear, hear.)

The noble lord proposed, and I think the proposition an admirable one, that a royal commission should be issued—for what purpose? For the purpose of accomplishing federation? No; but for the purpose of ascertaining whether federation is practicable. If it is necessary to inquire into the practicability of a federal connection between the mother country and her Colonies, it is, surely, too soon to say that federation is necessary to prevent disintegration, and I should not be doing justice to myself if, holding such strong opinions, I failed to express them. (Hear, hear.) It has been said, you cannot hope to devise a cut-and-dried scheme of federal organisation, but while it remains a controverted question whether you can devise such a scheme, I am unwilling to subscribe to the abstract proposition contained in the resolution. I go most heartily with the language and sentiments of gentlemen present in desiring to draw closer the tie which binds us to the mother country, and I should be greatly pleased if any slight modification of this resolution could be adopted, so as not to put us in the position of declaring to the world that the connection can only be maintained by a federal union, but that we do not know whether a federal union is practicable. The principle of perpetuating the connection between the Colonies and the Empire we have all at heart. It deserves our most zealous co-operation, and will be accepted, I believe, by the great dependency with which I have the honour to be connected. (Cheers.)

## **The Earl of Wemyss:**

I beg to move that the resolution be amended by striking out the first two lines, and that the resolution should then read:—"That, to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is desirable." I move that as an amendment.

## **Mr. Bompas, Q.C.:**

I do not like either the resolution or the amendment, and I would suggest that the first of the minutes that the Committee have placed on the table should be substituted. That would overcome the whole difficulty.

## **The Chairman:**

Perhaps I may be allowed to make one or two remarks. I am sure we are much obliged to Sir Charles Tupper both for his sympathy and criticism. What we want is that, agreeing as we do in principle, we should so express that principle as not to give rise to misconception here or in the Colonies. In using the word "Federation," we do not by any means bind ourselves to a particular form of Federal Parliament. It may be effected by representation in the Imperial Parliament, or it may be by a Council of representatives of the Colonies. We want to convey the notion that ultimately, hereafter, there must be a union, in some form or other, of England with her Colonies, on terms of perfect equality to the Colonies as well as to England; and I do not know any word which will better express that notion than the word "Federation." Sir Charles Tupper gave us an excellent illustration of how Federation does tend to prevent disunion or disruption by showing that the difficulty which years ago would have been thought quite as great, and even greater, than is the difficulty between England and her Colonies now, has been so successfully surmounted, and by that means differences which would certainly have arisen have been avoided. I quite understand, however, that it is undesirable to indulge in prophecy, and it is not necessary to do it. I think Lord Wemyss's suggestion is a good one, but I should be glad to hear the opinions of gentlemen present. The resolution would then read thus:—"That, in order

to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is indispensable."

## **The Right Hon. W. H. Smith:**

So far as I am concerned, I am prepared, as the mover of the resolution, cordially to accept the suggestion made. There is no difference of opinion on the subject. (Hear, hear.)

## **Mr. G. W. Rusden:**

I had already written out a resolution to the effect that, "in order to promote the welfare of the Empire, it is desirable to establish some form of Federation of the Colonies with the United Kingdom." I prefer the word "welfare" to "prosperity." I hope Mr. Smith will adopt this resolution.

## **The Chairman:**

The resolution now before the meeting is in these words :—"That, in order to secure the permanent union of the Empire, some form of Federation is indispensable."

## **The Earl of Wemyss:**

Desirable.

## **Lord Bury:**

### **Under Secretary of State for War in Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry.**

We are to consider the substituted resolution as the one under discussion. I rise for the purpose of saying that, as a very old worker in this cause, I wish the cause every success. For the last thirty years I have taken very great interest in this matter. When we talked of the necessity of the Federation of the Empire only twenty-five or twenty-six years ago, we addressed deaf cars. The school of Mr. Goldwin Smith was very much in the ascendant all the country, and the general body of the population was not fully convinced of the necessity of preserving the integrity of the Empire. Look at the state of things now. The meeting that is assembled in this room represents all classes of thought, all political opinions; and men from every part of the world are met, not to affirm the necessity of the continuity of the bond between Great Britain and the Colonies (for that is a matter admitted by all), but to decide upon some practical way in which that continuity can be best secured and advanced. For twenty-five years past the subject we are now discussing has been making giant strides. It has been, in various parts of the Empire, tried and found a success; and this has inspired other parts of the Empire to try it. We are doing what our right lion. Chairman advised us to do—trying this matter in detail—knowing full well that it could have but one result—the eventual solid Federation of the Empire. The experience of the past years has shown that the colonising qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race are such that that race will eventually become the dominant race of the world, and we only require to be welded together in one homogeneous whole to hasten that very desirable event. (Hear, hear.) I do not want, at this moment, to enter into any details, but merely rise for the purpose of asking this meeting to allow me to express the deep sympathy with which I regard the movement here inaugurated. We are all agreed as to what is to be done, and we will all put our shoulders to the wheel when we are shown the way in which we are to proceed. Such a meeting is too large to discuss details. I suppose that, by subsequent resolutions, to a small committee will be committed the formulating of some scheme. The movement will, I feel confident, be a thorough success; and I think you are to be congratulated, Sir, on having assembled under your presidency such a very representative body, coming from all parts of the world. (Cheers.)

## **Mr. Bompas, Q.C.:**

Even as the resolution now stands, Sir, it seems to me that it is open to some extent to the objection raised by Sir Charles Tupper, whereas the first minute submitted by the Committee seems to me to exactly correspond to the wishes of the meeting. It does not definitely bind us on any point, but declares that the Colonies should have "an adequate voice in the control" of the Empire. What that adequate control shall be is a matter for the Committee to decide. Surely, nobody will deny that they ought to have an adequate control, and a fair share in sustaining the responsibilities of the Empire. What that fair share shall be may be left for minute consideration. Federation, as I understand, means that and something more. I beg to move the first minute as an amendment.

## **Sir Henry Holland, M.P.:**

**Conservative Member for Midhurst. Assistant Under Secretary for the Colonies, 1870 to 1871.  
Member of the Imperial Defence Commission.**

I hope the amendment will not be pressed. This is only a conference. I do not understand the learned gentleman to deny that "in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of Federation is desirable." I myself would prefer the stronger word indispensable. However, I do not understand the learned gentleman to deny the proposition. Do not let us go into the question whether the Colonies should bear any part of the Imperial responsibilities. There will be plenty of difficulties when we enter that stage or case, and I earnestly hope the amendment will be withdrawn. Only one word more. With reference to procedure, I venture most respectfully to suggest that the Society should, if possible, keep clear of Royal Commissions, or Committees, and all sorts of Colonial Office inquiries. (Hear, hear.) I speak as an old hand at the Colonial Office. (Laughter.) We are a society composed of all classes of politics in this country and the Colonies, and I think we should, if possible, keep clear of these official or, semi-official inquiries. (Hear, hear.) The Society, as Lord Rosebery has said, is one of great influence—quite sufficient influence with the Colonies and the statesmen of the Colonies to get their opinions thoroughly before us without resorting to official inquiries. (Hear, hear.)

## **Mr. W. Westgarth,**

As a further amendment, suggested the omission of the word "federation," and the insertion in its place of the words "some form of political union."

## **Mr. R. Dobell (CANADA):**

Contrasted with the meeting held some four years ago, this gathering, really so harmonious and unanimous, shows at a glance what progress this question has made in Great Britain. I endorse very warmly all the last speaker has said. Avoid Royal Commissions and the Government. This question, if it is to be worked out at all, must be worked out by practical men in the Colonies and Great Britain. At the last meeting convened by the Dominion Board of Trade in Canada, an irresponsible and unofficial body, after three days' discussion, we could only arrive at one resolution, and that was to the effect that it was desirable to draw closer the political and trade relations between Great Britain and the Colonies, and that to secure the unity of the Empire some form of federation was the most desirable and practical means of furthering that end. I do not think we could adopt anything better than that. I am glad to see there is some hope of this question being put in a practical shape, especially after our Chairman and other distinguished men have taken a move in it. I can confirm what fell from the High Commissioner, that in Canada we would be one in favour of the movement. I think the simpler the resolution could be made the better, and I would suggest the one that I have just read.

## **Mr. T. D. Wanliss (BALLARAT):**

I think something practical should come out of this meeting, and that we should take a decided step. As an addition to the resolution, I would move:—"That this Conference is of opinion that, as a preliminary step towards the Federation of the British Empire, it is desirable in the meanwhile to recommend the Government of the United Kingdom to form a Colonial Council—to consist of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the High Commissioner for Canada, and the Agents-General for the several Colonies, with power to the various Colonies to appoint an additional number in proportion to one member to one and a half million of the population." (Cries of "Question") If such a Council were created, it would, in my opinion, be the beginning of something larger and better.

Mr. Wanliss was proceeding to refer to the origin of the British Cabinet and of the Indian Council as precedents, when

Mr. F. Young, interposing, said:

I rise, Sir, to order. The statement may be very interesting, but it is, I venture to think, out of order to go into details at this meeting.

## **Mr. Wanliss:**

If this addition to the resolution meets with the approval of the meeting, it would, I think, be a practical step towards the object we have in view, and I beg to move it.

## **The Chairman:**

I would put it to the gentleman who has just spoken whether there is not some truth in the remark of my friend Mr. Young, that we do not wish to come to a decision upon these points to-day. It might come afterwards. I think there is a good deal to be said for the resolution he proposes, but it goes much more into detail than is necessary at a preliminary meeting.

## **Sir J. Eardley Wilmot, M.P.:**

**Conservative Member for South Warwickshire.**

I do not like the terms either of the resolution or the amendment, and I would, respectfully lay before you a short resolution, which I think will obviate the objections that have been raised. It is :—"That it would be to the best advantage of Great Britain and her Colonies that a Federal Union between them should be established." I listened with great respect to the remarks made by Sir Charles Tupper, and I agree that we should endeavour to avoid any expression that would be regarded as showing that we had the least idea of doubting whether perpetual unity will be preserved.

## **Mr. E. Stanhope, M.P.:**

Let us try to show ourselves unanimous. We are unanimous. (Hear, hear.) Each one of us might make some suggestion commending itself to our individual feeling, but let us try to combine upon the resolution which Sir Charles Tupper has accepted as amended, and which I believe is agreeable to almost every one in the room. (Hear, hear.)

## **Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P.:**

**Liberal Member for Dewsbury.**

I hope, Sir, that on this occasion we shall not pass over a group of Colonies which have hitherto occupied a very important position, and which at this moment stand in great contrast to the Colonies to which more particular reference has been made. We have been speaking of Australia and Canada—countries of enormous size, great resources, and with a great future. It is with the view of retaining the allegiance of those Colonies that this meeting has mainly been called. But there is another group of our Colonies—our possessions in the West Indies—which are not in the same happy position, and cannot look forward to the same happy future that these Colonies can. They have passed under great trials and vicissitudes, through no fault of their own, but entirely under the operation and influence of Imperial legislation. These Colonies formerly had complete self-government; from some of them that self-government has been taken away. The island of Jamaica, for instance, which has been a Crown Colony for seventeen years, has had a partial restoration of self-government. ("Question.") This is the question. Let us consider, not only our great dependencies, which we cannot defy or displease; but let us give some attention and consideration to those Colonies which are not in this position of independence. They have not been mentioned in one of the resolutions that are submitted, and I beg to suggest that the terms of the fifth resolution, which pro-vides that copies of the resolutions shall be forwarded to the several Agents-General, be extended so as to include the West Indies, which have no Agent-General. (Hear, hear)

## **The Chairman**

We do not wish to hurry the meeting, but I believe there is really an agreement. (Hear; hear.) I dare say words better than any that have been suggested might, if we thought long enough, be produced; but I cannot help thinking that with the alteration. That has been made the resolution really meets the general feeling of the meeting. It is in this form:

"That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation," not "is indispensable," but "will be indispensable."

## **The Earl of Wemyss:**

Is desirable.

## **The Chairman:**

Allow me to say one word about "desirable." I hope we shall not be content with that word. (Hear, hear.) Everybody desires it. We have got beyond merely wishing it, and we think that something bad will happen if we do not get it.

The resolution was then submitted to the meeting in the following form, and passed unanimously:—"That, in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential."

## **Mr. E. Stanhope, M.P.:**

**Conservative Member for Mid-Somersetshire. Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade in Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry, 1875 to 1878. Under Secretary of State for India, 1878 to 1880.**

I have so little practical experience in this matter that in reality what I have to say may perfectly well be summed up by expressing hearty concurrence with the general feeling of the meeting, and my desire to co-operate with the Committee to gain a practical agreement. I do not think any one can exaggerate the growth of this movement. Some nine or ten years ago those who have spoken in this room would have been criticised as being practically visionaries. We have got, I am glad to say, far beyond that. What we have got to do to-day is to get tight hold of the idea we have in common, and endeavour to give it practical effect by the steps we shall take hereafter. I do not think anything more true was said than has been said by the Chairman in his excellent speech in 1875, when he stated that the adoption of an idea sometimes tends to its realisation. I believe that is so in this case, and that if we get tight hold of the idea of Federation or Imperial unity we may proceed step by step to impress on the public opinion of the country the great and growing importance of this question, the very great difference the realisation of the idea would make to us and the world in general, and the cowardice which would consist in abandoning the idea of maintaining the unity of the Empire simply because the Empire is already very large. (Hear, hear.) The feeling is growing, I believe, among our fellow-subjects abroad even more largely than in this country. They do not like to have the political cold shoulder from this country, and they are entitled to have from us, as we shall give them to-day, our hearty sympathy and our assurance that in the policy we desire to adopt for the future towards our Colonies we are looking to the idea, not of separation, but of giving them, in some mode or another, a more real part in the Government of this great Empire. (Hear, hear.) It is, therefore, with great pleasure that I beg to move—

"That for the purpose of enlightening and instructing the people, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, as to the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of political organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principle of Federation.

"That this Conference refers to a Committee all details connected with the establishment and organisation of such a Society, for a report thereon to be submitted for the consideration and approval of an adjourned Conference, to be held at a suitable period in the ensuing year."

I know a great many persons have a strong objection to the formation at the present time of any new society, but I am sure there is no object for which the formation of a new society is more desirable than the cause of Federation, which we are here to advocate to-day.

## **The Hon. Oliver Mowatt:**

**Prime Minister of Ontario.**

I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. I came not for the purpose of taking part in the discussion, but of hearing what was said and seeing who said it. It is impossible to exaggerate the feeling of loyalty and affection that exists in Canada. While that is the case I feel I would have had no difficulty in acceding to the resolution as it was proposed, and to which Sir Charles Tupper took exception. We feel in Canada that it is perfectly impossible for the present state of things to be permanent. We have all the feelings of British freemen, and we pretty generally feel that for a country numbering five millions of people to be permanently under an authority in which they have no representation is a thing that cannot be. But we rejoice in the connection as it exists now. It has been one of unmixed good, and I believe will continue so, even should no constitutional change be found practicable. We have felt great difficulty, many of us, in perceiving how any scheme can be suggested which would answer the purpose. A scheme which was thought practicable here might not be practicable abroad. I do not think any scheme has been propounded which our people have thought to be a really practicable one. We do not, however, abandon the idea in despair. (Hear, hear.) What are statesmen for, imperial or colonial? For the purpose of resolving difficulties. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) It has been found possible, both here and in the Colonies, to solve difficulties that seemed insolvable. (Cheers.) While I am not as sanguine as some as to our finding some satisfactory scheme for promoting the permanent unity of the Empire, I am as anxious as anybody for such a scheme; and would rejoice as much as anybody if the solution could be

found. That is the feeling which I am sure animates the breasts of 19/20ths of the people of Ontario, whom I represent. (Cheers.)

## **Mr. W. Gisborne (NEW ZEALAND):**

**Formerly Member of the New Zealand Ministry.**

I feel a considerable interest in this question. I have passed many years of public life in the Colony of New Zealand, where the question of the relations of the United Kingdom to her Colonies has elicited much discussion, and where it has, I think, presented more puzzling problems than in any other part of the British dominions. I am glad to hear from you, Sir, that we start from a common principle—the unity of the British Empire; and aim at a common end—the permanence of that union. I am only expressing my own individual views—I have no right to speak on behalf of any one—but I see two great anomalies in the existing state of the relations between the United Kingdom and the Colonies. These difficulties will only come into prominence when England goes into war with a great naval power. (Hear, hear.) What will then be the case? The strength of a connection lies, in the weakest part, and I wish to point out that in the state of things which will some day happen there will be a most defective link between England and her Colonies. (Hear, hear.) On the one side the United Kingdom will be paying for the naval defence of outlying parts of the Colonies without any assured or regular contribution from those Colonies (I am speaking of self-governing Colonies), although in those Colonies the average taxpayer is in a better position than the average taxpayer in the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) But what will be the state of the Colonies? The state of a Colony would be much worse. The Colony would not, like the United Kingdom, have had any voice in the origination of the war. It would have no voice in its prosecution, or in bringing it to a speedy and honourable termination. And yet the Colony must, under any circumstances, be a serious sufferer. Trade would suffer, and in the event—a very possible event—of any sudden attack by an enemy on the Colony the damage inflicted must be very grievous, and a great loss incurred both in life and property. (Hear, hear.) I would not say one word against the loyalty and the patriotism of Englishmen either at home or abroad. They are unquestionable. But I say there are hard, practical questions—(hear, hear)—which must not be left altogether to be regulated by an impulse of feeling. There are duties and responsibilities involved attaching to all parties, which must be determined and adjusted each in its due proportion. What is the remedy for these anomalies? I say the confederation of independent groups of Colonies, however useful for certain purposes, is no remedy for these anomalies. (Hear, hear.) It may be questioned whether this confederation of independent groups is even an aid to the Imperial confederation to which we wish to attain. The only remedy consists in some sort of Imperial confederation—some kind of Imperial confederation for the external defence of the whole Empire. (Hear, hear.) I believe in that will lie the true remedy for the anomalous state of the relations between England and the Colonies if England went to war with a naval power, and that in that lies the only approach to a permanent unity of the Empire. I believe, if that could be effected, anything which must be required to Supplement or perfect that unity could be attained afterwards with perfect ease. Let us approach the question, if possible, in that direction. Let us try by some means to put prominently this question of Imperial confederation for external defence before the public, so that it may elicit public discussion throughout the Empire, with a fair prospect of arriving at some practical conclusion. Once accomplish some such kind of confederation, and I believe the danger of disintegration of the Empire would at once cease, and the process of incorporation would at once begin.

This vast British Empire would never then become a disjointed or dissolving mass, but would become a living and coherent whole—an Empire, at unity in itself, and around which the course of time would only wrap closer and closer the bonds. (Cheers.) I hold that the existence of such an Empire would not only be of incalculable advantage to its own inhabitants, but would also be a material guarantee for the peace, order, and good government of the world, and the advancement of the whole human race. (Cheers.)

## **The Marquis of Normanby:**

**Has been Governor, in succession, of Nova Scotia, Queensland, New Zealand, and Victoria.**

In coming to this meeting to-day, I did so simply for the purpose of hearing the discussion which would take place, and without the least intention of addressing the meeting. It is the feeling that possibly, considering the position I have so long held in the Australasian Colonies, and also in Nova Scotia, my absolute silence might be misinterpreted, which has induced me to address you. I yield to no man in my anxiety for the union of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) I am anxious to see the bonds which connect the mother country with her Colonies strengthened as much as possible. (Hear, hear.) I rejoice, therefore, to see this movement which has taken place, for during the long years I have spent in the Colonies I have year by year learnt to respect, to admire, and to love those Colonies more and more. (Cheers.) I know how slow great movements of this kind move in England,

and I think, in the words of the resolution, that the time has come when some step should be taken towards strengthening the union between the mother country and her Colonies. I only rise now publicly to say that this object has my entire and hearty support. (Cheers.)

## **Mr. Cropper, M.P.:**

**Liberal Member for Kendal.**

As far as I know the people of this country, the object of this meeting is one that will have their hearty support. The feeling of unity with our Colonies is not lacking among the humbler part of the population, but they would have the heartiest sympathy with a society formed to carry out such an idea. (Hear, hear.) I would venture to support the suggestion just put forward by Lord Rosebery, that the meeting should be adjourned to some day during the forthcoming autumn session. I was very much struck with the speeches made by the gentlemen from the Colonies, especially with that from my friend on my left. (Mr. Gisborne.) They show that the feeling in favour of this movement exists in other countries, and I am convinced that if those present could go among the meetings which will be held in sufficient numbers, no doubt, during the next three months, they would find a very general feeling in support of a movement of this kind. I trust the resolution will not result in lecturing and instructing the people merely, but that we shall meet together as soon as possible to take a further step. (Hear, hear.)

## **Mr. W. C. Borlase, M.P.:**

**Liberal Member for East Cornwall.**

I venture to make a suggestion. The object of the Society to be formed is "to enlighten and instruct the people." I think nothing has done more to enlighten and instruct the people upon this subject than the admirable lectures of Professor Seeley. My suggestion is that one of the first works the Society should take in hand is to print and circulate these lectures, if it could be arranged, in a cheap and popular form, both in England and her Colonies. (Hear, hear.) I doubt whether there are very many present to-day who have not read and benefited by those lectures.

## **The Chairman:**

The suggestion is well worth the consideration of the Executive Committee, but I would remind the meeting that no large subscriptions are wanted to this movement. Our great object is to let the public know what we are aiming at, and ask for their assistance. We believe all that is required is that it should be known such a Society is at work, and we believe it will get abundant support. (Hear, hear.) There will be certain expenses for printing, advertising, &c. I myself have subscribed £10, and perhaps other gentlemen present will make contributions.

## **Mr. G. W. Rusden:**

**Member of the Civil Service in Victoria.**

I venture to think that people generally, and especially people in the Colonies, do not like to be told they want "enlightening and instructing," and I suggest that for those words should be substituted "influencing public opinion." People in the Colonies have thought over this subject for many years. They have felt the shoe pinch much more than in England.

## **Admiral Wilson:**

**Late Commodore on the Australian Station.**

I think the word "Federation" in the first resolution will be misunderstood both at home and abroad, and may be made use of by the enemies of the meeting.

## **The Chairman:**

The word is contained in the first resolution, and I hardly think we can alter it.

## **Mr. J. Henniker Heaton (NEW SOUTH WALES):**

It is said that all flesh is grass, and if that is so there must be a great deal of Australian grass in England at the present time. (Laughter.) I wish to take advantage of the opportunity of saying that all true Australians

believe in an Imperial union, which we believe would be a guarantee for the peace of the world and for our own safety. I think, the words "Imperial Union" would be better understood than "Federation" in Australia.

The resolution, with the words "influencing public opinion" substituted for "enlightening and instructing the people," was put to the meeting and agreed to.

## **The Chairman:**

We have got through the resolutions affecting the principle, and we now come to the details. I think the suggestion that has been made, that we should not adjourn till next year, but that we should adjourn till the autumn, is a very good one. It is quite true the Government have only got one thing to do, but it is no reason why everybody else should only have that to do. The reason why next year was mentioned was to enable us to get answers from the Colonies, but I think we all feel that this is a matter which will have to be done step by step, and I dare say by the autumn even we shall be glad of further suggestions. The next resolution relates to the appointment of an Executive Committee. It should be clearly understood that that Committee is not appointed to fix the objects of the Society, or to produce a plan of Federal Union. We have not yet come to that. (Hear, hear.) The duty of the Committee is to consider the question of organisation.

## **Mr. Albert Grey, M.P., moved:**

**liberal Member for South Northumberland.**

"That the Committee consist of Frederick Young, Esq., Chairman; Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A., Vice-Chairman; Francis P. Labillière, Esq., Hon. Sec.; T. Dennistoun Wood, Esq., H. O. Arnold-Forster, Esq., and Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton, Hon. Treasurers; Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart.; W. J. Courthope, Esq.; Alex. Staveley Hill, Esq., Q.C., M.P.; Roper Lethbridge, Esq.; Sir Samuel Wilson, with power to add to their number; and that, pending further notice, all communications be addressed to F. P. Labillière, Esq., 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C."

I would like to move an amendment, which will have the cordial goodwill and approval of every gentleman in the room, and will, I trust, receive the ready and willing assent of our Chairman also. It is, that the Committee referred to in Resolution No. 4 be presided over by our Chairman of to-day. (Hear, hear.) If he will kindly give us his approval to that suggestion, I am sure it will be cordially adopted by every one in this room. It is exceedingly important we should have as Chairman some one whose name is a household word in the Colonies. These resolutions will be printed in every Colonial newspaper. They will be eagerly scanned and hotly discussed by people whose loyalty Lord Rosebery has described as passionate. It is most important, I think, that the Chairman of the Committee should be a gentleman of the position of Mr. Forster, whose knowledge of Colonial matters is so great, and whose name is so well known beyond the seas. (Hear, hear.)

## **Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson:**

I beg to second the resolution. I have attended the meeting with the greatest possible satisfaction and delight, and I am sure everybody who has listened to the various speakers has felt as I have felt—that this is an important point in the history of our country. We have before us a prospect—and a not distant prospect, I hope—of working out the designs contained in the resolutions which have been so well and ably discussed. I hope with all my heart that we shall follow the advice of our Chairman, and refuse to enter into details which are not proper to a preliminary conference. (Hear, hear.)

## **The Chairman:**

One word about the alteration in the resolution. I do not think that the actual names are of great importance, but shall be glad to give any time I can to the matter. (Hear, hear.) If I am to be there, I shall have to get the assistance of Mr. Young; and I cannot mention the name of Mr. Young without saying that, through bad report and good report, and through no report at all—which is by far the most disheartening thing—my friend, Mr. Young, has stood by this cause of the permanent unity of the Empire for many years past. (Cheers.)

## **Mr. F. Young:**

**Hon. Secretary of the Royal Colonial institute.**

Perhaps I may be allowed to say a word or two. I did not intend to take any part in the discussion on the present occasion; but as my name has been prominently mentioned in connection with the resolution, I may say that I think the suggestion of Mr. Albert Grey is a most admirable one, and I shall rejoice very much to have

Mr. Forster to preside over us. (Hear, hear.) I shall be most happy to render any assistance in my power in carrying out the work of this great conference, either as deputy-chairman when Mr. Forster is unable to attend, or in any other way. (Hear, hear.) It should be perfectly understood that this Committee is not intended to have any power to formulate a scheme. It is intended simply to organise the Society, and to suggest something to a future conference, which it will be for that conference either to accept or reject. I hope you will quite understand that I cordially agree to the proposition of Mr. Albert Grey. (Hear, hear.)

## **Dr. Clark:**

I would like to suggest that the Committee be termed a Provisional Committee. There will probably be an appeal to the country very soon, and we ought to do all we can to bring this question before the people in the meantime, in order that the next Parliament may be in a position to deal with it. I have lectured a great deal amongst Liberal and workingmen's clubs and associations in London and the provinces, and I can testify that public opinion is much more advanced on this subject than many people would believe.

With the addition of the name of Mr. Young as one of the vice-chairmen, and the insertion of the word "Provisional" before "Committee," the third and fourth resolutions were adopted.

On the motion of Mr. Alexander McArthur,

Liberal Member for Leicester. Formerly Member of the Legislative Assembly, and also of the Legislative Council of New South Wales.

M.P., seconded by General Lowry, it was also resolved—"That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, the High Commissioners for Canada, and the Agents-General for the other Colonies, with a request that they will forward them to their respective Governments; and that copies also be sent to the Governors of such Colonies as are not represented by Agents-General."

It was further agreed that, by way of amendment, the word "political" should be omitted from the second resolution, the Chairman explaining that the word might be misunderstood abroad.

## **Sir Charles Tupper:**

Without taking up time unnecessarily, I venture to move a resolution to which you will unanimously agree, and that is, that we pass a hearty vote of thanks to our Chairman for the able manner in which he has discharged his duties to-day. (Cheers.) His duties have been discharged not only with ability, but with tact, which is so important on occasions of this kind. Let me further say, and I can speak especially for the Colony from which I come, that there is no name which could be placed at the head of a great movement of this kind which will command such hearty support and confidence among all classes as that of the right hon. gentleman. (Cheers.)

## **Mr. G. W. Rusden:**

I beg to second the resolution, and to assure Mr. Forster that as Sir Charles Tupper has answered for Canada, so I, who have spent half a century in the Australian Colonies, can say that there also his name is regarded with the same kind of feeling. We know that he does not give up to party what was meant for mankind, and the identification of his name with this movement will inspire confidence among Englishmen in all parts of the world. (Cheers.)

The resolution was passed with acclamation.

## **The Chairman (Mr. Forster):**

I cannot too warmly thank the mover and the seconder of the resolution for the kind words they have expressed. They are far too kind. But they are spoken with some authority, and I shall remember them as one of the bright spots in a political life which has not been bright altogether. Of course, every one who tries to do his duty must occasionally meet with what is unpleasant as well as what is pleasant; but this day will hereafter be remembered to me on a much stronger ground than this. I think I have now seen—and I think we all see—the beginning of a movement than which I believe there has been none of more importance to the world. We know there are difficulties, and we shall not endeavour to shirk them; but we believe it lies in the English character, and in English determination, to get the better of them, and that we shall eventually see—even I, I believe, shall see—the beneficent fact of the world encircled by self-governing English communities in a firm bond of friendship and permanent, alliance one with another. (Cheers.)

The proceedings then terminated.

The following Minute of the views of the Committee was submitted to the Conference :—

The Committee would submit to the Conference:—

- That in order to maintain the permanent unity of the Empire some extension of its political organisation will be indispensable, so that the large and rapidly increasing population of the portions of the Empire beyond the seas may have an adequate voice in the control of Foreign relations, defence, and all other common interests and concerns, and may take a fair share in sustaining Imperial responsibilities.
- That the time has arrived when those who feel the need of some political organisation for this purpose should openly advocate such a policy.
- That, whilst there should no longer be any hesitation on the part of the advocates of the unity of the Empire in pointing to Federation as the end they have ultimately in view, they should at present avoid embarrassing the question by attempting specifically to lay down the details of a Federal organisation for the Empire; neither should they prescribe the time within which the establishment of such a Federation should take place.
- That, in order to attain the end in view, it is only necessary to bring home to the minds of the people of this country, and of the Colonies, the advantages of the permanent unity and ultimate Federation of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australasia, South Africa, and other British Colonies, as our great national aim in the future, the details being left to be adjusted by those authoritatively empowered to arrange them on behalf of this country and the Colonies, when the time shall arrive for the formation of such Federation.
- That if the permanent unity of the Empire be kept clearly in view, and the nature of Federal Government be well considered, its adoption will not be difficult, even if the growth of the Colonies or the circumstances of the Empire should require it to be carried out sooner than may be anticipated.
- The Committee recommend the formation of a Society for the special object of enlightening public opinion throughout the Empire as to the advantages of permanent unity, and as to the nature and different forms of Federal Government; so that the people of the Empire, both in these Isles and beyond the seas, may be the better able to decide as to the exact form of that Government which they may prefer whenever they shall feel that the time has arrived for its adoption.

The following is a copy of the Resolutions as finally adopted and unanimously passed by the Conference:—

- That, in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
- That, for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principle of Federation.
- That this Conference refers to a Provisional Committee all details connected with the establishment and organisation of such a Society, for a report thereon to be submitted for the consideration and approval of an adjourned Conference, to be held at a suitable period in the coming autumn.
- That the Provisional Committee consist of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., Chairman; Frederick Young, Esq., and Captain J. C. R. Colomb, Vice-Chairmen; Francis P. Labillière, Esq., Honorary Secretary; J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq., H. O. Arnold-Forster, Esq.,

Subsequently to the Conference, the Committee resolved that Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster be appointed joint Hon. Sec. with Mr. F. P. Labillière, instead of continuing one of the Hon. Treasurers. and Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton, Hon. Treasurers; Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., W. J. Courthope, Esq., Alex. Stavely Hill, Esq., Q.C., M.P., and Sir Samuel Wilson, with power to add to their number; and that, pending further notice, all communications be addressed to F. P. Labillière, Esq., 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.

- That copies of these Resolutions be transmitted to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, the High Commissioner for Canada, and the Agents-General for the Australasian and Cape Colonies, with a request that they will forward them to their respective Governments; and that copies be also sent to the Governors of Colonies not having Agents-General.
- That this Conference do now adjourn to a date to be hereafter named.

The preceding Minute and Resolutions were subsequently forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the High Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada, the Agents-General for the Australian Colonies and for the Cape, and also to the Governors of all Colonies not having Agents-General.

With very few and unimportant exceptions, the Press, both in London and in the Provinces, took a most favourable view of the Conference and its objects.

A few extracts from some of the leading journals of the United Kingdom are given below :—

## **Times.**

"The Conference which assembled yesterday at the Westminster Palace Hotel to consider the question of

Imperial Federation is a remarkable sign of the times. It included representatives, official and unofficial, of all the more important colonies, and conspicuous members of both political parties at home. Mr. Forster was in the chair, and was supported by Lord Rosebery, Lord Wemyss, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Stanhope, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Bryce, and other public men of every shade of political opinion. Ex-Governors of the principal dependencies of the Crown, such as Lord Normanby and Sir Henry Barkly, were there, as well as military and naval officers of distinction to whom the defence of the Empire is a problem of the highest practical interest, and Colonial High Commissioners, Agents-General, and Ministers in large numbers. Mr. Forster's earnest and energetic speech at the opening of the proceedings was followed up by Mr. Smith and Lord Rosebery, who respectively proposed and seconded the first resolution, affirming 'That the political relations between Great Britain and her Colonies must inevitably lead to ultimate federation or disintegration,' and 'that in order to avert the latter and to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of federation is indispensable.' It is no exaggeration to say that a dozen years ago such a movement as that initiated yesterday would have been absolutely impossible. The ideas of Mr. Cobden were then in the ascendant. The dominant party in the State was powerfully influenced by the ingenious and passionate arguments of writers like Mr. Goldwin Smith, and by a reaction against the policy of Lord Palmerston. There were some even then who contended for the principle of a federal union between the mother country and her Colonies, but the question was not regarded as a practical one, and it would have been difficult to induce any politician of mark to identify himself with a project which seemed likely to remain a splendid but impracticable Utopian dream. To day the conditions are very different. The Colonies are no longer looked upon with cool indifference or ill-disguised dislike. We are proud of them, and we have confidence in them. We have no excuse for treating them as poor relations, importunate and exacting and not to be trusted in time of need. Our Colonial fellow-subjects, with few exceptions, have developed and given ample proof of a self-reliant and manly temper which, instead of leading, as Mr. Goldwin Smith anticipated, to a demand for political independence, has been concurrent and incorporated in its growth with a spirit of devoted loyalty to the British Crown and the British Flag. Whenever danger has threatened, or seemed to threaten, the Empire the Colonists have been forward, not, as 'sophisters and economists' had calculated, to shelter themselves from risk by separating their fortunes from the mother country, but to offer—nay, to press upon—the Imperial Government their moral sympathy and their material support. Social intercourse between Great Britain and Greater Britain has become closer every year; trade, letters, arts, even sport, have been incessantly forging new links between them, and it would now be impossible to sever the connection without a wrench which would be felt in every part of the body politic. So it happens that in the present day the problem of Imperial Federation presents itself to the minds of statesmen, not only as a practical, but as an urgent one. Those who have been and will be again Ministers of the Crown, Liberals as well as Conservatives, have been convinced that the difficulties of action—and no one who understands the question underrates those difficulties—are outweighed by the dangers of inaction

"The Conference agreed yesterday, very wisely, to drop from the first resolution the statement that unless federation in some form be adopted, disintegration must ensue. That proposition is argumentatively defensible, and probably the conviction underlying it is among the strongest, of the motives which brought the promoters of the movement together. But as Sir Charles Tupper, the High Commissioner for the Canadian Dominion, pointed out, to affirm that disintegration can only be averted by the adoption of a federal scheme must, if such a scheme be long delayed, only tend to strengthen the advocates, at present few and feeble, of separation. It would be rash to predict that a federal union of the Empire will be carried into effect without hesitations and controversies, or that even those, associated at the Conference can be brought easily to an agreement on the bases of the project to be offered for the acceptance of the people of the mother country and of the Colonies. While the federal policy remains in abeyance the Separatists must not be allowed to argue that, by the admission of the Unionists themselves, the existing state of things cannot endure.

"We have no doubt that, inconvenient and unsatisfactory as the present system is, the loyalty of the Colonists is capable of bearing even a greater strain, though it would be inexpedient as well as unfair to subject them to it. The Conference, however, has been content to affirm the general principle of federation and to appoint a committee with a view to future inquiry and discussion. The vagueness of the question in this form provides a security against divisions of opinion within the movement, but it weakens the force of the appeal made by the Conference to public opinion. Still it is clear that the subject must pass through the present phase before any particular scheme of federal co-operation, such as that which Lord Wemyss suggests in a letter we print elsewhere, can be usefully considered in its details. When the English people have made up their minds—as we believe they are fully prepared to do—that it is worth while entering into close relations with the Colonies, the practical qualities which are characteristic of English statesmanship will surely be able to overcome the superficial difficulties of the problem.

"The obstacles to union interposed by distance and extent of territory have vastly diminished, and are diminishing from day to day. Steamships and railways, postal organisation and, above all, the electric telegraph,

have brought the most distant provinces of our Colonial Empire at the present day into intimate connexion with the mother country. Australians and Canadians are, in every real sense of the word, nearer to the centre of English social life and political activity than the country people of Scotland or Ireland, or even of England, a century and a half ago. Moreover, we must reckon with a new distribution of population and of power in the next or the succeeding generation. France and Germany, if the present movement of population continues, will then have fallen back into the second rank as compared with Russia on the one side and the United States on the other, and if England is satisfied to remain a purely insular State she, too, will have to recede before younger and stronger communities.

"But it will be her own fault if she breaks the ties which bind her daughter nations to her. No doubt there are and will be points of difference between the mother country and the Colonies, and a premature and ill-considered scheme of federation would be specially dangerous for this reason, because, unless the machinery worked well, it would inevitably lead to friction and irritation. As Lord Rosebery, however, observed in his interesting speech at the Conference, some supposed difficulties are imaginary rather than real. The Colonists are quite prepared to pay their fair share of any expenditure incurred for the common benefit, if they be allowed by some means to have a voice, however limited, in determining the policy of the Empire. There is no fear that federation will be made a pretext for diminishing the local self-government of the Colonies; on this both Mr. Smith and Lord Rosebery were very decided. It is no less clear that Colonists cannot intervene in the domestic concerns of the United Kingdom. But there is a wide circle of interests common to the mother country and the Colonies. Lord Rosebery mentioned the Egyptian question, which is one of paramount importance to the people of Australia, though in determining what the policy of the Empire shall be in regard to it they have no voice. Another subject on which the Australians have effectually, though somewhat irregularly, made themselves heard is the conduct of France in exporting her 'incorrigible criminals' to the Pacific, disregarding its overflow upon the shores of Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria. We welcome, in the answer given by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, on Monday night, to a question whether the Colonists would be allowed to legislate for their own protection, a proof that Lord Derby's frigid indifference has been thawed by demonstrations the warmth of which cannot be ignored. Mr. Ashley said that if the necessity arose the Imperial Government would not interfere with well-considered legislation by the combined Colonies against the intrusion of criminal aliens. At the same time, the Foreign Office has been using its utmost endeavours to induce the French Government to prevent the question from becoming a serious one, as it might well become if the Colonists were driven to act for their own protection. We understand that Lord Lyons has urged most strongly that the objections of the Australians to the Recidivist Bill would not be removed by any code of regulations or restrictions to be enforced in New Caledonia. The only assurance which will satisfy the Colonists is that no Recidivists are to be sent out to the Pacific at all. M. Ferry's reception of the representations of the British Ambassador was considerate and encouraging. The progress of the Bill will be almost certainly delayed till after the recess; the report of the Committee was only laid before the Senate yesterday, and in the existing state of French politics it is improbable that much business will be done before the close of the Parliamentary session. The chances of the ultimate abandonment of the Bill are increased by this delay. It is quite certain, however, that, as Lord Rosebery put it, if Australia had been an integral part of the British Empire, it would never have been seriously proposed, even in France, to poison the country with 'criminal refuse.'"

## **Standard.**

"The remarkable gathering that assembled yesterday at the Westminster Palace Hotel to discuss the propriety of Imperial Federation was in itself the best evidence that this question has emerged from the regions of patriotic dreamland to the sphere of actual politics. It is rare in these days to find representative men of all parties uniting in the promotion of a political movement, and though probably an attempt to give practical application to the views propounded at yesterday's Conference would disclose many diversities of opinion, the absolute unanimity which has now been obtained as to the principle of the scheme will prepare the way for a solution of the problem when a suitable time arrives. The advisability of retaining our Colonies is a question which, as Mr. FORSTER remarked, has been finally disposed of. We have now to consider how we can best organise that union which both the mother-country and the Colonies are resolved to maintain. It was no part of yesterday's proceedings to suggest any plan, nor is the scheme yet ripe for practical elaboration. Nevertheless, the supporters of this movement have no reason to be dissatisfied with the progress of their views in the public mind. A dozen years ago the idea of Imperial Federation hardly existed except in name; or, if it did, it was subscribed to only by some hardy patriots and a few supposed crotcheteers. The Government of the day was known to be resigned to disintegration, and some of its prominent members were strenuous advocates of separation. The world was still oppressed by the idea of remoteness, and but imperfectly realised that by the

scientific achievements of our own era distance had been virtually abolished. Dissolution was accepted as the inevitable fate of empire, and we were supposed to be exhibiting our enlightenment by promoting our own dismemberment. More-over, Federation—the then doubtful experiment of the United States apart—was somehow associated with Centralisation; with "Imperialism," with military despotism, and with a host of other more or less obnoxious doctrines, and was, therefore, supposed to be inimical to liberty. The conception of free States combining for self-protection on a grand scale was not yet understood. A great Party was dominated by parochial notions, and a Federation of the Colonies was, in spite of the development of political organisation, as inconceivable to many people as a Kingdom of the Middle Ages would have been to the Municipal Statesmen of Attica. To equally erroneous, if more excusable, sentiments, was added a perverted notion of our material interests, which, from its very selfishness, inspired a popular reaction that sensibly facilitated the progress of the Imperial idea. But even a more important agency than a growing appreciation of our national duty was the centripetal influence of the Colonies themselves. In Australia, in South Africa, in America, our kinsmen caught up the Imperial tradition with all the fervour of national youth, and not only refused to separate individually from the mother-country, but collectively interdicted the dislocation of an Empire in which they claimed an inheritance. This movement in the Colonies demolished at once the foundation of all the theories of Separatists. It was found that a tendency towards disintegration was not inevitable; that the action of our North American Colonies—last century, which, till then, was held to govern all similar connections, was due to special and temporary causes; and that the force of cohesion in politics might, under certain circumstances, be more powerful than that of dissolution. Nor has the selfish notion of a burdensome connection been less effectually controverted. The incidence of Imperial liability may not be yet scientifically adjusted, but the indirect advantages accruing to us are now admitted to compensate for much of our direct outlay, and the recent action of the Australasian Colonies respecting the administration of the Pacific proves that they would be by no means unwilling, under an organised Federation, to contribute their quota towards Imperial expenditure.

"Although the Conference avoided a formal discussion of details, and left over these matters till the means and the opportunity arose for profitably entertaining them, it was impossible to avoid reference to what might be the real outcome of the movement. Several suggestions were hazarded, notably by Lord ROSEBURY, who, fresh from his visit to the Antipodes, rather shares the impatience of the Colonists for participation in Imperial affairs; but no one eared to anticipate the solution to be provided by the growth of public opinion and the force of events. It is contrary to the genius of the Anglo-Saxon race to project cut-and-dried Constitutions. An experiment in the present case would be the less happy, because the circumstances cannot be governed by any historical example. Not so long ago commercial intercourse was supposed to precede political unity. Experience has shown that, however excellent fiscal freedom may be, its political influence has been over-estimated. The German Customs Union was certainly the forerunner of the Empire, but it was little more. The Latin Monetary Union, which, in the imagination of NAPOLEON III., was to have been the basis of an undefined political and commercial superstructure, has produced no effect whatever, beyond the restricted purpose to which it was originally applied. On the other hand, we find in America an ill-assorted Customs Union maintained only by the intense political sympathy of the Federated States; and in India the commercial relations with the foreign settlements are closer than with native States, such as Indore and Gwalior, whose fiscal methods are altogether at variance with the system obtaining in the Empire, to which they are united by the closest political, religious, and social ties. But whatever may be the effects of a Zollverein—and at one time it was supposed to be the only possible bond in the British system—its application is now admitted to be out of the question. Not only are the Colonies at issue with the mother-country on this subject, but they are hostile to one another. Since, however, it has been proved that a Customs cordon between Victoria and New South Wales as rigid as that along the Pyrenees is no barrier to cordial political co-operation in inter-Colonial matters, there is no reason to believe that a mere conflict of tariffs—much as this might be deplored by sensible people on economical grounds—would impair the sentiment of Imperial unity. Nay, so little importance is placed upon the reaction of different political and economical unions, that both the French and Portuguese have united their Indian Possessions to the fiscal system of British India, and some strictly loyal Canadians are now found advocating a commercial union with the United States. If a Zollverein is harmless for discord, it is evidently useless for political union. Other expedients must be found—or, rather, allowed to declare themselves. Any interference with our insular Parliamentary system would at this moment be repugnant to the people of the United Kingdom. Our political system in its present development offers no room for an Imperial Senate. But possibly the germ of a Federated Administration will be found in a representative Colonial Council to advise the Secretary of State on matters of common interest. The materials for such a body are already at hand, and its influence would develop in the ratio of its usefulness.

"But the Colonists and supporters of Federation generally will have reason to be satisfied if yesterday's Conference should lead to no more visible result than the affirmation of the principle contained in the Resolution moved by Mr. W. H. SMITH, that "some form of Federation is indispensable," and to the formation

of the Committee suggested by Mr. STANHOPE, for the purpose of influencing and enlightening public opinion on the advantages to be derived from a closer union with our Colonial possessions. They have already to congratulate themselves on the conversion of all Parties in this country, and on obtaining material concessions from their old opponents. It is something to have extorted from the Liberal Party, which so ostentatiously offered them the cold shoulder when last in power a sincere recognition of their "manifest destiny." The result is due not only to the prevalence of more enlightened ideas at home, but in an especial manner to the energy of the Australian Colonies themselves. The persistency with which these Colonies have asserted their right to be heard in Imperial matters connected with their own regions has secured them a footing in Imperial Councils that scarcely requires the formal recognition of legislative enactment. The creation of an 'Australasian Dominion' will almost necessarily involve the transfer of the direction of the affairs of the Pacific to Sydney or Melbourne, as matters connected with the North-American Continent are now practically concentrated at Ottawa. With this acquisition, the Colonies may reasonably allow the project of an elaborate Federal Constitution to stand over. The Federation, like our own national institutions, will probably exist in fact long before it is admitted in theory. Its influence may be already traced, and in due course provision will be made for a fuller allocation of Imperial responsibilities. It is something to have destroyed the disintegration theory; it requires only a continuance of the efforts of the past few years to convince the population of every possession of the Crown that a Federated British Empire would be an immense material advantage to ourselves, and a guarantee of peace and progress to the world."

## **Daily News.**

"The Conference on Imperial Federation, which was held yesterday at the Westminster Palace Hotel, shows that the divisions of party among Englishmen, even when they are most keenly edged, are compatible with community of national feeling. Mr. Forster and Lord Rosebery on the one side, and Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Stanhope on the other, are illustrations of the interest which Liberals and Conservatives alike take in preserving the unity of the Empire. We do not think that there is any danger of its being disturbed. It is impracticable to divorce those who wish to remain united. In discussing the question of nationality Mr. J. S. Mill said that it was impossible to define in what its essence consisted. A common race, religion, and language are strong bonds. But they do not always preserve national unity, and they are not essential to it. Switzerland is a nation, and the Swiss patriotism is as ardent and steady as that of any European country. Yet in Switzerland the Cantons are not only divided in matters of religion into Protestant and Catholic, but also by language and race into German, French, and Italian. Mr. Mill came to the conclusion that nothing more could be said on the subject than that a nation was one which felt itself to be one. In the same way we may say that the British Empire is one because it feels itself to be one. The testimony borne yesterday to this community of sentiment by such men as Mr. Forster and Mr. Smith on behalf of England, and by the representatives of Canada and the Australian colonies, is a witness to a fact which makes predictions of separation as futile as theories of federation are premature. Our Colonial system has passed through several phases. Little more than a generation ago the unity of the Empire was maintained by the almost despotic rule of the mother-country over what were truly called her Dependencies. Since self-government was conceded to the Colonies the British Empire has consisted of an association of free States with a certain primacy and authority on the part of England often little more than nominal and titular.

"This condition of things has been attended with a certain amount of inconvenience. There has been occasional discord, now and then threatening conflict, and there have been hostile tariffs, but the sentiment of union has been stronger than these difficulties; and without forecasting any scheme of imperial Federation, we believe that one will gradually shape itself with a little aid from human wisdom as opportunity and necessity suggest. Such a system may be something new in human history; but history has not yet exhausted itself, and the living being may be trusted to create for itself an organisation suitable to its character and needs. We do not believe that the dominion of England will within any time, or under any circumstances, which it is reasonable to contemplate, be restricted to these two islands, still less to one of them. Possibly, under stress of events, this or that colony may separate itself. But the English are still an expanding and emigrating nation, and others will be formed, the growth of which will maintain the Empire undiminished. Cut and dried schemes of deliberate separation, such as that which Lord Rosebery connected truly enough with the name of Mr. Goldwin Smith, and quite erroneously with that of the late Sir William Molesworth, are powerless against old historic traditions, common sentiment, and the conviction of common interests. The opening speech of Mr. Forster, whose hold upon his countrymen is largely due to the strong fibre of old English patriotism which runs through his character, and which redeems occasional errors, as we think them, of opinion and conduct, struck the keynote of the meeting yesterday with a vigour and clearness which elicited prompt and hearty response. Our only doubt is as to whether the Conference was not in itself superfluous, except in so far as manifestations of a feeling

strengthen the feeling itself. Otherwise it might seem to be giving reality to a fictitious danger. This at any rate is, we think, certain. When an Empire or any other organisation, political, social, or physical, begins to fall in pieces, it is because its life is decaying. While there is still a vigorous principle of vitality within it, it will continue to maintain itself, and growth or expansion in one direction will atone for loss or decline in another. This branch may be lopped off, or that shoot may be transplanted, but there will be other shoots and branches so long as the roots are vigorous and supply sap to the trunk."

## ***Daily Telegraph.***

"At last it would seem that, if a great idea can be brought to realisation, we are within measurable distance of a federated Anglo-Saxon Empire. The project of uniting all our colonies to the mother country in some more visible and tangible form than at present is not a new one, but it has never been so prominently brought forward as at the meeting called together yesterday morning in London to welcome and support the general scheme of Federation. We have already dwelt by anticipation with the pregnant and Imperial topic which was there discussed, and the fact that it is a subject above party politics is sufficiently evidenced by men like Mr. Forster, Mr. Smith, and Lord Rosebery uniting together in support of the same views. Really and truly the question which was debated by the earnest speakers at the Westminster Palace Hotel was, What are we to do with our Empire? Is it to be retained as a priceless legacy from times gone by, or is it to be got rid of, piecemeal, with the utmost degree of speed consistent with Radical convenience? It is noteworthy that the first resolution declared 'that the political relations between Great Britain and her colonies must inevitably lead to ultimate Federation or disintegration.' Thinkers who are not afflicted with what Mr. Spencer calls the 'bias of patriotism' might demur to these terms. Professor Goldwin Smith, for example, had he assisted at yesterday's gathering, would probably have moved to omit the words which make it appear even possible that the Empire may not ultimately be broken into fragments. But it is notice-able that the Colonists, or those most capable of speaking on their behalf, do not take this gloomy view of the future. Thus Sir Charles Tupper objected to the resolution we have referred to because it breathed the base notion of disintegration as the alternative to Federation. There is, in the opinion of the greatest Colonial authorities, no reason in the nature of things why our Imperial children should not go on in their present state of affectionate unity with the mother country till the end of history. Mr. Forster, we believe, was perfectly correct when he said that 'influential Colonists would tell them that the prospect of separation was as hateful to the Colonists as it is to us at home.' But there is no doubt that the existing tie is loose, irregular, and so far unsatisfactory. It does not bring home to the popular imagination either of England or her colonies the fact of the kinship between distant communities and the reality of our Imperial relationship. To numbers of our countrymen the first idea of the vastness and the grandeur of the Empire and of the reality of the newer Englands across the ocean comes with a sense of surprise as a result of travel; and those who do not make the trip to Canada or Australia often fail to receive the impression at all.

"Yet our Colonial friends would be making a real mistake if they supposed that there is one whit less of pride in the power and prosperity of those distant possessions now than in any previous period of our annals. It is possible, of course, that some day a colony may drift away from us; Lord Rosebery's warning that we may delay Federation till it is too late to federate is not at all unnecessary; but if that evil hour ever arrives we may be sure that we shall never realise so vividly the value of our Colonial Empire as when we are on the point of losing it altogether.

"Specific plans for Federation between all the component parts of the British Empire may possibly be premature. Mr. Forster, the chairman of the meeting of yesterday, stated that the ultimate form which Federation should take was not the main question for the audience to consider. Mr. Smith also deprecated hasty counsels at what was practically only a preliminary Conference. Yet some practical outcome ought to result from the efforts of those who have organised the new movement, or the subject will inevitably sink back into the region of aspiration and hope where it has so long lain. We ourselves have suggested the scheme of a Federal Council which might carry on its labours side by side with the Imperial Parliament. Lord Rosebery, whose interest in the Colonies must have been quickened by a recent visit to Australia, pro-posed the appointment of a Committee or a Royal Commission to examine into schemes of Federation, and to report to Parliament upon the best working plan presented to them. There would be a double advantage in such a course being adopted: in the first place, the evidence taken would serve to show how and in what direction the first experimental attempt to federate might best be made; and, besides this, there would be the solid benefit of the interest which would be excited, and the fresh tie which such an inquiry would constitute between Great Britain and the 'Greater Britain.' At the present moment, nothing could well be looser than the formal bond between England and Canada, for example. In all internal matters the Canadians manage, and ought to manage, their own affairs; they possess what a hundred years ago would have been considered a most dangerous institution—a Parliament of their own. The presence of a Governor, sent out periodically from England, to

represent the paramount authority of the Crown, and the existence of a power of appeal from legal decisions to the Privy Council in England, are about the sole indications that Canada is not at this moment possessed of the independence which some philosophers wish to force upon her.

"Such are the formal bonds. But we have, of course, omitted the strongest of all possible ties—the feeling of attachment to the mother-country and her institutions which does practically make us and our most remote Colonial kinsmen portions of one large 'family party.' That bond, albeit sentimental, is one which is more valuable than any other; but we must remember that in future the Colonists will unavoidably lose something of the personal fondness for the 'green fields of England,' as generations arise which know them not except by the tales they have heard from their fathers or from what they read in books. There is also some danger lest a race-relationship of which there is no outward manifestation perpetually recurring will gradually and insensibly be weakened. Our colonies are loyal and patriotic to the core; but it is only human nature to think of that which is seen, and to forget what does not bring itself constantly before the imagination. These are undoubtedly the sentiments which are entertained by the most patriotic of our Colonial statesmen, and which found expression at yesterday's Conference. We believe that no greater or nobler work was ever inaugurated than this of drawing together Great Britain and her insular and Continental offshoots into a federated partnership, in which all shall participate in the benefits, and of which the power will be infinitely greater for mutual good and mutual protection than in a loosely-bound congeries of atoms, such as is the British Empire of to-day. We must take account of the expansion of the Colonies. We shall soon have to do with peoples as numerous and as industrious as our own. Our Colonial children will outgrow their parent; they number already as many as all the population of this kingdom at the time of the American War of Independence; and we must think of them already as powerful kindred nations, soon to become still more powerful, whom it is alike our interest and our glory to join with us in directing the future course of our Imperial history.

"One objection which is sometimes heard to the plan of Colonial representatives in either House of Parliament is that the distance is so great that, at election time, it would be difficult to make the machinery work. But the answer which the senior Member for Westminster gave yesterday to this argument is conclusive. Canada is not so far off now as Londonderry or Aberdeen in last century. The mail-coaches which were in vogue up to the introduction of the railway system hardly brought Edinburgh into closer communion with London than is Montreal or Quebec at the present day.

"It used to be considered a wonderful feat when letters were brought in four days from the capital of Scotland; while Mr. Smith truly remarked that Australia in point of time is hardly more distant now than were the islands on the west coast of Scotland or Ireland a century ago. Then the telegraph has joined England with the Antipodes in a manner which renders Melbourne or Sydney really much nearer for purposes of commerce and business than was Dublin or Glasgow sixty years back. With Australian cricketers coming over every summer to England, and with English scientific men rushing off to hold the meeting of the British Association in Canada, space is already annihilated. The Empire is brought close together, and the desired Federation would be only the formal ratification of a change induced by the marvels of steam and electricity. It is now scarcely more than a hundred years since Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks first set foot in Australia; yet what a mighty revolution has supervened since that date! 'No mission arising,' once wrote Dr. Arnold, 'is half so beneficial as to try to pour sound and healthy blood into a young, civilised society—to make our colony, if possible, like the ancient colonies or like New England, a living sucker from the mother-country, bearing the same blossom and the same fruit.' To some the topic of Federation may appear uninteresting because it is not a 'burning question,' or because it would be difficult to manufacture out of it any political capital worth speaking of at the polling-booths. We trust that no such sentiments will prevail in the consideration of this noble and far-reaching project, but that there may be sufficient patriotism still left in these islands to understand the vital importance of a real union of the Empire, and enough statesmanship to carry it out."

## ***Morning Pout.***

"The movement which was inaugurated yesterday at the Conference held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, with a view to the Federation of Great Britain and her Colonies, is calculated to be followed by results the magnitude and importance of which cannot be exaggerated. Even the least observant must have noticed that of late years the relations between the mother country and the offspring she has called into existence in various parts of the globe have assumed a character which points at no distant period either to a much closer union than at present exists between the two or to a complete separation. The Colonies form, it is true, so many distinct portions of the British Empire, and those who inhabit them are, we are rejoiced to say, no less loyal to the, British Crown than the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. But in the necessity of things a conflict, or, perhaps, more correctly speaking, a want of unity of interests, occasionally arises, which imperceptibly raises the question whether it is worth while to maintain a connection which to a greater or less extent hampers the action

of both. On the one hand it is urged that England does not gain so many material advantages from the Colonies as to justify her in accepting onerous engagements and liabilities on their account, whilst on the other the Colonies, finding their peculiar interests threatened by a state of things which, save in the most remote degree, does not affect the parent country, are naturally indignant if, in the vindication of their rights, they do not obtain the sympathy and support to which they consider themselves justly entitled. A case in point arose a short time since, and for that matter is still pending, when the Australian Colonies protested against the deportation of French criminals to islands in close proximity to their territories. Their protests met with but a half-hearted support from the Home Government, and, though their loyalty to the Crown and their desire to maintain the existing connection with the parent country are undiminished, they are by the mere force of circumstances compelled to consider whether, with a view to their own self-preservation, they ought not to take independent action.

"At the Conference which was held yesterday it is especially gratifying that those who took part in it were statesmen entertaining the most diverse opinions on questions of domestic policy. The chair was taken by Mr. Forster, and the first resolution, which affirmed the necessity of adopting some form of federation between Great Britain and her Colonies in order to avert the disintegration of the Empire, was moved by Mr. W. H. Smith and seconded by the Earl of Rosebery. The important issue raised is in no sense a party one, because every British subject, whatever his special political predilections, must be equally interested in maintaining the integrity of the Empire in which he takes a pride. And it is impossible for any one to study attentively the relations which at present exist between the parent country and her dependencies without agreeing with Mr. Forster that sooner or later there must be disintegration or federation. The question is not, as the Member for Bradford put it, whether we shall keep our Colonies, but how we shall keep them; and, although it would be premature to ask in what manner this end is to be accomplished, it is none too soon to invite discussion as to the best way of solving this problem. It is, further, to be taken into consideration that the inventions of modern science have gone far to annihilate those difficulties of time and space which only a few years ago might have been supposed to raise insuperable obstacles to the realisation of such a scheme as is now advocated. It is not too much to say that our Canadian, South African, and Australian dependencies, not to speak of our Indian Empire, are now much closer to England than was Ireland at the commencement of the present century: and if it was then found not only possible, but expedient, to effect a union between the latter country and Great Britain, how much more so should it be now to establish a federation between the United Kingdom and her various Colonies, however scattered over the face of the globe, which would have the effect of creating such a community of interest as would enable all to present a solid front to the rest of the world. The first object should be, as Mr. Forster expressed it, to effect so close a combination that separation should be felt to be a most improbable result.

"Taking for granted—and we presume the proposition will not be disputed—that the unity of the British Empire is preferable to its disintegration, the question necessarily presents itself whether we should not take advantage of conditions which at present exist, but which may possibly soon disappear, to effect that combination by which all will equally benefit. This was specially dwelt upon in the speeches of Mr. Smith and Lord Rosebery. We have now a strong feeling of loyalty and attachment subsisting between the Colonies and the United Kingdom, but no one can say how long it will last if the Home Government adopt the selfish policy of declining to allow the Imperial policy to be affected by the wants of the Colonies. Let us take for example our dependencies in the Australian Continent and the adjacent islands. They have assumed a magnitude and have acquired a power which unquestionably supply to them a temptation to refuse to confide their interests to the keeping of the particular statesman who for the time being happens to preside at the Colonial Office at Whitehall. This temptation should be removed by enabling them, as an integral portion of a great empire, to employ their due weight and influence in securing due protection for their interests. It is no little advantage, as Mr. Smith pointed out, that England should possess Colonies to which her surplus population should be sent, which, whilst founding new fields of industry, would still feel that they continued British subjects, with unabated interest in the maintenance of the British Empire. If the parent country manifests indifference, these Colonies must perforce take measures for their own protection, and disintegration must be the necessary result. The unjustifiable intervention of Great Britain a century ago brought about the revolt of the American Colonies, and her apathy may now lead to a practically identical result as regards dependencies which are only too anxious to maintain their allegiance to the British Crown. This point is apparent to many, both in this country and in the Colonies, but until now no attempt has been made to avert it. The Conference of yesterday very properly abstained from propounding any scheme of federation. That can only be the outcome of long and anxious deliberation, in which the representatives of the Colonies must take a part. Whatever form it assumed it would, as Lord Rosebery observed, necessarily leave intact the existing Government and Constitution of the United Kingdom. But there certainly seems to be no insuperable obstacles to the creation of such a 'bond' or union between Great Britain and the Colonies as, whilst leaving the domestic institutions of each and all

unaffected, would nevertheless, in respect to the external relations of the whole with foreign States, create a bond of union with a singleness of purpose and identity of interest as would conduce to the security of what under those conditions would be an undivided empire.

## **Daily Chronicle.**

"For men capable of taking an extended view of the future of this country, the Conference held yesterday under the presidency of Mr. W. E. Forster has a deep significance. Indeed, it can hardly be doubted that the outcome of the resolutions unanimously passed on that occasion will lead in the fulness of time to the serious consideration by Parliament of what Lord Rosebery, in the course of his remarkable speech, called 'the largest of all questions' that can occupy a legislative assembly. It was neither expected nor desired that any scheme for the federation of Great Britain and her colonies should be propounded in the course of the proceedings yesterday. The objects of a gathering including men of widely different political creeds were to elicit the opinions of those present as to the importance and practicability of such a federation as that just indicated, and to found a society for the purpose of promoting that union of interests between the mother-country and her colonists, which is really essential to the continued stability and prosperity of the Empire. Both these objects were accomplished, and with a heartiness that speaks well for the energy which will be devoted to promoting the new undertaking. It is impossible to conceal from ourselves the fact that sooner or later the great communities which live beyond the seas will in succession, as they develop in population and in power, seek to rid themselves of any trammels which we have imposed upon them, unless we can confer upon them advantages more than commensurate with the control we would exercise over them. As was said yesterday, either federation must in course of time take place or 'disintegration.' To allow immense populations of the same race and language as ourselves, and living under the same laws, to separate themselves from us for ever would be to bring about ultimately the isolation of England to an extent which would not only be fatal to her great influence among nations, but would seriously affect our commercial prosperity; for, as Mr. Forster observed in the course of his remarks on this aspect of the question, 'no fact is more clearly proved by practical experience than that the trade follows the flag.' The power of a country among the nations of the earth does not depend solely upon her wealth, and even if it did there are clear grounds for believing that if this Empire were reduced to 'two islands, one of which did not particularly care about the other,' that wealth would soon be seriously decreased. Fortunately, there is yet the warmest attachment to their native land existing on the part of the multitudes of people who have gone to Australia, to Canada, and elsewhere in search of that which they could not find here. The testimony is overwhelming on this point, and it is one of the most encouraging facts that can be cited in proposing to seek for the means of uniting this country and her colonies into one great Power. How this desirable end is to be achieved remains to be considered, but that it is practicable we are fully convinced. This country would be weakened, beyond all doubt, by the loss of her great colonies, but so, too, would they for many a year after that separation was effected. Where there is still a community of interest the task of formulating a scheme of federation, whatever its difficulties, is one which may, as time goes on, be successfully accomplished. That no undue delay should take place in advocating federation as a general principle, is made apparent by that 'rapid and vast' progress of our colonies alluded to by Mr. W. H. Smith while proposing the first resolution submitted to the meeting. We have seen what America has become since she shook off the yoke of this country; and thoughtful men have not failed to note the effects of letting our emigrants go forth to live under another flag instead of under our own. The population of this country is steadily outgrowing its material resources, as was pointed out by the late First Lord of the Admiralty yesterday, and the tide of emigration must therefore go on. But it is to our interest that the great bulk of it should go to lands the people of which have a loyal sympathy with us and our institutions. If the increase in our population is constantly checked, as it must be under the present condition of things, by the drain of emigration, and if the people who thus seek their fortunes become lost to us as part of the nation, together with those who have preceded them to our great colonies, then we say without hesitation that this country must certainly decline in power, while others, with areas capable of sustaining much larger numbers of people, will develop in influence and in wealth. Time will show what the constitution of the proposed federation should be, and the views of the colonists themselves must be consulted on that subject, but the necessity for the steps taken at the Westminster Palace Hotel yesterday are unquestionable."

## **Scotsman.**

"Meetings like that held last night, in support of the principle of the Federation of the Empire, widen the horizon and purify the atmosphere of British politics. The smoke and dust in which our party struggles are carried on seem to be lifted for the moment, and men are enabled to see clearly, not on what points they differ,

but those matters in which, as citizens of a great country, their desires and objects are the same. Attempts are indeed made from time to time to represent patriotism as the perquisite of one party in the State, and to attribute to the other designs for the degradation and dismemberment of the Empire. Such charges or insinuations are, as a rule, brought only by politicians of the baser sort; they are shabby and shallow as well as untrue; and they do harm only to the side that makes use of them. Whig and Tory agree heartily in their pride in the splendid fabric of Colonial Empire bequeathed by their fathers, though they may disagree as to the extent to which particular principles and actions may have contributed to building it up. They are at one, also, in their fixed and ardent resolve to hand it on intact to their sons, however they may dispute regarding the best method of preserving and improving their inheritance. If ever there was a time when it could be said of any influential party or section in British politics that it favoured the idea of getting rid of the undoubted burdens and responsibilities attached to the possessions of a Colonial Empire by getting rid of the Colonies themselves, that time is long past. The current of public opinion, on which such an idea never could have a real hold, has been setting strongly the other way. The changed conditions of commercial intercourse and of political thought have modified the whole aspect of the question of union between the mother-country and its family of Colonies. The facilities, and with these the desire for holding them closely bound to us by ties of sympathy and interest, have vastly increased. The Colonies themselves have grown enormously; they have become a possession such as no other nation in the history of the world could boast of; but with their growth in wealth and population there has been no corresponding development of impatience at the continuance of the Imperial connection, and of a longing for independent existence, as many had looked to see. On the contrary, the spirit of loyalty to the Crown and the desire to remain part and parcel of the British Empire were probably never stronger throughout the Colonies than at the present moment.

"The solidarity of feeling and warmth of interest excited by the question of preserving the unity of the Empire were well reflected at the Federation Conference held last evening, under the presidency of Mr. Forster. They were manifested in the speakers and in the speeches. The former embraced men representative, in the best sense, of both the great parties in the State, of both Houses of Parliament, of the mother-country and her principal Colonies. The addresses, also, were worthy of an occasion which not improbably may become historic. They were the utterances of ardent patriots who were at the same time practical statesmen. Paradoxical as it may seem, their practicality was shown not least in declining to propose or to suggest any definite plan of Federation as a means of knitting into closer and more durable unity the several parts of the Empire. In this the cautious and conservative qualities of the national character were exemplified. At a conference of Frenchmen held for such a purpose, the chances are that a score of cut-and-dry schemes of Federal union would have been propounded. But it was felt by those who took part in yesterday's meeting that it was wholly premature to bring forward any proposals of the kind; that, as Mr. Forster expressed it, he would be no friend or helper of union who would seek to press the merits of particular plans regarding which there has been neither experience nor sufficient inquiry to guide them to any useful conclusion. The real object was to cultivate and ripen the Federal idea; to prepare the public mind for dealing with a great subject, that promises at no very distant day to become, as Lord Rosebery said, the dominant question before British statesmen, but which as yet has not emerged into the field of practical politics. Advocated in this spirit, no possible objection can be taken to the holding of conferences, the establishment of societies, and the adoption of other means for awakening interest in the question of Colonial Federation. Rather these promise to be of the greatest possible service in preparing public opinion to give a wise decision when the time shall call for dealing with the subject. Lord Rosebery had valuable suggestions to make that were not included in the programme of the Conference, but that show the care and thoroughness with which his Lordship has studied this subject. He proposes that the Government should appoint a Committee or Royal Commission to pursue inquiry into the feasibility of a scheme of Colonial Federation. He also throws out the idea that a 'tentative effort' in the desired direction might be made by admitting delegates from the Colonies to a seat in the House of Lords. To the request for full and authoritative investigation such as would be obtained by a commission or committee constituted as Lord Rosebery desires, it is probable that no serious obstacle would be raised. What the present Government, or any future Government, would ask for would be proof that such an inquiry would be welcome and useful to public opinion at home and in the Colonies; and such proof is likely to be forthcoming. The task of recommending his 'experiment' to the approval of the House of Peers will test all Lord Rosebery's powers of persuasion. The Second Chamber is not fond of experiments, especially experiments on itself. It has already emphatically refused the appeal made by Lord Rosebery to institute an inquiry whether its constitution as a legislative and representative body does not stand in some need of revision after the wear and tear of seven hundred years. It may think that it has already enough on its hands without opening the door for the admission of delegates from the Colonies, and also for questions as to whether, in other respects, its machinery might not be capable, of remodelling and improvement. It must be feared that the prospects of Colonial Federation being substantially forwarded in the way of experimental trial in the House of Lords are not very promising; and this is a great pity, for in theory

and in accordance with the practice of other States, a Second Chamber is naturally the place where Imperial questions would be best discussed and settled.

"It may be assumed that the organisers of the Conference are perfectly well aware of the difficulties that must be over-come before their hopes can take tangible shape, and are pre-pared to possess their souls in patience. These difficulties are very formidable; they may prove insuperable. At all events, no scheme has yet been broached that could be accepted as a practical solution of the problem of safe-guarding and reconciling the various rights and interests that must be considered in framing a fabric of Federal Government. It might be con-tended that the Conference has been hasty in declaring that there is no ultimate alternative between federation and disintegration. As an abstract political dogma it may be true. But the British Empire has flourished in the teeth of abstract rules; it is one great political anomaly, which has grown up and been pieced together as the practical necessities of the day have required. Such as it is, its organisation, or want of organisation, has, at least, not prevented our Colonial Empire from growing great, or the colonists from remaining loyal. We might thus find an argument from experience that the Empire will continue to hold together without the assistance of federal bonds; and that at least there is no immediate danger of disintegration, so long as the Colonies where British blood and British institutions prevail, are left free in the exercise of their self-governing functions, and as the mother-country is strong enough to protect them against outward aggression. Anomalous or not, such an arrangement as now exists has been and may continue to be for the mutual advantage of the Great Britain and "Greater Britain." But undoubtedly new questions are arising as these young nations advance rapidly towards manhood, which the existing arrangements do not in all respects cope with satisfactorily. At all costs, the risk of estrangement, perhaps of armed collision with the Colonies, such as once before befel in history, must be obviated. If it can be avoided by federation, to federation we must strive to find a way. The meeting of the Conference will at least draw greater attention to the vast importance of our Colonial Empire, and to the problems in connection with it which are approaching for solution."

## ***Pall Mall Gazette.***

### **THE FUTURE OF THE ENGLISH REALM.**

"Rapid as is the rush of events, still more rapid is the ripening of public opinion. It is not five years since it was the fashion among those who regarded themselves as the thoughtful Liberals to postulate as inevitable the disintegration of the empire. In those days, when the most important Liberal newspapers were directed by men who seemed to think they owed Providence a grudge for making them citizens of a world-encircling State, such a Conference as that which assembled yesterday under the presidency of Mr. Forster would have been overwhelmed with denunciation and ridicule. To-day, when we take up newspaper after newspaper, we ask in amazement, The advocates of a little England, where are they now? Without one solitary exception, the whole of the English press burets forth in an unbroken chorus of approval of a project which in 1880 would have been derided as visionary if it had not been denounced as mischievous. Judging from the comments of the newspapers the journalist of the school of Mr. Goldwin Smith is as extinct as the megatherium. The contraction of England has not one articulate advocate left in the daily press, and Liberals and Radicals vie with Conservatives in professions of enthusiastic patriotism, in that larger sense, which regards all the English, whether they live at home or are dwellers beyond the seas, as the fellow-citizens of a common realm. The old school has passed away, giving place unto the new, and it is one of the most hopeful auguries for the future that this remarkable revolution of English opinion has taken place simultaneously with the rapid progress of the English democracy towards that position of supremacy which it is ultimately certain to attain.

"The meeting yesterday was a portent of better things to come, but the reception which it has met this morning is a gratifying proof of the extent to which the new Liberalism has outgrown the decaying traditions of the so-called Manchester school. No English public man with any regard to his future will now speak of colonies as incumbrances, or allude to the possible disruption of the empire except as a national calamity. Six or seven years ago there was a danger that the reaction against the bombastic Imperialism of Lord Beaconsfield might lead to a revival of the fallacies of the extreme non-interventionist school. From that we were happily rescued by Mr. Gladstone and the Bulgarian agitation. In that great popular movement the democracy was taught the value of the European Concert, and the lesson was fatal to the hopes of the advocates of a policy of national abdication. In the popularisation of the principle of the European Concert, that germ of a federalised Europe, it will probably be found that we gained more than was lost even by the Jingo fever. The Afghan and Zulu wars gave great opportunities to the party of retreat, but fortunately the Beaconsfield Cabinet fell in time to impose upon the Liberals the duty of facing the responsibilities and realising the opportunities of empire. For some time after our advent to office the reaction from Jingoism rendered it almost impossible for the advocates

of a reasonable Imperialism to gain a hearing. Time, however, and experience have done their work. Imperialism is no longer tainted with the foul associations of a swashbuckler Jingoism, and the most advanced Liberals can now take part without reproach in a movement avowedly intended to maintain and consolidate the unity of the empire. It is a great and happy change, and one which, it is to be hoped, will be duly noted by those highly-placed officials who, although at present in positions of power, represent the ideas and prejudices of an age that is fast vanishing away. Never again, we hope, will a distinguished Colonial statesman return to the Antipodes declaring that Liberal Ministers did not care one penny piece if all the Colonies were to cut the painter to-morrow. But that such an impression was ever produced sheds a flood of light upon the extreme unwisdom of some of those who have acted as Colonial Secretaries in our time.

"Professor Seeley strongly condemns the extravagance of those who speak of the British Empire as if it were a miracle; but probably if the eloquent author of 'The Expansion of England' had had a more familiar acquaintance with the Colonial Office in recent times he would have modified his condemnation. Nothing but a miraculous interposition of a kindly Providence could have ensured its maintenance intact to the present time. It has, however, fortunately held together, and what we have to do is to take anxious thought for its preservation. We have at least gained a great point in having it recognised, almost without one dissentient voice, that to the English at home as to the English beyond the sea the idea of separation is abhorrent. Whatever may befall us, that must at all cost be averted. Whether we should ever be able so far to overcome the *vis inertiae* of the established order of things as to federalise our empire of our own mere will and motion we do not know. But events stronger than ourselves will force our hands. 'Home Rule,' said a distinguished Colonial administrator after a careful survey of the situation at home and abroad, 'will save the empire yet,' and he was right. At present it is premature to discuss details of federalisation. We are not yet in committee on the subject. But it is a great thing, so to speak, to have carried the second reading *nem. con.*

'Before very long it will be almost incredible that any patriotic Englishmen ever contemplated with complacency the disruption of this 'world-wide Venice with its ocean streets.' But at present leading statesmen continue to cherish the old delusion that the sea is an element of division instead of a bond of union. As a matter of fact, for all purposes of communication we are nearer to New Zealand than we are to Khartoum. Six hundred miles of land are a more formidable barrier than sixteen thousand miles of sea.' 'Day by day the world perceptibly shrinks before our eyes. 'Steam and electricity have brought all the world next door. We have yet to readjust our political arrangements to the revolution that has been wrought in time and space. But at this stage it is probable that an English Arndt, who would accustom the masses of our people to the thought that the English Fatherland, the true country of the English patriot, is as wide as the whole range of English-peopled lands, would be politically more useful than any Sièyes, however able he might be at devising systems of federal government"

## **Globe.**

"The great meeting which took place yesterday at the Westminster Palace Hotel was not more remarkable for the diversity of political creeds represented by the speakers than for the occasion of the assembly. As Mr. Forster and others pointed out, scarcely a decade has elapsed since those who favoured the idea of Imperial Federation were regarded as fantastic dreamers and impracticable visionaries. They were credited with the very best intentions, of course, but the Goldwin Smith school was then dominant, and it had come to be very generally accepted that our colonies and dependencies were becoming unmanageable and should be cast adrift as quickly as might be. This nervous shrinking from Imperial responsibility naturally begot a feeling of contempt and almost aversion in Greater Britain, and there, too, all the talk was about separation. It is truly noteworthy, then, to see in the British metropolis an assembly of leading politicians, both English and Colonial, met together to discuss and promote the very object which only ten years ago was scornfully dismissed as too Utopian for serious consideration. How has this marvellous change been wrought! To what cause or influence is due the resuscitation of the Imperial sentiment which used to characterise the English people more than any other nation in the world, until it was undermined and nearly destroyed by the timid teachings of the economical school? While most anxious to keep this immensely important matter free from party spirit and party bickering, we unhesitatingly attribute the revival to the wholesome awakening which the people of England received from the Beaconsfield Government. Whatever view they may take of the foreign policy of that Cabinet, in some particulars, all candid Liberals must now acknowledge that it dissipated the dream that England could retain her place among nations without accepting the responsibilities due to her Imperial position. It was some vague idea that the colonies might be safely left to shift for themselves, while the mother country devoted herself to purely insular affairs, which lay at the back of the general acceptance given to the doctrines of the Goldwin Smith propaganda. If Imperial disintegration resulted, what matter"! Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand would still be as open to our trade as ever, while we should save a

great deal of money by withdrawing from their protection. It was the Beaconsfield Government which shattered those mean and craven notions by breathing life into the dormant instinct of Imperialism, and yesterday's gathering demonstrated that, although England has changed her rulers, there is no change in her determination to strengthen rather than weaken the bonds which keep her mighty Empire together.

"That the federation of the Empire on such a footing as will insure the due representation of each part, is beset with difficulties, is a truism. But now that it is recognised by thoughtful politicians of all parties as an object well worth striving for, we may look forward hopefully to some practical solution of the long-standing problem. There has been too much of a disposition during recent years to leave difficult matters alone, merely because of their difficulty; an excuse which necessarily leads to public apathy and indifference. All that yesterday's meeting affirmed, after exhaustive discussion, was that, in order to secure the unity of the Empire, some form of federation is essential. Lord Rosebery suggested that this end might be attained by allowing colonial delegates to sit in the House of Lords. In a letter to a morning contemporary, Lord Wemyss recommends that a consultive body should be formed in London, composed of the Secretaries of State for the Colonies, Foreign Affairs, War, and India, the first Lord of the Admiralty, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to represent England, and the Colonial Agents to represent Greater Britain. Apart from other objections of a more or less grave kind, we do not think that either of these plans would commend itself to the colonists. Even as matters stand at present, there are frequent consultations between individual Ministers and the accredited Agents, so that very little would be gained by the adoption of Lord Wemyss' proposal. Nor would it be of much use to give colonial delegates *ex officio* seats in the Upper House, since it is in the Commons that their local knowledge and experience would be the more profitable. This, however, is a matter of detail which will engage the attention of the society that is about to be formed for the purpose of keeping Imperial Federation before the public. Lord Rosebery would prefer to have the matter relegated to a Royal Commission or Select Committee, but the idea found little support, the general feeling of the meeting, with which we entirely agree, being in favour of independent action and investigation. There is always a good deal of red tapeism about Royal Commissions and Select Committees, not to mention the inordinately long time they generally occupy with their deliberations.

"It is curious that this movement for the Federation of the Empire should have come to a head at a time when the Colonial Office is filled by Lord Derby. He cannot be suspected of feeling very sympathetically towards an endeavour which has for its object the strengthening of the ties which subsist between the mother country and her lusty offspring. Yet so great is the force of circumstances, that he has even been compelled to move in the direction of annexation. It has fallen to him to sanction the establishment of a limited British Protectorate in the southern part of New Guinea, and to him also the Fates allotted the duty of extending the ægis of England over the unfortunate Bechuanas. Basutoland has also been brought back under the Crown during his administration of the Colonies, and matters are fast tending to make the Reserve in Zululand an integral portion of the British Empire. Lord Derby thus stands forth as an annexationist *malgré lui*, and it may be hoped, therefore, that the society which is about to be formed will be able to move him in the direction even of Imperial Federation. That, indeed, will be one of the most important provinces of this long-required organisation—to keep unwilling Ministers abreast of the requirements of the Empire, by bringing public pressure to bear upon them whenever they show apathy. At the present moment there are as Lord Rosebery reminded the meeting, two great questions which the English people should not lose sight of for a moment if they wish to prevent colonial discontent. The one is the exportation of the very cream of French rascality to the Pacific; the other, the maintenance of British supremacy in Egypt. We are apt to forget that Australasia has quite as great an interest in the latter question as ourselves, and until lately, we have also been too apt to make light of Antipodean sensitiveness in the matter of convict neighbours. But the time has now come when it is recognised that in these affairs Greater Britain has a right to make her voice heard, and it will be the duty of the forthcoming society to impress that fact on any Colonial Secretary who desires to "rest and be thankful." There are happily some signs that a more sympathetic if not more vigorous policy has already come into favour with Lord Derby. It was a step in that direction when he consented to place the southern littoral of New Guinea under British jurisdiction, and another, was indicated by Mr. Ashley when he declared that the Colonial Office would not interfere if the Australian Governments jointly took legislative action against the importation of criminal aliens. This is a wholesome change, so far as it goes, but there are some Ministers who require to be kept up to the mark by persistent "pegging away," and for such as these a powerful organisation to watch over colonial affairs will be a most useful means of coercion."

## **Morning Advertiser.**

"No loftier idea, no more inspiring purpose has ever animated a number of statesmen than that which came yesterday before the meeting of English and Colonial public men at the Westminster Palace Hotel. And when

the Committee reports in October to the adjourned Conference, we believe it will enable the country and the Colonies to see at once what is practicable in the present, and what for the moment would be visionary. We trust that the result of yesterday's meeting will be as warmly welcomed at home as it is sure to be by our children everywhere over the blue waters."

## ***Spectator.***

"The meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Tuesday, was in every way a success. It was comprehensive and it was practical. Had it not had the former quality, it would not, as English politics now stand, have been a success at all. The knitting England and her Colonies more closely together is too big a task to be undertaken by either Liberals or Conservatives alone. Liberals can do many things without any aid from without; but they must be things that appeal strongly to immediate interests or emotions. If a closer bond with the Colonies were made a Liberal cry, the professional Opposition would naturally be enlisted on the other side; and it would be found in the long run that the force required to overcome the professional Opposition was always appropriated in advance by questions of a more popular kind. In addition to this, the invention of some closer bond with the Colonies is singularly unsuited to become the exclusive property of any party. It has many and great difficulties, and difficulties of a kind which can only find their solution in the future. At present, it is impossible not only to devise a working scheme, but to foresee on what lines such a plan will ultimately be framed. It is quite easy to discover fatal faults in everything that can be suggested; and the basis of the conviction which we nevertheless entertain, that, somehow or other, something workable will one day be suggested, is the double fact that the faults of the theory opposed to a closer union—the theory which would turn the Colonies out of the Imperial nest so soon as they are fully fledged—are far more fatal; and that science has already done so much to bridge over the space which divides the mother country from her children, that we may confidently look to it to do more. The idea of some closer union was born on the day that the first submarine cable was laid. Without the telegraph it would have been not so much difficult as inconceivable; with the telegraph it remains difficult, but it has become conceivable. Still, possibilities of this kind are not a proper subject for the successive stages of a great party measure. Abstract resolutions, amendments on going into Supply, Bills introduced by private Members, and finally, Bills introduced by the Government of the day, have their use in Parliamentary procedure, but the fortunes of this particular question are not likely to be furthered by resort to them. What is wanted is a kind of consideration of which Parliamentary procedure seldom admits,—the consideration that allows a subject to simmer, that is content to leave it alone for long intervals, that is always ready to take it up again whenever some new incident, whether at home or in the Colonies, seems to open up fresh possibilities of useful action,—the consideration, in fact, that belongs to statesmen rather than to politicians. The comprehensiveness of Tuesday's assembly goes some way to secure for the question this kind of treatment. All shades of political opinion were represented there, and every one was disposed to raise the object of the meeting to the high place it deserved. The decision whether England and her Colonies shall remain united is, in one sense, more momentous than any decision about institutions or forms of government. It is concerned with the issue, not how the English Empire shall be administered, but what empire there shall be to be administered. The whole future of England is bound up with the answer given to this inquiry. There is no place among the Great Powers of the world for the England of the sixteenth century. But the greatest of those Powers may well be the England of the twentieth century, provided that she does not let slip the marvellous chances which the dispersive energy of Englishmen has reserved for her. To guide her to take full advantage of these chances is the object of those who have some closer union with the Colonies at heart. It is an object that appeals equally to all parties, and will, as we hope and believe, remain the common property of all parties.

"The value of the practical good sense that marked the proceedings of Tuesday is a natural corollary of what has been said. Nothing could be so injurious to the ultimate solution of this great problem as the adoption of a premature solution. Once let a plan be determined on, and its success becomes identified with that of the object to the attainment of which it is really but one means among many. When it fails—and in the nature of things it is bound to fail—the end itself easily comes to be despaired of. If the meeting had had a scheme for the creation of a federal empire submitted to it, had adopted this scheme in principle, and had appointed a Committee to settle details, we should have thought the day not wasted merely, but misspent. We should have been further removed from a really united empire at the end of it than we had been at the beginning. The plan would at once have become a target for hostile criticism, both in England and the Colonies, and it is morally impossible that it should not have succumbed under the converging fires. All that it is expedient to do at this moment is to define the goal to which a growing public desire points, and to accustom men's minds to regard that goal as one which must somehow be attained. As to the means chosen for its attainment, those will be best in the first instance which are most modest and most tentative. Lord Rosebery's idea of admitting delegates from the Colonies into the House of Lords may hereafter offer a way out of more than one difficulty, but even

its time is not yet By-and-by it may be possible to provide machinery for giving the Colonies a voice in the decision of questions in which they, equally with the mother country, will be interested. But as yet such questions are still future, and a good deal remains to be done, in and by the Colonies before they can become present. The Colonies must have more federation among themselves; they must have taken effectual steps towards the creation of their own land defences; they must have given some indication of the proportion in which they will be ready to tear their part in Imperial burdens incurred for their protection. But though questions of this kind are still future, there are others which are already present. The relations which the Colonies will bear to foreign Powers, as part of a single empire, cannot yet be determined. The mutual relations between the Colonies and the mother country have to be determined every day. Something can and ought to be done without loss of time towards putting these relations on a better footing, and in the Agents-General of the several Colonies we have the machinery ready to our hand. These high and representative officers might constitute a Colonial Council to which the Secretary of State should be bound to communicate his decisions On Colonial policy, and from which he might receive assistance somewhat similar to that which the Secretary of State for India receives from the Council of India. It would be a substantial gain for the Colonies if Lord Derby were bound to listen to and answer the arguments of such a Council before overruling them. It would be a greater gain still if Lord Derby's successors were thus bound."

## ***Saturday Review.***

"The meeting of the Conference on Imperial Federation last Tuesday was one of the few hopeful things which have happened in connexion with colonial affairs for some time. Even if it could be shown that the formation of a good working Federal Union of a simple and flexible kind, and it is probable that nothing more is aimed at, was impracticable, the meeting would not the less have served a very useful purpose. The noisy little clique of economic pedants who were fond a few years ago of preaching to the mother-country and the Colonies on the text, "Let them go," have of late been less successful in getting themselves listened to. They are not, and doubtless never will be, perfectly quiet; but when a body of responsible statesmen work together to forward that friendly union with the Colonies which is certainly desired by the great majority of Englishmen, they stand a fair chance of being reduced to. The melancholy necessity of preaching to one another. The formation of a Committee to promote an Imperial Federation will do something to make the belief that the Colonies are of vital importance as universal as it was in the times before Mr. Cobden. On every consideration, both of interest and sentiment, the connexion is so valuable to Great Britain that, unless we are to fall wholly under the influence of a so-called practical idea of politics as stupid as it is ignoble, the union will be jealously guarded. It is of equal value to the Colonies themselves, to whom it gives security from attack by foreigners. From a purely military point of view, a close and friendly union has become indispensable in the interests both of the mother-country and the Colonies. Nobody who is capable of looking facts in the face can hope that England will again possess the unquestioned naval supremacy it enjoyed at the beginning of this century. That supremacy was the result of a century of wars ended by twenty years of unbroken victory at sea, and could never have been won without the help of the disorganisation of some of our rivals and the decadence of others. The balance of power has altered to our disadvantage, and the Empire has become far more vulnerable. In any future naval, war we shall stand in need of effectual assistance from the Colonies. One of the objects of the Committee formed to forward an Imperial Federation will doubtless be to construct some machinery by which this mutual help can be rapidly and effectually given. A great step in advance has been made from the moment that responsible statesmen set themselves to try and find a means of supplying some practical organisation. What Lord Rosebery calls "the inauguration of a crusade," and what less eloquent persons would describe as the beginning of an attempt to do a good piece of work, is in itself a subject of unmixed satisfaction.

"It is all in the favour of the ultimate success of the movement that its promoters have resisted the strong temptation to commit themselves to a cut-and-dried scheme. At this early date a programme is unnecessary, and it would almost certainly attempt to do too much. A moment's consideration will show that any possible scheme of federation must have very strict limits, and that very formidable difficulties must be met in trying to carry it out. The advocates of a closer union with the Colonies who have hitherto published their ideas have generally proposed to form a new Imperial Parliament, or some kind of general Council with powers and functions which have never been very clearly defined. Some among them have suggested that representatives or delegates of the Colonies should be admitted to one or both of the Houses of Parliament. Such plans are mainly fantastic. It may be taken for granted that this country would never allow its Parliament to be swamped by colonial representatives, and the speakers at Tuesday's meeting were agreed that there must be no tampering with the perfect freedom of local government. A federation for purely Imperial purposes presents difficulties almost as great as a general Parliament, It is certain that the Colonies would expect to have an equal vote, and in a body of that kind it is not easy to see where the ultimate authority would be found. No one of the members would

allow a majority to impose upon it a sacrifice of its vital interests. Hitherto the necessary work of supervision has been done by England alone, and the discussion of irritating questions has been avoided. The real lion in the path, however, will be the difficulty of deciding how far the Colonies would be entitled to interfere in the purely European political troubles of England. They would have to share the risk of a war, and might well be, unwilling to approve of it if undertaken for something which did not immediately interest them. It is, however, obvious that this danger exists already, and that nothing would be lost by providing some means of concerting common action. The habit of acting together may also be found to develop a general patriotism in all the Colonies. Australia has lately given proof that, like the American plantations in the last century, they would be ready to bear a share of the expense and danger of military operations undertaken in defence of its known interests. Meeting the Colonies half-way on occasions of this kind is the best argument to persuade them to return the service at some future time. For the present it is a hopeful sign that a serious attempt is to be made to provide some organisation which will facilitate united action. When the means for gaining this desired object are known it will be time to criticise them. For the moment it is enough to praise the spirit which has inspired the attempt. Without being unduly hopeful as to its chance of success, we may feel reasonably sure that the mere existence of the movement will have a good influence on the present hap-hazard fashion of managing colonial affairs.

"The Ministry and the House of Commons have made haste to supply Mr. Forster and the other speaker at the meeting with an admirable argument in favour of Federation or anything else which shall be as little like the present system as may be. By far the most pressing colonial question of the day is the condition of Zululand; and yet, when Sir Henry Holland brought forward a motion on the subject some time ago, neither the Ministry nor the Opposition thought it worth while to make a House for him. When the debate was forced on in Committee of Supply on Wednesday, the speakers only proved that the uniform practice of the Colonial office is, and has been for years, to do as little as possible, to do it too late, and to take it for granted that the duty of a good colony is to cause no trouble in Downing Street. Mr. Dawnay, Sir Henry Holland, and Mr. Forster showed again, for the fiftieth time, that Zululand has been reduced by us to a state of indescribable misery. The Ministerial speakers had nothing to answer except that it would be very troublesome to put it right, and would, moreover, cost money. Mr. Chamberlain descanted on the blessings brought by the Boers to the Zulus; and Mr. Gladstone was indignant when strong language was used about our worthy friends in the Transvaal who have torn up their treaty with us and repudiated their promises to pay. Neither party cared to face the necessity of occupation, the one effectual remedy, and then a majority of fifty-six decided to leave things as they are, Lord Derby is to continue to enjoy the congenial spectacle of anarchy produced by a long course of impartial half-measures and temperate makeshifts. To get rid of Lord Wolseley's settlement, which was not exactly a masterpiece of statesmanship, and for the sake of Cetewayo, a general overturn was brought about. When the historical partial restoration of that unlucky chief ended, as every observer of any common sense foresaw it would, the Ministry decided to allow Zululand to stew in its own juice. It has been doing so ever since. The chiefs massacre one another's followers, and Boer adventurers shoot all parties freely as a matter of business. All this is going on in the immediate neighbourhood of the most vulnerable of English Colonies, and a little handful of British troops stands there to keep the Colonists from putting things straight under pretence of defending them. It is a most characteristic feature of the whole business that the British Government carefully keeps such a stake in Zululand as serves to engage its responsibilities while it throws every possible obstacle in the way of a real settlement. To scuttle out of the muddle, to leave Zululand to the Boers, whom Mr. Chamberlain admires, and Natal to itself, would not be a magnanimous policy, but it would be thorough, businesslike, and comparatively humane. When once the Boers were masters, they would stop the tribal wars in their own interest, and the people of Natal would probably be able to do the necessary shooting on their own account. Our policy is to remain there without settling anything, but hampering the natural development of things, and sedulously stirring the witches' cauldron."

## ***Liverpool Post.***

"Among the political movements of the day, few command more sympathy or seem less likely to be realised than the project for the federation of the Colonies with the mother country. To form a grand federation of English-speaking countries under the Sovereign of Great Britain is an idea that commends itself to the imagination, and as emigration from the British islands must necessarily continue, and perhaps increase, it is pleasant to think that those who quit their native shore will still remain citizens of the Empire and retain an interest in its prosperity and a sympathy towards those who remain at home."

## ***Liverpool Mercury.***

"Of late years it has become increasingly evident that at some future period we shall have to choose between allowing our Colonies to take care of themselves or providing some link which, without fettering their freedom, would mutually bind them and the mother-country in one vast commonwealth. It is beginning to be understood that, without imposing any restriction upon their laudable desire to grow strong and self-reliant, an arrangement might be feasible which would ensure a grand imperial union consistent with the fullest liberty of all the parts."

### ***Manchester Courier.***

"Every Englishman who is proud of the history of his country will welcome this tardy awakening of politicians to the necessity of strengthening the bonds that unite it, and will wish every success to this new society."

### ***Manchester Guardian.***

"The proposition that it is of the highest importance to the Empire that the Colonies should be kept in union with the Kingdom, and that 'some form of federation is essential' to prevent disintegration, may safely rely on the assent of all by whom the injurious consequences of losing the Colonies are duly recognised. Where there is a will, such as is shown in this instance, there is generally a way; and while complete federation must be rejected as futile, it is still possible greatly to improve the official methods and instruments of communication between the Colonies and the Imperial Government."

### ***Birmingham Post.***

"It hardly admits of dispute that, in respect both to strength and prosperity, the country is deeply concerned in retaining its colonial connections. It is confidently asserted that there is in Australia, in Canada, and in South Africa, as cordial a desire for amalgamation with England as there is in England for the incorporation of those dependencies. If such be the case, we must agree with the Conference that it only requires time and consultation to bring about a definite plan. The colonists are ripe for Imperial federation, but we are not so certain that the same can be said of the English. There is infinite trouble and delay in introducing reforms into our limited Constitution. But, fortunately, the promoters of that kind of reform do not at present invite us to discuss it in the form of a practical measure. They only ask for assent to abstract principles, and that assent we believe they will command."

### ***Leeds Mercury.***

"The day is happily past when anybody who had the smallest chance of being regarded as a politician of importance could look with equanimity upon the prospect of a possible separation between England and her Colonies. The whole tendency among both political parties is now the other way. It is the object of every man with the slightest pretensions to statesmanship to bind the Colonies more closely than ever to the mother country."

### ***Yorkshire Post.***

"Here is the shadowing forth of a policy which is in the highest and truest sense Conservative, and which may fitly occupy a prominent place in the programme of the Conservative party. The consolidation of the British Empire is a conception grand enough and beneficial enough to occupy the mind of a great statesman and an historical party. If ever a confederation of nations under the British flag were to become a practical, working reality, it would involve an Imperial Parliament, whose greatness and power would dwarf into insignificance the national Legislature as it exists at present. One thing, at any rate, is certain, that the Radical faction in England, little though they realise it and little as they may desire it, are steadily preparing the minds of the English people for such a change by their persistency in lowering the tone of one House, and disparaging the other."

### ***Sheffield Telegraph.***

"Yesterday saw not perhaps the inception but the formal public inauguration of a movement which is destined to mark a momentous turning point in the history of the British Empire. Which are we to choose? A fairly drafted and practicable scheme of federation would consolidate, perpetuate, and expand the proud

position to which we have attained in the world. To drift down stream to the cataract of disintegration is to decide upon the act of suicide which nations employ to extinguish an effete and paralytic dotage."

Imperial Federation League. Vignette Expressions of Opinion on Imperial Federation,

By Public Men

At Home and in the Colonies.

Vignette Published at the Office of the League, 43, ST. MARGARET'S OFFICES, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

Price Two pence.

British subjects throughout the Empire who sympathise with the cause of Imperial Federation are invited to enrol themselves as Members of the League, and to give all the assistance in their power towards ensuring its success.

All communications should be made to the Secretary of the Imperial Federation League, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

It is to be observed that the "Annual Registration Fee" has been fixed at the small sum of One Shilling, to admit of all classes of the community entering the League. The Imperial Federation League, therefore, relies on voluntary aid, and it will thankfully receive special Donations and Annual Subscriptions from its supporters.

*Cheques may be made payable to "The Imperial Federation League, " and should be crossed "Messrs. Hoares."*

## Expressions of Opinion on the Federation of the Empire.

IN reprinting, for the use of members and supporters of the League, the following Expressions of Opinion by public men at home and in the Colonies, it may not be out of place to point to the extraordinary and rapid development of public thought in favour of the movement towards closer union between the mother country and the colonies. It is but eight months since the first conference was held, and four months have not elapsed since the League was founded. Before July last the term Imperial Federation was only heard in whispers, and now it is a common and popular expression.

Deeds have given practical effect to thought, and the action of the great colonics in placing military forces at the disposal of the mother country for service in the Soudan shows that British unity is something more than a phrase, and that "the maintenance of common interest and the defence of common right" are recognized as a practical necessity in all parts of our Empire. The meeting of H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief, the Secretaries of State for War and the Colonies, and the Agents-General for the Colonies to take counsel together, and the subsequent consultation between the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretaries of State for War and the Colonies on the one part, and the High Commissioner for Canada on the other, are historic incidents on the road towards Imperial Federation—which Sir Hercules Robinson, High Commissioner at the Cape, and successively a Governor in the West Indies, of Hong Kong, Ceylon, New South Wales and New Zealand declared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of March 9th to be "a project which must assuredly be faced if the Empire is to be maintained."

The following Extracts from some recent speeches of public men in England and the Colonies are printed for the use of members of the League:—

The Right Hon. G. J. Goschen, M.P., Edinburgh, Feb. 3rd, 1885.

Lord Reay, in his most striking address last night, spoke of a possible repugnance that might be felt by audiences at this moment to have their attention turned from domestic affairs to foreign and colonial subjects. I do not know how that may be, but I am here to contend that it is difficult to draw a line; and I am not sure that I could tell you, if I wished it, where a home question ends and where a colonial question begins. Is the question of our trade not a home question? Is the question of the outlet of our surplus population not a home question? Is the question of markets for our manufacturers not a home question, and a very vital home question too? And if, through our union with the colonies, our home prosperity is affected for better or for worse, I am here to contend that you cannot say that anyone who speaks upon a colonial question is departing from the circle of subjects which vitally interest all classes of the community.

Let it not be said that this is a question of sentiment which only concerns the cultured classes. I am not one of those who would depreciate sentiment in politics, for so long as men are what they are, and nations are what they are, sentiment, whether we wish it or not, will play a very decided part in politics. We cannot ignore it. But it is not in the spirit of sentiment that I shall approach this question this evening. I wish to press home that which was urged by Lord Reay last night, which has been urged by my friend, Mr. Forster, and which is being urged now, I am glad to say, in many quarters. I wish to see interest taken in these colonial subjects. The question of the united Empire, the question of our Colonies, is to a great extent a workingmen's question. It is

they who supply the chief number of the emigrants who go forth to seek their fortunes beyond the seas. It is they who work at the manufactures that are sold to our Australian fellow-subjects; it is they who would feel the effects if, in the course of the destinies of this country, any calamity should break up the colonial empire. And so I say this is a question that cannot be ignored, and that the working classes must take up; they must hold their statesmen and their public men responsible for attention being paid to our colonial empire.

The Right Hon. Earl of Rosebery, Epsom, Feb. 9th.

After all, commerce is a foreign policy in itself. The various creeds of which the nation over which we rule is composed indicate another foreign policy. The colonies force us into another foreign policy. There is hardly a question in life which may not be converted into a foreign policy. You remember the story of Captain Jenkins' ear. Captain Jenkins was a gentleman who turned out to be a liar. Having travelled a good deal in the Spanish dependencies in the West Indies, he came back without an ear. Captain Jenkins said he had his ear cut off by the Governor of one of the Spanish colonies. The nation blazed out about the ear, and they went to war with Spain in order to avenge this un-fortunate mutilation; but it afterwards turned out that Captain Jenkins had cut off his ear himself, or lost it in some other way, and that the Spanish Governor was perfectly innocent. If Captain Jenkins' ear could create a war, we may say it is not very easy to keep out of a foreign policy. Let us take the affair of the Congo. When this question came to the front a great many of us were, perhaps, not so well aware where the Congo was as we ought to have been, but lately the papers have been full of the Congo, and we were anxious to know whence the agitation comes for dealing with the Congo. The strange part of it is that, as far as one can trace it, the agitation about the Congo comes from Manchester—the very godmother of that school of politics which says that we have no concern outside these islands. Well, a great many of the people of Manchester have learned that that doctrine is an excellent and an attractive doctrine, but not a wear-and-tear, every-day doctrine, and they have found out that we every day require fresh outlets for our trade, which has suffered under severe competition; and the result is, that Manchester has agitated and sent deputations to the Foreign Office, to see that British interests in the Congo are zealously taken care of. Gentlemen, to put it briefly, trade opens the door through which foreign and colonial policy insists upon passing. We cannot, therefore, I contend, be so happy as to be able to do without a foreign policy. That does not, as I take it, mean interference, or annexation, or war, but it does mean some steadfast or definite courses whence foreign nations may always understand what to do and what to avoid with regard to this country.

Then I am afraid, gentlemen, that if we wish to remain the possessors of a great empire, we must also have a colonial policy. Now, here I am sorry to be at issue for a moment with the greatest name but one in our party: I mean John Bright. One feels such an unbounded respect and admiration for Mr. Bright, and affection for him, if one has the privilege, as I have, to know him, that it is painful to differ from him even on one point. But the other day at Birmingham Mr. Bright attacked those who, like myself, are anxious to bind the colonies closer to the mother country, and he called their doctrines "childish and absurd." I see that the resolution I have to move seems to think that these doctrines are not "childish and absurd"; but what I was very much more interested in were the arguments by which these epithets were supported; and the first was that all great empires had disappeared—the Empire of the Mogul, the Empire of Cæsar, the Persian Empire, and so on—and that if we tried to have a great empire we should disappear also. I do not know whether we shall disappear or not; but I am confident that we are much more likely to disappear if we have not a great empire than if we have. But in one respect I am a much better Liberal than Mr. Bright is, if that is not a presumptuous thing to say, because Mr. Bright is guided in his argument by precedent, and I am not guided by precedent. I say there is no precedent for the British Empire, and you cannot find a precedent for it. The British Empire is going on a way of its own without a precedent. It must be guided by the wants and powers of the moment. Citizens of the British Empire must never be discouraged into the belief that it is going to fall because other empires have fallen before it. Then Mr. Bright said, "Look at Ireland. You have been trying to govern Ireland for centuries, and you cannot do it. What is the use of trying to govern more?" Well, one of my greatest reasons for wishing to associate the colonies more closely with the mother country is that I am unwilling to be left alone in the world with Ireland. It may be a political Utopia, to be left as a united kingdom—more or less united—of which a considerable proportion is Ireland, but that does not realise my idea of the maximum of human happiness. The third argument was that we could not bind our colonies closer to ourselves for the purpose of defence, because they had not the same tariffs as we had. We wish to treat that argument with all respect, but I submit that it really amounts to very much the same as if you were to say because Australians are allowed by local law to marry their deceased wife's sister, and we are not, that it imposes an insuperable barrier in the way of our union.

I suppose the position of the Imperial Federation League is this, that the armaments and fleets of this country may have to be increased in order to afford protection to our colonies and coaling stations. The colonies might, in that case, wish to contribute to the support of these armaments, and of course the contribution would be raised in whatever way the colony thought fit—whether by a protective or free-trade tariff is a matter it does not occur to us to investigate. We have given them local government, and local government must be respected

in tariffs as in everything else. Let me go back for one moment to the words "childish and absurd." You observe that these words rankle in my sensitive mind. I felt very deeply this scheme being called "childish and absurd." But let me read you a quotation of what was said by the Liberal Prime Minister of this country in March, 1841. This is what Lord Melbourne said :—"To leave the whole agricultural interests without protection I declare, before God, I think it the wildest and the maddest scheme that it has ever entered the human mind to conceive." Five years later, owing to the exertions and eloquence of Mr. Bright, the agricultural interests were left without protection, and that "wildest and maddest" scheme had been revised. I think we may take comfort from the fact that Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden were able to upset a much stronger dictum uttered by a man engaged in guiding the State; and if Mr. Bright could give us the eloquence and influence which he exerted then it would not take five years to bring about this federation. It is with distress that I have even appeared to differ in the remotest degree from one that I admire and love so much as Mr. Bright, but we cannot submit to be completely snuffed out by epithets, and I wish to draw this further lesson from this matter, and it is this, that though Mr. Bright does not agree with the Imperial Federation League about the colonies, yet the Liberal party is big enough to embrace Mr. Bright and those who think with him, as well as those who take a warmer and a closer interest in the colonies.

After some observations on the commercial aspect of the  
J. Bryce M.P., Bow Liberal Club, Feb. 10th.

question, and the advantage which it was to England that the overflow of her population should go to countries politically connected with her, where they remained British citizens, capable of all places in the public service, and resuming their active civic duties as soon as they returned home, Mr. Bryce enumerated several points in which the colonies also gained by their political connection with the motherland. Were they separated, they would be at the mercy of great foreign powers such as Germany and France, and would have, at, much greater cost to themselves, to provide for their own defence. Their internal political struggles would lose the valuable moderating influence of the imperial connection; their national spirit and tone would suffer were the idea of citizenship in the world-wide English State to disappear. Both they and we were ennobled by this idea; we were greater in the world's eyes, and more able to fulfil our mission in the world as the heart and centre of a nation spread over the earth, than we could be if reduced to the narrow bounds of our own islands. How then could the existing union be preserved and cemented? What was needed was a scheme for combining the efforts of the colonies with our own for the attainment of common objects. A common fiscal policy, however desirable, was evidently unattainable at present; still less could there be any notion of constituting a federal body which should interfere either with our ordinary domestic legislation or with that of the several colonies. They must therefore reject the suggestion that the colonies should send representatives to the English House of Commons. The example of France had been pleaded for this scheme, but it would not work with us. In a reformed Upper House, however, room might with advantage be found for colonial members. The main common object to be regarded was naval and military defence. England had now all the liability, nearly all the expense, and had also the control of foreign policy involving the issue of peace or war, for the colonies as well as for herself.

He believed the colonies would be willing to bear their share in the expense; but if so they might fairly ask to be consulted in foreign policy also. Thus the problem before us was how to find a means of ascertaining the wishes of the outlying part of our people, and enabling common action to be concerted with them. The suggestion of a representative colonial council well deserved consideration, for it would be a quicker and more effective organ of colonial opinion than any which now existed. Such a council would, perhaps, be in the first instance merely consultative. But a consultative body is not necessarily weak: it may be like the great councils of the kingdoms in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, very influential without defined authority to determine issues by a vote. Most of the questions of foreign policy which now arose were of consequence to our colonies no less than to England; the whole group of Indian questions for instance, and of the routes to India, affected the Australasian colonies; the question of the Panama Canal affected both New Zealand and the North American colonies. As respects the tendencies of opinion, he believed that the sentiment of the self-governing colonies would be very similar to that of the masses of the English people, generally pacific, disposed to trust any able and upright executive in minor matters, prepared to repel by arms any attack on grave national or imperial interests. Fully recognizing the difficulties of the question, and believing that it could not be solved until colonial opinion had been more fully elicited, he conceived that it had become a practical and might soon be a pressing question; and so far from seeing in the suggestion of closer political relations between scattered branches of our people anything aggressive, or, to use a popular term, Jingoish, he held that, by tending to the cohesion and stability of the British Empire, it would make for the peace of the world.

J. Cowen, M.P., New-castle, Feb. 14th.

Everything seems to indicate that we have entered an era when States will be bigger than they have been. England must not only hold her own, she must buttress her possessions, or she will be thrust from her position

of a world to that of a European State. Englishmen may not have mastered the philosophy of imperial expansion, but their instincts and impulses will prompt them to oppose a spiritless surrender of lands that have been watered by the blood of their best and bravest. They survey with vigilance, but without jealousy or displeasure, the colonising zeal of other Powers. They have no desire to check it. Every new market created benefits, and every old one ruined injures them. But such aggrandizements impose precautions. It is not a neighbourly act for a competing State to plant a settlement in inconvenient proximity to one of ours. It will generate disputes as to jurisdiction, and may become a source of rivalry and vexation. Nor is it tolerable to have adjacent islands seized, not for the purpose of trade, but as outlets for criminals. France cannot be a successful colonising power, and for this all-sufficient reason—she has no, surplus population. Her peasantry, too, prefer their native fields to the parched plains of Senegal and the fever-stricken delta of the Red River. "The Fatherland wants soldiers, not colonies," was once the motto of Prince Bismarck. But, unable to arrest the exodus, of his countrymen, he seeks to divert it, speciously suggesting that it is the consequence and token of German prosperity. More disinterested authorities say it is the consequence of the conscription, of excessive taxation, and political repression. But the Greater Germany that her Chancellor dreams of will never be created if the Draconian Code enforced at home is applied to it. Emigrants will prefer the free prairies of America to settlements in which the fermenting anarchy they have fled from is reproduced. If Germany does not bestow upon her over-sea possessions the right of self-government, they will languish as the Dutch and the Portuguese do, or she will lose them as Spain has lost hers. We need not fear our rivals, nor rush into panics over their preternatural activity. Fear is a fertile source of evil and misfortune. Nations cannot be afflicted by any more insidious, injurious, or undignified influence. The clouds that have gathered so loweringly over us can be dispersed by a clear enunciation of our rights and a firm assertion of our determination to maintain them.

There are the seeds of a noble destiny in our dependencies. Neither of us can rudely sever the bonds of sentiment and confidence which centuries have entwined. We are a source of mutual strength, and by liberality and forbearance, by removing all alienating restraints and leading the colonists to feel that they are fellow-citizens in something more than name, this strength may be indefinitely increased. Distance was once a barrier to such a union, but it is so no longer. The world has become a great whispering gallery. Quebec is, for all practical purposes, as near to Liverpool now as Liverpool was to London when Wolfe stormed the heights of Abraham. Intercourse with India is more easy now than it was with the Highlands before the Pretender planted his standard on the braes of Braemar. Turgot's famous aphorism that colonies, like pears, fall when they ripen, is striking but defective. Distance seems to quicken colonial loyalty and attachment. The combination of a series of self-controlling cantons or principalities, once scouted as chimerical, experience has proved to be practicable. The United States, whose disruption has been so repeatedly and so exultantly predicted, have survived a century, and they supply a felicitous example of federated expansion. Why cannot England and her congeries of common-wealths federate also for their separate advantage and corresponding security? They present a surface vulnerable at many points, but few empires combine in an equal degree the danger of being stricken with the power to strike. The public business of England is the private business of every Englishman, and surely no weightier business can enlist their study than the security and prosperity of their native land and her affiliated provinces. It is incomparably more important to them as citizens, and to England as a nation, than the recriminatory topics on which political partisans love to ring the political changes.

Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P., Under Secretary for the Colonies. London Chamber of Commerce, Feb. 18th.

Mr. ASHLEY, in responding to the toast of "Our Colonies and Possessions," spoke as follows :—I see, Mr. Chairman, that you have given this toast a place of honour, and I am glad that it is so. I need no such proof to convince me that the London Chamber of Commerce feels a pride and deep interest in the prosperity of Greater Britain. Your published transactions and your spoken words amply show it. But in giving this prominence to the present toast I venture to assert that your Chamber is but the exponent of the feelings of the whole community, and that the future of Britain's sons and daughters beyond the seas, which has long seized the minds of the imaginative and the thoughtful, is now the care, I may add the hope, of even the most dull amongst us; and it is high time that it should be so. I speak not only of a languishing trade—though in this assembly it would not be inappropriate. I speak not only of an overcrowded home—though that is a matter of anxiety to every lover of our race. I speak also of the position of the Empire—that Empire which, without boasting, we may say has largely contributed to the commerce, the freedom, and the civilization of the world—that Empire which, in the presence of many rivals, whether friendly or hostile, can only successfully retain its position, and so continue its work, by knitting together in close alliance its various parts, which, physically separated and morally united, look to the same flag and are loyal to the same Queen.

Federation is the watchword in vogue. I care not for the name, so long as the thing is done. But there are some few, who ought to know better, who call it Utopian. Utopian! when within one short week Canada, New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, all flash through the ocean offers of their gallant sons as soldiers to fight for the Mother Country. Utopian! when our Queen accepts their willing services, and we, their fellow

countrymen, grasp the hands held out to us, not so much because we at present need them, but because of the loyal and friendly spirit of which they are tokens. Why, I venture to affirm that the day that Greater Britain sees her forces, called from her various shores, marshalled side by side in face of the enemy, Federation is an accomplished fact. All that will remain for us to do is, if necessary, to clothe this new embodiment in some garb of formality. We will do so, but let us not be in too much hurry about this. It must not be the hasty, though ingenious, work of some Abbé Sieyès, but the gradual creation of Anglo-Saxon loyalty and common sense—not a hot-house plant, but one of natural growth; and we, perhaps, should be wise to remember that our own old unwritten Constitution has been more enduring, because more elastic, than many of the carefully mapped systems of some of our more logical neighbours. But there is one initial and practical step which, though small, I think important; and which, in un-capacity as a Member of Parliament, I venture to suggest. Some two years ago, by the courtesy and appreciation of the late Speaker, I was able to obtain an order that the High Commissioner for Canada for the time being, and the Agents-General of the other Colonies, should have a right of admission at all times to the Ambassadors' Gallery in the House of Commons. A very proper recognition of their just claims, as far as it goes. But when from time to time I look up from my seat and see my friends aloft, I feel an irresistible wish to bring them down from their empyrean, to take their seat among us all below. They are not Ambassadors from foreign States, but welcome messengers from our kith and kin. I do not know whether my honourable friends (the Agents-General) here present to-day will thank me for my suggestion, but I cannot help that. It is not to please them, but to aid the Empire that I desire their presence. Now why do I say that this step, though small, would be important? In the first place, there is a great truth in the French proverb: *Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*—The first step taken, others will more easily follow. At any rate, the Colonies will feel that they are represented in the great Council of the nation. Then, again, what the Colonies most need, in my opinion, is the power of bringing, directly and without delay, pressure upon public opinion in this country and on the Cabinet. True, we at the Colonial Office regard ourselves as the servants of the Colonies, and I appeal to my hon. friends here present whether all in that office, from the highest to the lowest, do not with a will place themselves at the disposal of the representatives of the Colonies. But we are, after all, only a department, and my experience is that nothing stirs a Cabinet so much as a well-laid and well-supported motion or action in the House of Commons.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER, High Commissioner for the Dominion of

The High Commissioner of the Dominion of Canada.—Same time and place.

Canada, replying for Canada, said there had been no time in the history of the country when the attention of men of all parties had been more steadily drawn to the vital importance of the; colonial possessions of the empire than at the present hour. If; they looked at the statistics of the trade of this country for the five years from 1878 to 1883, they would find that whereas there was an increase in the trade with foreign countries of 17 per cent., during the same period there had been an increase of trade between this country and her colonies of 27 per cent. Taking the exports from 1873 to 1883, there was an actual decrease in the exports with foreign countries during the ten years of 11 per cent., whilst there was an increase of commerce with the colonies of 27 per cent. He also pointed out the service which the colonies had rendered to the mother country in providing means of communication, upon which the safety of the empire or some outlying portions of it at some moment might depend. There was a belief on the part of Canadians that under British institutions they enjoyed a greater security for life, property, and personal liberty than under any other system. There never was a time when the sentiment of loyalty so thrilled through the breast of every Canadian as it did now. They wanted to show to the world—to France, Germany, and Russia—that Canada had arrived at man's estate, and would take its stand side by side with the mother country, and that, come what would, they were prepared to the best of their ability to discharge their obligations to the mother country, who had done so much for them, and to the Queen they loved so well.

The Agents-General for South Australia and New South Wales.—Same time and place.

Sir A. BLYTH, the Agent-General for South Australia, and Sir SAUL, SAMUEL, the Agent-General for New South Wales, also responded to the toast, both of them referring to the offers of military aid which the inhabitants of their respective colonies had made, and both of them expressing the opinion that to allow representatives of the colonies to sit in the House of Commons and not to vote would not be a satisfactory arrangement. Sir A. Blyth incidentally stated that he had himself been at one time a member of a House of Legislature partly elective and partly nominated, and it was very unsatisfactory. There must be, he said, perfect equality amongst members of any legislature.

The Eight Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., Associated Chambers of Commerce, Feb. 25th.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, who was very warmly cheered on rising to propose the toast of "Our Colonies," said he felt it a high honour and great pleasure to have this toast entrusted to his hands. Might the colonies long be prosperous; might their inhabitants remain our fellow countrymen; and might no spirit of strife spring up between us. He remembered when it used to be a very usual statement to make that there would be no

difference to the trade or commerce of this country if the colonies were not connected with the mother country, whether they started independently themselves, or were annexed by another country. Many reasons were given for this supposition, but he thought the supposition had disappeared with many other exploded fallacies, and that nothing could be more brought home as a fact to the commercial community and to the public generally than this fact, that the trade of the country very much depended upon keeping up our connection with the colonies. The statement that the trade followed the flag was abundantly proved. If there was no longer a flag to follow the trade would cease to exist in this country itself.

Mr. Forster said he would take the opportunity of giving some figures which had been prepared by a friend upon whom he could rely. The trade which the inhabitants of Great Britain conducted throughout the world was about one-third of the total trade of the whole world. The annual trade of the British dominions beyond the seas with the United Kingdom was, exports and imports, £190,000,000, and with other countries £170,000,000—a total of £360,000,000, or six times the value of the annual trade of the United Kingdom at the beginning of the century. They had heard a great deal about the depression of trade which had ruled throughout the whole of the United Kingdom, and he asked, if it were not for the colonies, what would the depression be? The trade of the United Kingdom with foreign countries in 1872 was more than £248,000,000, and in 1882 it was £214,000,000, a decrease in the ten years of £34,000,000. The trade of the United Kingdom with British possessions, which in 1872 was £66,000,000, had increased in 1882 to £92,000,000. We should not, he asserted, have had these figures if the colonies had been separated from the mother country. We were also largely dependent for the food of the country upon our colonies, and we could not help the fact. If we attempted to prevent it it could only be by legislation, and we could only have prevented it by limiting the number of our population and by starving them down. The increase in the amount of wheat imported into the country in 1882 from India, North America, and Australasia against that in 1872, was 8,000,000 cwt. from India, 1,000,000 cwt. from North America, and 2,000,000 cwt. from Australasia. The total trade of imports and exports of the United Kingdom with the world out-side British possessions had increased from 1854 to 1882 more than 77 per cent., but the total trade, import and export, of the United Kingdom with British possessions had increased more than 170 per cent. This, he thought, was sound evidence of the importance of the colonies, and, looking at it simply in a commercial light, it was of the utmost importance to Great Britain as an empire that she should retain possession of and maintain the connection with her colonies.

It was sometimes said that notwithstanding our connection with the colonies they levied duties upon our goods. If, however, they were not our colonies, judging from what had happened elsewhere, they would levy far larger duties. There was a vast difference between the duties levied by the United States and those levied by Canada, and he wondered if we should do anything approaching the trade in Canada if they maintained the tariffs of the United States. He very much doubted whether we should not have the United States tariff in place of the Canadian tariff if Canada ceased to be governed by the mother country. As to the present position of the country, we were in troublous times, and some said we were never in worse times in England before. In his opinion, the crisis was serious, but Englishmen had not forgotten how to meet difficulties. He referred to the action of the colonies in sending troops to the Soudan, and warmly commented upon this as a strong testimony to the unity of the empire. He referred to the article in *The Times* of that day in respect to Russia, and expatiated upon the effect which the spectacle of the United Empire would have even upon attempted Russian aggressions. The action of the colonies, he said, had astonished many, but he was not surprised. He assured the colonists that there was but one feeling, and that this action on their part would be an example and lesson to the world, showing that the empire, however spread, was one in all times of danger and difficulty.

## New South Wales.

## The Despatch of Troops.

On the departure of the troops from Sydney to Suakin, on March 3rd, Lord AUGUSTUS LOFTUS addressed the officers and men in these terms:—

"Soldiers of New South Wales—I have considered it my duty, as the representative of Her Majesty, to say a few words to you at this solemn moment before your embarkation. For the first time in the great history of the British Empire, a distant colony is sending, at its own cost and completely equipped, a contingent of troops who have volunteered, with an enthusiasm of which only we who witnessed it can judge, to assist the Imperial forces in a bitter struggle for the suppression of unspeakable cruelty, and for the establishment of order and justice in a misgoverned country.

"Countless as have been the occasions when the blood and treasure of England have been poured out freely to protect the feeble, to shield the defenceless, or to maintain right, there has never been one in which humanity has been more deeply interested in the triumphs of the arms of England, than the cause which you have heroically resolved to uphold by your valour.

"You will be greeted in Egypt by the hearty welcome of thousands of chivalrous soldiers who have never yet looked upon such an action as yours. The eyes of your gracious Queen will be bent upon your exertions, and in every part of the world where our flag floats, men, women and children will eagerly read of your exploits and pray for your success.

"Soldiers—you carry in your keeping the honour of this great Colony, which has made such splendid sacrifices in order to send you to the front with an equipment of which the nations most practised in war might have been proud. You will have the glorious privilege of helping to maintain the honour of the empire. In your ranks are numbers who are voluntarily leaving the paths of fortune, worldly advantages, the comforts of home, and the sweetness of domestic life for heroic service in a bloody war, in which, already, many brave men have been stricken down.

"You are doing this to show to the world the unity of the mighty and invincible empire of which you are members. Your country charges itself with the care of the dear ones you leave behind, and all that generosity, tenderness and gratitude can do to care for them and to succour and console them will be looked upon as a labour of love by the nation."

## Victoria.

The Premier of Victoria addressed the following despatch to Mr. R. Murray Smith, C.M.G., Agent-General for the Colony in England.

"PREMIER'S OFFICE, MELBOURNE, November 20th, 1884.—Sir, In your letters of the 1st and 15th August last, you reported the holding of a conference on Imperial Federation, presided over by the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., and you enclosed copies of the resolutions passed, but you stated that, in the absence of instructions, you did not feel warranted to take any part in the proceedings beyond silent attendance.

"2. These papers were laid before both Houses of Parliament on the 5th instant, and a recent telegram in the Melbourne Journals notified that a further conference on the subject would be held in London on the 18th instant. Accordingly, on the 12th *idem*, I despatched to you a telegram, of which I enclose a copy herewith authorising you to give a general support to the movement; and I would now explain a little more fully the considerations which have influenced me in this matter.

"3. The chief of those considerations is, the very anomalous position which these colonies occupy, as regards, respectively :—Local Government, and the exercise of Imperial Authority. In relation to the first, the fullest measure of constitutional freedom and parliamentary representation has been conceded to the more important colonies; but, as regards the second, we have no representation whatever in the Imperial system. Subjects of this part of the Empire may be deeply interested in the action, or, it may be, the inaction of the Imperial authorities, but they have no voice nor vote in those councils of the Empire to which Her Majesty's Ministers are responsible; thus, in all matters in which the exercise of the Imperial authority has interests for them, that authority is, to all intents and purposes, an unqualified autocracy; on the one hand we are under constitutional government, on the other under an antiquated autocracy or bureaucracy.

"4. The weakness of this position has at times been most disadvantageously apparent, and its humiliation keenly felt. Lately, more especially when policy of the highest concern to the Australasian Colonies has had to be administered by the Imperial Government, we have occupied the position of outside petitioners to the Colonial Office, with scarcely more influence than a county member of the House of Commons. I thankfully acknowledge the courtesy extended by the Colonial Office to yourself, as well as, I believe, to the other Colonial Agents-General; but it is something more than concessions of courtesy that is needed—Colonial interests are sufficiently important to entitle us to some defined position in the Imperial economy—to some tangible means of asserting, if necessary, our rights.

"5. It may be difficult to say in what way so vast and scattered an empire can be federated; but any scheme that may be decided upon, while it cannot take from us anything that we at present possess, must give to the colonies more tangible influence, and more legal and formal authority than they have now. I, therefore, had no hesitation in directing you to give a general support to the idea, guarding, of course, our local self-government.

"6. A further consideration is, that Victoria, and I am sure Australasia, is and always has been heartily loyal both to the Throne and the Empire—a national sentiment which has never failed to express itself on every suitable occasion. The notion, before now openly propounded by Professor Goldwin Smith and others, of disintegrating the Empire by cutting off the Colonies, has, I am persuaded, little sympathy from

Australasians—nor is this altogether a matter of sentiment—but we believe that the Colonies, justly and wisely governed, may be tributaries of strength to the parent State; that they and it may be mutually recipients of numberless advantages. I am sure that I speak the mind of the colonists generally in expressing our desire to remain, as now, an integral portion of the Empire; and it is in this view, therefore, that I desire to support the movement for Imperial Federation.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"JAMES SERVICE,

"*Premier.*

"Robert Murray Smith, Esq., C.M.G.,

"Agent-General for Victoria,

"London."

## New Zealand.

*EXTRACTS incidentally referring to Imperial Federation from speeches delivered during a Debate in the New Zealand House of Representatives, November 7th & 10th, 1884.*

MR. STOUT, M.H.R., *Premier.*—"Sir,—I believe the closer we can make the alliance between the Mother Country and the Colonies the better."

SIR GEORGE GREY, M.H.R., *late Premier.*—"Wherever the Anglo-Saxon people settle they are found in masses. Look at the United States, at Canada, look at New Zealand, look at Australia, look at South Africa. You will find everywhere we are in strength. We are gathered together in great masses, which enables us to stand firm at each separate point, and unite with the Parent State against the whole world. There again is another cause for our being federated with the British Empire."

MAJOR ATKINSON, M.H.R., *late Premier.*—"I do not believe it is possible that the bond which is keeping us together at the present time will bear any great strain. It will have to be drawn closer or be very much slackened. Now, I am very strongly of the opinion that the happiness of a great part of the human race depends upon the federation of the British people. I believe there is no difficulty that cannot be overcome; but I say whatever difficulty there is has got to be overcome, because if ever we are to be that power in the world which we ought to be, and if we are to preserve happiness to the English-speaking races, it will be by federation."

SIR JULIUS VOGEL, *late Premier.*—"I am one of those who think we should help on as far as we can the federation of the British Empire. I agree with the honourable member for Egmont, and think he took a far-sighted view when he said he looked forward to the time when we should form part of a confederation of the Empire, and show ourselves to be in complete harmony with the Mother Country in Imperial matters, by contributing towards the cost of the navy, which he is undoubtedly right in saying is not kept up on account of the Mother Country solely, but for the protection of her huge possessions all over the world. I think we must face this alternative: either we must consent to meet a responsibility of the kind, or we must accept the conclusion that we are only a part of the Empire for such a period as may suit convenience, and that separation from the rest of the Empire is only a question of time. There must either be disintegration or complete union. I believe that federation of the Australian Colonies would mean a large weight thrown into the balance towards disintegration, and not in the direction of federation of the Empire."

## Publications

Of the

Imperial Federation League

Report of the Conference on Imperial Federation, held July 29th. 1884. Price 6d.

Report of the Adjourned Conference and First Meeting of the League, Nov. 18, 1884. Price 2d.

Information for the Use of Branches. Price 1d.

Expressions of Opinions on Imperial Federation, by Public Men at Home and in the Colonies. Price 2d.

Federation in Practice. A Leaflet. *Price 1d.* (Ready Shortly).

*The following publications may also be had at the Office of the League:—*

Imperial Federation. By the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P. Reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*

Review. Price 3d.

British and Foreign Colonies. By SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON. K.C.M.G.. C.B.  
ABRAHAM KINGDOM & Co. Printers, 52, Moorfields, Moorgate, London, E.C.

## Imperial Federation

By the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.

Reprinted from the Nineteenth Century

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# Imperial Federation.

WHAT do you mean by Imperial Federation? What is the real object of this Federation League which you and others are forming?

I have been often asked these questions of late, and my reply is, Such a union of the mother-country with her colonies as will keep the realm one State in relation to other States. Purposely I use the word *keep*, and not *make*. I do not say that we are trying by federation to make the empire one commonwealth in relation to foreign Powers, because at the present time it is one commonwealth.

Then why our League? why all this talk and fuss? why not let well alone?

For this reason: because in giving self-government to our colonies we have introduced a principle which must eventually shake off from Great Britain, Greater Britain, and divide it into separate States; which must, in short, dissolve the union, unless counteracting measures be taken to preserve it.

At our last Federation Conference a colonial statesman said, 'We have federation at this moment.' Quite true; Mr. Freeman's definition, which I then ventured to quote, is fulfilled. 'A Federal Commonwealth, in its perfect form,' he says, 'is one which forms a single State in its relations to other nations, but which consists of many States with regard to its internal government.'

Freeman's *History of Federal Government*, vol. 1, p. 9,

Without doubt we have this perfect form; but how long can it last? The United Kingdom, the Dominion of Canada, the different Australian colonies, New Zealand, and the Cape, are, it is true, many States as regards their internal government, and they are also one State as regards other nations. But why? Because the United Kingdom keeps to itself, and absorbs within itself, the foreign policy of the whole realm.

There is, indeed, still some semblance of subordination in respect to domestic legislation; but it is only a semblance, for the veto, reserved to the Crown, would not be used except in some extremely improbable, and practically impossible, case; as, for instance, the enactment of slavery. The colonists can tax themselves or educate themselves as they please; they can levy, as we well know, what Customs' duties they think fit; they can pass what marriage laws they like; they have disestablished their State Churches, and can, if they choose, set them up again; they may pass what Franchise Bills or Seats Bills they prefer; they can protect life, and limb, and liberty, and property by what criminal laws or by what police seem good to them; they have power to borrow money, and even to raise regiments of soldiers, and build and man ships of war; but they have no power to modify or participate in the foreign policy which may at any time bring them into war.

Now the real question is, will they continue to submit to this condition of subordination? As regards internal affairs the colonists have self-government. As regards foreign affairs, they are subjects, not merely of the Queen, but of our Parliament—that is, of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, or rather of such of those inhabitants as are voters.

These two opposing principles—subordination on the one hand, and self-government on the other—we might almost say subjection and freedom—cannot long co-exist. This imperfect, incomplete, one-sided federation must end either in disintegration or in complete and equal and perfect federation.

It is true that as yet there are not many practical difficulties, though signs and symptoms are appearing. Witness the movement in the Dominion with respect to a Zollverein with the States, though I am glad to believe that this movement has less Canadian support than it had; and the recent Australian protests against German and French annexation. Already, whenever and wherever a self-governing colony finds itself damaged or endangered by the action of a foreign Power, it tries to control or modify or initiate the foreign policy of the empire; and we must bear in mind this fact, that the leaven of self-government has not yet had time to fully work. But there is great inconvenience, not to say real danger to peace, in this legal helplessness and powerlessness of the colonies. They try to seize the power of which they are deprived. They attempt, as it were, to right themselves by lynch law; as, for instance, when Queensland hoisted the Imperial flag in New Guinea without the knowledge or sanction of authorities at home. In like manner, New Zealand threatens to annex the

Samoan Islands, regardless alike of Lord Derby and Prince Bismarck.

I am not blaming Queensland for what it has done, or New Zealand for what it may wish to do. To force the hands of our Colonial and Foreign Offices may be the only way of obtaining attention for reasonable claims; but these dangerous modes of assertion would not be tried if they felt that they had an acknowledged voice in the decision of questions deeply affecting their interests.

There is a noteworthy anecdote in the *Croker Papers* just published. When the two old friends met together for the last time, twelve days before the Duke of Wellington's death, Mr. Croker reminded him how, some thirty years before, they had amused them-selves in a drive by guessing what was the other side of the hill, and how when he had expressed his surprise at the Duke's guesses being so generally right, he had said, 'Why, I have spent all my life in trying to guess what was at the other side of the hill.' And the Duke stuck to his story, and turning round to Mrs. Croker, he said: 'All the business of war, and indeed all the business of life, is to endeavour to find out what you don't know by what you do; that's what I call guessing what was the other side of the hill.'

I expect we have here the explanation of the moderate Conservatism in his old age of this incarnation of common sense. The Duke, notwithstanding his Tory prepossessions and prejudices, made a shrewd guess that democracy was the other side of the hill. I wish Ministries would guess more than they do. If the late Government had guessed what was at the other side of the hill of the Dual Control, or the present Government what was at the other side of Tel-el-Kebir, we should have had less trouble in Egypt; but forecast is equally needed, and perhaps even more wanting, in public opinion, which nowadays is, after all, our real government. I want, then, our leaders and guides of public opinion to consider what kind of colonial country they will find at the other side of this hill of colonial self-government.

And if we look at this question not merely from the colonial point of view, we shall see how requisite are forethought, and forecast, and preparation in the interests of the voters and taxpayers of the United Kingdom. We do not tax the colonies, but we do defend them, and I rejoice to believe that we shall continue to defend them.

Mr. Chamberlain had good warrant for his declaration at Birmingham that 'the English democracy will stand shoulder to shoulder throughout the world to maintain the honour and integrity of the empire.' The democracy which will rule us in the future will be as ready to defend the rights of their fellow-countrymen all the world over as any monarchy or aristocracy in the past; but the people of the United Kingdom—the electors and elected of the House of Commons—will also feel that their colonial fellow-citizens must bear their share of the burden of self-defence; nor do these fellow-citizens object to fulfil their duty; they are trying to fulfil it, they wish to bear their share. We see this in the militia regiments in Canada, and in the navies actually formed in Australasia, though I suppose few would deny that these movements for colonial self-defence are partial and incomplete, deficient not so much in expenditure as in system and organisation.

But if we ask the colonies to tax themselves for defence against possible attack from foreign powers, if we remind them that it is not just that we at home should bear more than our fair share of the cost of protecting them from invasion, we must confess that their demand for some participation in imperial foreign policy will gather strength, and therefore again we come to the conclusion that, if the empire is not to be broken up, there must be an organisation for mutual defence and for common control of foreign policy.

This does not imply that such an organisation must be at once and finally defined. Its form will change from time to time according to the increase of the strength of the colonies, whether absolute or relative. The principle of representation has for centuries been the lifeblood of the English Constitution, but it is only now attaining its full development, and in like manner there will be a growth of the principles of federation, though much quicker; for ideas now realise themselves in a year as fully as they used to do in a century.

If, then, I am asked how can the mother-country be kept united with her colonies? I reply, By an organisation for common defence, and a joint foreign policy. And again, to the question, Why not leave matters alone? I reply, Self-government will end in separation if there be no such organisation.

And this brings us to the really important and urgent question, What steps can be taken to initiate or establish this organisation?

But, before discussing this question, there is yet another question which must be admitted to go to the root of the matter, and which is still asked, though not so loudly as in years past. Why take any steps at all? Let the empire be broken up. Be content with training up the colonies to independence. Let them defend themselves, let them have their own Foreign Offices if they wish for such institutions. At any rate, if we must choose between disintegration and such federation as would imply any colonial control of Downing Street, then let disintegration come, and the sooner the better. England was great under Elizabeth, with no Dominion of Canada, no Australasian possessions, no Indian empire; why should not England continue great under Victoria, with Australia and New Zealand and the Cape independent, and Canada annexed to the States, and negro republics in the West Indies and West Africa, and India ruled by Hindoos or Mohammedans? Or, if the future

result of separation be not independence; if not only our kinsmen in the States, but our Continental neighbours Germany and France, apportion among themselves the empire which we throw away—after all, what harm? We shall, at any rate, have attained the result desired by those who wish to get rid of the trouble and cost of colonial responsibilities; as, for instance, my friend, Lord Norton, the keynote of whose article in this Review against Imperial Federation was the necessity of getting rid of the 'mistaken idea that the colonies, being British, Great Britain must defend them.'

*Nineteenth Century*, September, 1884, p. 516.

But it is one thing to have the force and courage which win an empire, and it is another thing to have the cowardice and weakness which lose it. It is one thing to recall to our memory the energy and confidence of England's youth, and the bold plans and grand aspirations and determined purpose of the Elizabethan heroes; and it is quite another thing to anticipate for our country a premature old age, and to take pride in the prospect of its second childhood.

Some years ago Mr. Millais sent a picture to the Exhibition, than which no picture ever impressed me more: Raleigh as a boy, on the Devonshire beach, looking wistfully over the Western sea, listening to the tales of an old sailor. Raleigh was the chief pioneer of our Colonial Empire and, as thus depicted in his hopeful dreaming youth, he was the true representative of the Elizabethan age. The weather-beaten veteran may be said in some respects to symbolise the England of to-day, with its proud memories of deeds of daring and endurance; but how would the old sailor have scorned the thought that the spirit of English enterprise was to die with him!

And so it is now. England, though old in her history, is youthful in her hopes, and in her confident belief in herself. I do not fear the answer which Englishmen will give to the question, Is the empire worth preserving? The instinct of this age, material as it is some-times termed, revolts at the thought of disruption. You may call this instinct unreasoning; there are some facts too clear for reasoning. A man who is climbing a difficult peak does not argue within himself as to whether he should clutch the rock above his head, or let himself slide down the precipice by his side. But it will be said this is mere sentiment. Well, sentiment has ruled the world since the world began; and, moreover, history informs us of this noteworthy fact: that, wherever there is a deep and prevailing and powerful national sentiment, there are almost sure to be found strong economical and material grounds in its favour.

Talk of the cost—inveigh against the income-tax which may be needed for a navy strong enough to defend our wide-extended realm. True, an income-tax is an evil, but not so great an evil as no income to tax. More than any other country England's income depends upon her trade, and statistics prove nothing more plainly than that with us the trade follows the flag, and it is a deduction so clear as to be almost self-evident, that, if our flag be lowered, our trade will become less.

Emigration is becoming more and more a necessity, not for the working class only, but for all classes. It cannot be doubted that the facilities for a fresh career are already greater in our own colonies than elsewhere; and these facilities admit of great extension and improvement.

Nor must we forget that we are now fed from abroad. It is useless, nay foolish, to lament this fact. It could only have been prevented by stinting the natural growth of our population and starving it down; but I suppose no Free-trader will deny that it is better and safer that our food should be grown as much as possible in our own dominions rather than in foreign countries, with whom, until the millennium, war will be possible; and there is another economical consideration which the least sentimental of politicians cannot afford to ignore. Where should we be without our carrying trade, not merely for the import of our requirements and the export of our manufactures, but for that supply of the wants of other nations, which, by reason of our insular position, has fallen so largely to our share, and by means of which such large numbers of our people earn their living?

Coaling-stations are now necessary to a mercantile marine. Our steamships bring us our luxuries, our comforts, our necessaries, our food, and the materials which we manufacture. What coaling-stations would an Elizabethan England have? and where would our steamships be without them? It will mean poverty in many a home, want of wages, and want of food, both because it is dear, and because there is no money wherewith to buy, should England's ships cease to crowd the seas; and they will cease to do so if they lose their colonial harbours for refuge in time of war; if, in short, to put the matter in as few and as plain words as possible, they cannot find well-defended English coaling-stations on every sea.

I think, however, I may take it for granted, that the permanence of the empire is the general, almost the universal, desire of Englishmen; and that if they become convinced, as I think they will be more and more every day, that this permanence can only be maintained by federation, they will universally ask this question, and ask it with a determination to get it answered: What steps can be at once taken to secure federation? How can we develop this temporary, incomplete, one-sided federation so as to give it probabilities of permanence?

For success in this endeavour two conditions are clearly necessary: there must be no attempt to deprive the colonies of local self-government. In the words of the resolution passed by the Federation League: 'No scheme

of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs.' And the aspirations of the colonists, their hopes, their national ambition, must be fully acknowledged and considered. Their instinct, their sentiment, their self-interest must be kept on the side of union. They, as well and as fully as we at home, must feel that their future will be stronger, happier, better as members of the British commonwealth than as independent communities.

Bearing these conditions in mind, let us consider what federation proposals have been actually made. They vary greatly, from a Parliament for Greater Britain elected on equal terms by the inhabitants of the United Kingdom and of the Colonies, to a working alliance as described by an Australian statesman in a thoughtful and important article in this Review for last December. Perhaps Mr. Douglas, the writer of that article, may wonder that I claim him as a federationist; but surely a working alliance requires terms and conditions of mutual defence and joint action towards foreign Powers.

But undoubtedly this would be the least possible development of the federal principle, as an Imperial Parliament would be its most complete form. There are two proposals for Parliamentary representation—(1) The admission into the House of Commons of members for the colonies, and probably, at the same time, an addition to the House of Lords of colonial peers. (2) The formation of a new and paramount representative assembly, which shall bear the same relation to our Parliament at home, and also to the Parliaments of the Dominion and of the other colonies, as that which Congress bears to the American State Legislatures, or the German Reichstag to the Prussian or Bavarian Landtags.

In the one case the colonial representatives would sit in a House which would discuss and attempt to solve, not only all imperial questions, but all those affecting the internal government of the United Kingdom; and, in the other case, they would be members of an assembly which concerned itself with imperial questions only.

Now the first of these proposals appears to me impracticable, or at any rate most difficult to work. The colonial representatives might be members of the House of Commons either with or without the power of taking part in home legislation; if they possessed such power, their interference would be looked upon with jealousy; if they did not possess it, their exclusion would be both difficult and obnoxious; and it would not be easy to draw the line between imperial and domestic questions, or to decide when the colonial member should be debarred from voting or speaking.

True it would be possible in theory to avoid this anomalous position; the assembly representing both the United Kingdom and the Colonies might deal with the internal affairs of the Colonies as well as with those of the United Kingdom; but it will be admitted that in practice this arrangement could not work. The colonies would not accept it for a moment, and they would be right in their refusal, for the large majority of the governing body would have neither the knowledge nor the will to attend to their affairs. In comparison with questions affecting England, or Ireland, or Scotland, those relating to Canada, or Australia, or the Cape would be neglected; or, if not neglected, the Parliamentary block would be intolerable. Neither the present House of Commons nor any possible representative assembly with any possible division of labour would be able to add to the supervision of foreign policy, and the provision for the army and navy, not merely the multifarious subjects for legislation and discussion, every day increasing in number, which affect the relations of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom to one another and to their government, but also similar questions in the colonies with all their varied interests and conditions.

These objections would not apply to the Congress proposal. There is nothing anomalous, or in itself impracticable, in an Imperial Parliament with subordinate Parliaments; but, though it may be the ultimate form of federation, I think at present any attempt to establish it would be premature. This proposal would, I fear, be regarded with some suspicion in the colonies, for populous and rich and powerful as many of them already are, they are yet aware that at present, and for some time to come, they would be dwarfed individually, and even if combined would be weak in comparison with England; and there is no denying that the project would be startling and at first unacceptable to British public opinion. Why, it would be said, force upon us the difficulties of a paper Constitution and State Rights, and the necessity of some tribunal to decide when these rights are infringed or unduly extended?

But a Federal Congress is not the only form of federation, or even of complete federation. It is not, I believe, its most ancient form. At any rate, it was not the form of the League of the United Provinces, or of the Swiss Confederation as at first constituted, or of the German Diet.

I write humbly under the possible criticism of Mr. Freeman—who, by the bye, is long in fulfilling his promise to give us the history of the Federations of Switzerland and the Netherlands—but my impression is that, whereas in the one case the representatives of the different commonwealths deliberate as individuals and decide by the majority of members, in the other case they meet as agents of the different communities, not merely to represent their interests and express their opinions, but also to convey their wishes.

As distinguished from a Congress, we may call this form of federation a Council; and in our realm, under our sovereign, these agents would be at once ambassadors and citizens and subjects. This Federal Council

might deal with peace and war, and treaties and negotiations, and also with all questions affecting the defence of the realm, the fortification of its ports and posts, the provision for its army and navy, the determination of the strength of each service, and especially the respective contributions by each member of the Imperial commonwealth for such defence. At the Federation Conference last November I said I did not think that the time was come, nor that as yet it was necessary for the advocates of permanent union to decide between these two the ultimate forms of federation. I am still of that opinion, though I rejoice to see that there is that impatience of vagueness, that demand for detailed definition, which prove that the minds of men, and of many men, are becoming possessed by the idea of federation, and are determined to realise it.

Lord Grey has repeated in the *Pall Mall Gazette* the suggestion  
*Nineteenth Century*, June 1879, p. 953.

which he made in this Review in 1879—viz. the appointment of the agents of the colonies as privy councillors, and their constitution as a Board of Advice to assist the Cabinet, and especially the Colonial Secretary, in the management of colonial affairs; and Lord Lorne has further defined this suggestion  
*pall Mall Gazette*, Jan. 13, 1885.

and given excellent arguments in its support. It would be difficult to find any proposal supported by so great a weight of experience as this agreement between the veteran Minister who has an unmatched experience of the Colonial Office, and the man who has just returned from successful government of our largest colony.

Very likely our first step may be the formation of some such Board of Advice, which should bear the same relation to the Secretary for the Colonies as the India Council does to the Secretary for India, with this most important difference, that its members would be chosen by the Colonial Governments. The action which seems to me urgent may lead eventually to either the Federal Congress or the Federal Council; though if the former, it would probably be through the latter. Let us only keep in mind what we want—viz. an organisation for common defence, and an official acknowledgment of the right of the colonies to have a voice in the determination of foreign policy, especially when such policy directly affects their feelings or interests.

As regards defence, present facts show both the necessity for further steps towards federation, and the opportunity which this necessity gives for their being taken.

There are many discussions and disputes about the state of our navy; there are some who assert that the increased expenditure which the Admiralty is now incurring is altogether unnecessary; and there are many who believe it will not meet the requirements of the position; but all will agree in acknowledging this fact, that there are far more claims on the navy than there were.

Every fresh possession that has been added to the dominions of the Queen may at some time need defence. We must have ships of war all the world over to guard the shores of the realm. But our colonists will not deny that the duty of this defence of their ports and cities lies primarily with them, and furthermore, that the protection of our commerce, the safe convoy of our merchant, and passenger ships, is their business as well as ours. No Australian sheep-owner will deny that it is his interest to get his wool and mutton to our market; and the merchant who wishes to revisit the old country, or to see his business correspondents, and the successful emigrant who sends money to his brothers or sisters to come and help him in his farm, or to his old parents to live with him in his better home, will feel quite as strongly as we do at home that our magnificent liners must be secured against capture. As regards coaling-stations the case is still clearer. There is here no denial of responsibility. Mr. Douglas tells us that the Australian colonies 'have accepted and have acted up to the recommendations of the Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty's Government in 1878,' and he adds his belief that they would go 'further, and if deemed desirable would form an arsenal and establish factories for war material.' But he doubts 'whether they would contribute to the fortification of Aden or Singapore, essential as these fortifications may be. They would,' he writes, 'probably say, "We will fortify coaling-stations on our own territory, but more than that we cannot undertake at present."' Now I venture to express my belief that, if the matter were fairly and fully brought before them, this would not be their reply. I think they would feel that the safety of the Red Sea route between themselves and England, and even the trade between Australia and China, could not be a matter of indifference to them.

But why not ask them for their opinion? This seems to me one of many kindred subjects which might be rightly brought before the Colonial Governments by the Colonial Secretary. Surely the necessity, admitted to be urgent, of strengthening the defences of the empire affords an excellent opportunity of initiating a Colonial Council, or, if the term be preferred, a committee of colonial representatives. I do not assert or suppose that Lord Derby ignores or disregards colonial feeling or colonial opinion. Probably he has private communications with the High Commissioner and the Agents-General, and possibly he sends private messages to the Ministers of a colony through its Governor; but is not this pre-eminently a matter for official rather than private communication?

It may be said, Why not send an official despatch to the Governor, requiring him to ask the Colonial Premier for an answer? But it would seem to me that this would be the means of communication most likely to

obtain a negative reply. We do not want a Colonial Cabinet or Parliament to be forced to say at once aye or no to a proposal, but we want representatives of the colonies to be able, without committing those they represent, to aid one another in discussing with the Home Government such proposals, and after such discussion to ask the sanction of their Governments to the conclusions at which they have arrived.

Is it impossible for Lord Derby to write to the Queen's representatives at Ottawa, and Sydney, and Victoria, and Adelaide, and Brisbane, and Auckland, and Hobart Town, and Cape Town somewhat to this effect? 'The necessity for recasting the defences of the empire is urgent. Her Majesty's Ministers wish to take counsel with your Government on the steps to be taken. Ask your Ministers to empower their agent in London, or if they prefer it to send some special representative to confer with me and with the representatives of the other self-governing colonies. Your Ministers will not be committed to any course recommended by such Conference until they have been informed thereof and approve.'

There would be no lack of subjects upon which such Conference would deliberate, though its main business would be to decide what should be the fair share of each colony in the provision of defence. The Colonial Secretary would require help. He would probably ask the aid of the First Lord of the Admiralty in arrangements for the Australian navies already formed; whether they should be incorporated with the Queen's navy, and if so, on what conditions of contribution; and if, as I trust, there be this incorporation, with what facilities for engaging colonial sailors, or training and examining colonial cadets, so that a naval career for both officers and men might be fully and fairly opened to the Queen's Australian subjects. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would have to consider on what terms the Imperial credit should be pledged for colonial loans for providing colonial forts and colonial coaling-stations; and I doubt not that, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would feel that he was making a good bargain for the British taxpayer if he lent money for this purpose on his lowest terms; and certainly it would not be long before the Foreign Secretary would be called in.

Now surely some such Conference as this would be of immediate and practical use in meeting the colonial and foreign difficulties which beset the Government, and cannot be safely solved without regard to colonial feeling and deference to colonial opinion, and which will be more easily met by colonial aid.

But are we sure that these representatives of the colonies will always support the foreign policy of our Ministers? May they not sometimes thwart it, or at any rate attempt to influence and modify it? Well, and why not? England cannot go to war by herself, unless she cuts herself adrift from her colonies: five millions of Canadians or three millions of Australians have a right to some voice in the question whether they should be at war or not; and it will help to preserve peace if they exercise this right.

I know that there are those who have not this opinion—who, on the contrary, believe that federation would increase the chances of war. You will, they say, thereby enable and tempt the colonists to drag you into war for their special and selfish objects; and at home you will encourage a vainglorious, aggressive, militant spirit which will lead first to defiance of other civilised nations, and then to mutual jealousy and suspicion, and finally to war. Nevertheless, I believe that there would be less danger of colonial wars, and that there would be an additional guarantee for European peace.

As regards colonial wars, I am glad to find my opinion confirmed by both Lord Grey and Lord Lorne. Lord Lorne gives as one of the chief 'advantages to be derived from the constitution of a Colonial Board or Council, that there would be more opportunity for the colonies to combine to further the views of one of their number, or to declare against any impracticable object, and less danger that any imprudent course should be entered on by any one colony without consultation with others and with Britain; while there would be also more strength for enforcing the wishes of any one colony by opportunity given for others to pledge themselves to assist;'

*Pall Mall Gazette*, January 13, 1885.

and Lord Grey says, 'The English at home would be able to secure support for their opposition to manifestly unreasonable colonial propositions among the reasonable colonial representatives; but,' he adds, 'when the English beyond the sea were unanimous in opposing home policy, there would be a fair presumption that we were in the wrong.'

*Ibid.* January 9, 1885.

This Board would, in fact, be a tribunal which would pass judgment on selfish and impulsive and unreasonable proposals, and the necessity that they must be elaborated and defined in order to be defended in conference would have a moderating effect on agitations in the colonies themselves.

Nor would it be in the colonies alone that this moderating influence would be felt, for we at home may catch the war fever in the future as we have often done in the past. I am not one of those who believe that a democracy is more prone to war than an aristocracy or an autocracy. The working-men, who are the rank and file of the army, know that their wages depend on peace, and that upon them the blood-tax must weigh the most; and we may therefore expect them to be averse to war, though rather perhaps opposed to its continuance when the burden is felt than to its beginning. But, after all, the English working-man is an Englishman, with the combativeness of his race, and an apparent insult or aggression, or an appeal for sympathy and help, might

strike a chord which would vibrate from Caithness to Cornwall, and raise a war-cry which would test the firm-ness of the strongest statesman to withstand. For we must remember there never was a great people so exposed to sudden and overpowering influences as will be democratic Britain. Compared with other nations, there are small local differences in occupation or social surroundings, and the railway and electric wire weld together the thirty-one millions of Britons, and make them sympathise one with another almost as intimately as did the Athenians of old. On the other hand, though exposed to these sudden influences, we shall have especial power to resist them in the individual independence which is the chief characteristic of Britons, and which makes the British minority the strongest minority in the world. But the time may come when the peace minority may want help; and it would get it from the colonies in a federated realm.

Even such a tentative Council as is suggested, with power of de-liberation, but without power of decision, would be an influence for peace. No war could be undertaken without the interests of the colonies being closely affected. We should both want their help, and expose them to danger. But this Council would have the opportunity and the right to express an opinion on any war, and without doubt it would seize the opportunity and exercise the right. And would it not have to be a contest undertaken on very strong grounds which would find support from communities so differently situated as would be the different members of the federated commonwealth? Time and space would tell in favour of peace: distance would make a difference in public opinion probable, and the telegraph would enable this difference to be expressed without delay.

Sir John Macdonald, the Premier of the Dominion, made a very short speech at the last Federation Conference, but there was a passage in it well worth remembering. He said he believed 'that the whole policy of Great Britain was opposed to aggressive war; and in any other war the people of Canada would be ready to take their share of the responsibility and the cost.'

These few words illustrate the twofold guarantee for peace which federation would give. The veteran Canadian statesman hints courteously, but clearly, that our greatest colony would be opposed to a war of offence, but may be relied upon in a war of defence.

Let me point out to the members of the Peace Society that here lies the best hope for their millennium, at any rate so far as this country is concerned. An aggressive war will be made more difficult, its dangers and disadvantages will be made more evident, the arguments against it will be more certainly and more strongly expressed; and is for a defensive war, if the union of the empire be consolidated, and Greater Britain obtains an effective organisation for common defence, where is the nation who would venture an attack?

But, in addition to its effect on our defensive strength and our foreign policy, we must consider the bearing which federation may have on colonial tariffs. It cannot be denied that some of these tariffs are a stumbling-block in the path of the advocates of permanent union.

The high duties levied on our manufactures by some of the colonies, and their protectionist feelings and legislation, have, it must be admitted, a disintegrating effect. I fully believe that, high as are these duties now, they would be higher in disunion. Compare, for instance, the Dominion tariff with that in the United States. But undoubtedly ill-feeling is produced by these tariffs, and none the less so because most of us at home believe that they damage the colonial consumer as much as they do the English producer. Nevertheless I believe there is nothing more certain than that we must leave to the self-governing colonies the power of levying such Customs as they think fit. Nominally the Crown has still the right to veto a Colonial Customs Act, but this is a power which any Minister would be most loth to advise the sovereign to exercise. It might be possible to withhold assent to differential duties in favour of the foreigner and against England; but the right to levy high duties on all imports, even with the object of protection, and not merely for revenue, must be admitted.

Such action can only be combated by argument and persuasion; but would not this Colonial Board of Advice be an excellent opportunity for persuasion? It would be clearly understood and declared that no resolution of the Board could commit any colony until approved by its Government; but the opinion of the Home Government, supported in all probability by many of the Colonial Governments, could not but have great weight in checking protectionist legislation in any colony, and I believe also in furthering Free-trade.

There is much to be said in favour of an Imperial Zollverein. It is a most tempting proposal both to those who care for Free-trade and to the advocates of Imperial union, but the difficulties are manifest. They can only be surmounted by a general policy: either by the universal abolition of Excise and Customs, or by similar Excise and Customs throughout the empire. There must be no indirect taxation, or it must be levied everywhere upon the same articles and to the same amount. I do not think we can expect newly-formed communities to raise their revenue solely by direct taxation, but the abolition of all Customs or Excise except upon intoxicating liquors and tobacco, and the general equalisation of these taxes, would make an Imperial Zollverein possible. It is not easy to overrate the benefits which such a fiscal union would confer, not merely upon the Queen's subjects at home, but upon those over the sea; but I can see no chance of successfully mooted such a project, or of obtaining that colonial assent which is absolutely necessary, except by help of some such Council as I have described.

There are those, however, who object to any immediate action, though they are not unfriendly to our ultimate object, and who think that we may do harm by raising the question of federation, and that the formation of our League may be not only premature, but prejudicial to our cause.

Why, they say, alarm the colonists and the people of the United Kingdom by asking either one or the other to incur any sacrifices for the sake of union? Why not wait till some colony proposes to depart?

My reply is, I am anxious to avoid such proposal; and though I do not deny that some sacrifices are required, I maintain that they are but slight in comparison to the advantages which both parties will gain. Nothing can be bought for nothing in this world, but the consolidation of the realm can now be bought for little. What is the cost? To us at home, the acknowledgment that our fellow-countrymen over the seas have the right to express an opinion upon matters which may drag both them and us into war; to them, the obligation to consider whether they will not pledge themselves to an expenditure for defence which they have already shown their willingness to incur.

These are the sacrifices required for the formation of a Colonial Board of Advice, or the tentative Council above described. But, if the experiment succeeds, to what may we hope it will lead? At any rate to a saving of cost; not merely to an illustration of the old axiom that union is strength, but also to the proof that union is economy.

Strength in this case means economy, for there is nothing so costly as war, and an organisation for common defence will be both for the United Kingdom and for the colonies an almost certain insurance against war. We shall not have the wish to attack, and we shall be too strong to be attacked. The real danger is not that we may act too soon, but too late; not that action will be premature, but that it may have been postponed too long. If we wish to lose our colonies, we cannot more surely attain our desire than by the continuance of our present colonial policy, or rather by persisting in the refusal to have any policy at all.

It matters little that we talk about the blessings of union and our determination to preserve it, when the only rational explanation of what we do, or rather of what we do not do, is that we expect disunion.

I am not finding fault with the Government. Lord Granville and Lord Derby may have been long in making up their minds what course to take in South Africa or in the Pacific, but they may allege in defence that the country has not known its own mind. The fact is, public opinion, though powerful, requires and indeed expects to be guided. The power of public opinion over all rulers, over kings and emperors, and ministers and parliaments, is the great political fact of this age; but I believe governments, or at any rate our Government, will more and more find that not only in colonial, but also in foreign, and even in domestic, affairs it is their duty and their interest not to wait on public opinion, but to attempt to guide it. But, however this may be, this halting, half-hearted uncertainty has the worst possible effect in the colonies. They do not know what we mean to do, and not even whether we mean to keep them or not, and so they embarrass us by isolated action.

Queensland had little confidence in British care for Colonial interests or in British sympathy with Colonial aspirations, and so she acted for herself. I read, a day or two ago, a telegram stating that at a meeting in Toronto Mr. Blake, the eloquent leader of the Liberal party in the Dominion, had demanded the power for Canada to make her own treaties. If this be true, it means that Mr. Blake is making a demand which implies disunion, and which would not be entertained by the United States or by any Federation now existing; but would he have made this demand if he knew that the principle of participation by Canada in Imperial foreign policy was admitted?

Again, as regards the irritation caused in Australia by the German annexations, it seems to me to be quite as much against the way they have been made as against the actual annexations. It is not so much that Victoria and Queensland fear the acquisition by Germany of tropical islands in the Pacific, as the fact that they suppose that we at home are leaving them alone with Germany, and letting Prince Bismarck do what he thinks fit.

For my part I am grateful to Prince Bismarck: he at any rate has a policy, and by carrying it out he is forcing us to make up our minds. He has made British public opinion speak out, and I rejoice at the action of the Government at St. Lucia Bay, and at the steps which we may hope they are taking to prevent the annexation of the Samoan Islands by Germany and the New Hebrides by France.

There is only one other objection to which I will allude. The members of the Federation League are told that we have no precedent in our favour; that a world-wide confederation with seas separating its members is a novelty in history. Yes, it may be a novelty; but there is another novelty, and that is the political effect of steam and electricity. This is not the time for alarm at novelties; the air is full of them. The new forces of civilisation are at work, and we in England at any rate are making a new departure. Let us be as little enslaved by precedent in our colonial policy as in our domestic legislation. But there is one feeling which is not new. Patriotism is not a novelty, nor, let men say what they will, is patriotism worn out. Are we the fellow-countrymen of our kinsmen in the colonies? Are we and they determined to continue to be fellow-countrymen? Do we and they love our country and care for its welfare? Do we and they believe that this welfare depends on the maintenance of union, and are we and they determined to maintain it?

These are questions which the new and the old electors of our ancient House of Commons and the voters for the newly-formed Colonial Parliaments alike will have to answer. They are questions which it will be the privilege and the duty of our two millions of new voters to assist in solving. Let these questions be asked by the opponents of federation as well as by its advocates, I do not fear the reply.

W. E. FORSTER.

## POSTSCRIPT.

Since most of the above was written, Mr. Murray Smith, the Agent-General for Victoria, has received a despatch from Mr. Service, the Premier of his colony, giving his views on federation.

This despatch has already been published, but it seems to me so important that my readers should look at this matter from a colonial point of view, that I must beg them to re-peruse it in connection with the remarks I have made, and for which I cannot but be glad to find so much confirmation from so high a colonial authority.

Mr. Service, writing from Melbourne on the 20th of November, after saying that he wishes to explain the considerations which had influenced him to authorise Mr. Smith, not only to attend the last conference of the Federation League, but to give a general support to the movement, writes as follows:—

*The chief of those considerations is the very anomalous position which these colonies occupy as regards respectively local government and the exercise of Imperial authority. In regard to the first, the fullest measure of constitutional freedom and Parliamentary representation has been conceded to the more important colonies; but, as regards the second, we have no representation whatever in the Imperial system. Subjects of this part of the Empire may be deeply interested in the action or, it may be, the inaction of the Imperial authorities, but they have no voice nor vote in those councils of the Empire to which Her Majesty's Ministers are responsible; thus, in all matters in which the exercise of the Imperial authority has interests for them, that authority is, to all intents and purposes, an unqualified autocracy; on the one hand, we are under constitutional government, on the other under an antiquated autocracy or bureaucracy.*

*The weakness of this position has at times been most disadvantageously apparent, and its humiliation keenly felt. Lately, more especially, when policy of the highest concern to the Australasian colonies has had to be administered by the Imperial Government, we have occupied the position of outside petitioners to the Colonial Office, with scarcely more influence than a county member of the House of Commons. I thankfully acknowledge the courtesy extended by the Colonial Office to yourself, as well as, I believe, to the other Colonial Agents-General; but it is something more than concessions of courtesy that is needed. Colonial interests are sufficiently important to entitle us to some defined position in the Imperial economy—to some tangible means of asserting, if necessary, our rights.*

*It may be difficult to say in what way so vast and scattered an Empire can be federated; but any scheme that may be decided upon, while it cannot take from us anything that we at present possess, must give to the colonies more tangible influence, and more legal and formal authority, than they have now. I, therefore, had no hesitation in directing you to give a general support to the idea, guarding, of course, our local self-government.*

*A further consideration is that Victoria, and I am sure Australasia, is and always has been heartily loyal both to the Throne and the Empire—a national sentiment which has never failed to express itself on every suitable occasion. The notion, before now openly propounded by Professor Goldwin Smith and others, of disintegrating the Empire by cutting off the colonies, has, I am persuaded, little sympathy from Australasians—nor is this altogether a matter of sentiment; but we believe that the colonies, justly and wisely governed, may be tributaries of strength to the parent State; that they and it may be mutually recipients of numberless advantages. I am sure that I speak the mind of the colonists generally in expressing our desire to remain, as now, an integral portion of the Empire; and it is in this view, therefore, that I desire to support the movement for Imperial Federation.*

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

## **A Few more Words on Imperial Federation.**

THERE has been so noteworthy a progress towards Imperial Federation during the last month that I venture to add a few words to those which I wrote on the subject in the last number of this Review.

No one can deny that the present outlook is dark and stormy. This is a time of trial for the strength and virtue of Englishmen; but these times of trial have not been few or far between in our history, and as before, so now, England will face her dangers and surmount her difficulties. I have hope for my country, because I have

faith in my fellow-countrymen. Yet there is ground both for sorrow and anxiety. We have lost our beloved hero, and many of our bravest men; we are engaged in a dangerous and most costly enterprise; the strain upon our army and our navy is severe; and the great Powers of Europe, with the exception of Italy, who has shown that she has not forgotten who was her disinterested friend in her time of need, appear to be considering what advantage they can obtain from our difficulties.

But there are two rays of sunlight across the dark prospect. Our soldiers and sailors have given clear proof that they have the endurance and courage and devotedness of their fathers. This is no new fact, though it is well that other nations should at this crisis be reminded that it is a fact with which any enemy of England will have to reckon; but there is a new fact, and that is, that our colonial fellow-countrymen have proved that they are not only willing but longing to take their share in the defence of our common country. I never doubted this willingness, I was sure that it would be shown; but there is not much heed given to expectations or prophecies until they are realised, and therefore I cannot wonder that these offers of colonial aid have struck the British public with pleased surprise.

A day or two before these offers were made known, a speech was made by the ablest and most respected of the opponents of Federation.

It is to me most painful to differ from Mr. Bright, but I expected his opposition, because in one respect he is the most conservative of our statesmen. There is no man with any mental power approaching to his to whose mind a new idea has such difficulty of access.

But what did Mr. Bright say on the 29th of January at Birmingham?—"The idea," he said, "in my opinion is ludicrous that the British Empire—that is, the United Kingdom with all its colonies—should form one country, one interest, one undivided interest for the purposes of defence." "They" (that is the Federation League who proclaim these ludicrous notions) "must be blind to the lessons of history."

Yes, but history teaches many lessons now-a-days, and they follow so fast one upon another that it is not always easy to learn them. It may be well for us all, Mr. Bright included, to study this last lesson of history. The Governments of the Dominion of Canada, of New South Wales, of Victoria, of Queensland, of South Australia, have declared that the United Kingdom, with all its colonies, do form one country for the purposes of defence. They have made this declaration on behalf of their people by the offer to give, not only their money but their men, for the defence of the Flag in a war of more than usual danger and privation, and their people have supported their Government in these offers with patriotic enthusiasm.

The union of the mother-country with her children is, thanks to this patriotism, more close and more intimate than it was a month ago.

But is there more probability of its being permanent?

The advocates of disunion, or perhaps it would be more fair to them to call them the believers in necessary disintegration, will tell us that this colonial enthusiasm is a temporary caprice, or at best but a passing feeling, on which no reliance can be placed. I am content to ask those who hold this view to learn the lessons which history will teach them; but may I venture to say one word to the friends of Union? Some of them may perhaps think that this action of the colonies affords an opportunity of securing the permanent unity of the Empire by the immediate elaboration and definition of a scheme of Federation. I would rather venture to say that this colonial action would seem to show that the time has not yet come for such definition, and for this reason, that no scheme which could now be devised, and no system which could now be defined, would adequately express the feelings in men's minds.

The idea of the permanent unity of the realm, the duty of preserving this union, the blessings which its preservation will confer, the danger and loss and disaster which will follow from disunion, are thoughts which possess the minds of Englishmen both here and over the seas. These thoughts are expressing themselves in deeds; let this expression continue; at present it helps our cause far more effectually than any possible scheme. Events march quickly in these times. Last month I gladly supported Lord Grey's and Lord Lorne's proposal of a Colonial Council or Board of Advice, composed of delegates from the self-governing colonies, but I rejoice to acknowledge that the colonies have now taken a step in advance of a Board of Advice.

The Queen has lost no time in expressing Her Majesty's 'warm and grateful feelings to the colonies for their proffered aid;' and thanks for all the offers have been given in fitting terms by Mr. Gladstone, Lord Granville, and Lord Derby, and by the Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chief.

But the only offer which has been actually accepted has been that made by New South Wales. I think this is a mistake. If for military reasons it is desirable that the departure of the expeditions from the other Australian colonies and from Canada should be delayed, I cannot but think that, instead of informing the respective Governments that the Imperial Government would take their offers into consideration if the Soudan war lasted till the autumn, it would have been better to accept these offers at once, while adding that definite instructions would be sent out with regard to time.

Who expects that the Soudan War will be ended before autumn?

Are we sure that our forces will not need strengthening elsewhere than in the Soudan?

The colonies, as I have said above, have taken a step in advance of a Colonial Board of Advice; but it may be that the Queen's subjects both at home and in the colonies will soon call upon the Queen's Ministers to take a still further step.

The evidence of colonial patriotism may ward off the dangers which exist, but on the other hand those dangers may increase, and it may soon become clear that Englishmen throughout the Empire must rally their forces in defence of themselves and of their common country; and there may well be an irresistible demand both at home and in the colonies for a special conference between the Imperial Government and the Colonial Governments in order to resolve on the organisation of this defence.

This therefore does not seem to me to be a time to postpone the acceptance of any colonial offer of assistance, and merely to state that such offer may be taken into consideration.

Let me mention another recent and encouraging event. No offer of military aid in the Soudan has come from South Africa, nor could such offer have been expected. The Queen's subjects in South Africa have their own work to do at present, but in no part of the Queen's dominions has the determination to maintain her realm unshattered been more clearly shown.

The Cape Colonists, not only of English, but many also of Dutch descent, have supposed that England did not care to keep a South African colony, but only a naval station on the road to India and Australia. I will not now discuss how far this supposition was warranted by the action or inaction of our Government. Public opinion in England has clearly declared that this supposition is a mistake; but, at any rate, it has served this good purpose; it has called forth the most unmistakable demonstrations of loyalty and of patriotism. This has been shown by the pained indignation with which the notion of English desertion has been received in the colony, by the hearty welcome to Sir Charles Warren, and by the eagerness of volunteers to assist him in Bechuanaland; and by the formation of a powerful and influential association, which, under the name of the Empire League, has held enthusiastic meetings throughout the colony, for the purpose of maintaining the unity of the Empire.

The Federation League has gladly welcomed the offer by this association of affiliation, for, though the names may be different, the aim and principles of the two Leagues are the same. We have thus the most encouraging evidence that Canada and Australia and South Africa have not only no wish for separation, but are prepared to make sacrifices for its prevention; and yet there are disintegrating influences still at work. Do not let us blind ourselves to this fact, but that it is a fact is mainly the fault of us at home.

I rejoiced to read some words spoken a few days ago by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies. Mr. Evelyn Ashley stated at the dinner of the London Chamber of Commerce that the offers which the colonies have made 'of their gallant sons as soldiers for the mother-country realised that Federation was an accomplished fact.'

This is perhaps too strong a statement, though it is most encouraging to find it made by the representative of the Colonial Office; but the fact that is realised is, that the colonies are doing their part towards Federation. It remains for us to do ours.

I will not now repeat the arguments by which last month I endeavoured to show that two conditions must be fulfilled in order that England and her colonies should be permanently consolidated in one realm. The ultimate form of Federation must secure not merely cooperation in defence, but participation in foreign policy.

Mr. Ashley added to the remark I have quoted, that all that we have now to do is 'to clothe this new embodiment of Federation in the garb of formality.' But as yet there has been only the embodiment of the colonial willingness to bear part of the burden of common defence. What is now wanted is the embodiment of our willingness to give them participation in that policy which may involve them in war, and which must often most closely affect their interests.

There is an especial reason why the offer of Australian support should at this time be received with gratitude, and that is, that it is made at a time when the Australian colonies have felt themselves aggrieved by the action of our Government in regard to actual German and possible French annexations.

I will not now consider how far this aggrieved feeling is justified by facts, but this much I think is evident, that it would not have existed, or would have been much less prevalent, if the Australian Governments had been taken into closer counsel, and at an earlier period.

That this was not done is not so much the fault of the present Government as of our colonial system.

I am not now pressing for a formal scheme of consultation with the self-governing colonies on foreign policy. It may be, it probably will be, best that, as in defence, so in foreign affairs, deeds should precede words; but no Cabinet will in future allow that either Foreign Office etiquette or Colonial Office traditions shall make it possible for the Imperial Government to pledge itself to any foreign Power upon any matter seriously affecting any self-governing colony without previous consultation with the representatives of such colony. May we not then hope that this year of 1885, which has opened so sorrowfully and so anxiously, may be the beginning of a new and glorious chapter in the records of our country, and may mark the era at which history

will have declared the true meaning of the British Empire?

W. E. FORSTER.

LONDON: PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE AND PARLIAMENT STREET  
The Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half Century.

BY Robert Giffen, ESQ., LL.D.,

President of the Statistical Society.

Thirty-Sixth Thousand.

London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Cotent Garden. 1884.

Price Threepence.

## Note.

The accompanying Paper constituted my Inaugural Address as President of the Statistical Society, Session 1883-84, and was read at the Meeting of the Society on 20th November last. It is now reprinted from the pages of the Society's *Journal*, with the omission of one or two preliminary remarks on matters unconnected with the main subject of the address, and with one or two verbal amendments which this omission has made necessary.

I have to thank the Council of the Society for their permission to reprint the Address in the present cheap form.

The suggestion to publish the Address in this form has been made to me by several friends, and I have especially to thank Mr. Gladstone for the following letter, which he has kindly permitted me to publish :—

*"HAWARDEN CASTLE, CHESTER,*

*"28th December, 1883.*

*"DEAR MR. GIFFEN,*

*"I have read with great pleasure your masterly paper. It is probably in form and in substance the best answer to George; and I hope it may be practicable to give it a wide circulation.*

*"Might I ask for another couple of copies.*

*"Believe me,*

*"Faithfully yours,*

*"W. E. GLADSTONE."*

In complying with these suggestions, I desire to add, on my own account, that I hope the facts stated in the Paper will be of use apart from their bearing on a particular controversy. The question as to whether the masses of the community are improving materially and morally is of general scientific interest; and any fair contribution of facts towards answering the question should be helpful to the student in more ways than one. My chief regret has been that I have not had more time to devote to the subject, which would repay a more ample investigation.

R. Giffen.

*17th January, 1884.*

# The Progress of the Working Classes

## *In the Last Half Century.*

WE are carried back on this occasion very naturally to the origin of the Society, by an impending event which now casts its shadow before—our approaching jubilee, which we may hope will be worthily celebrated.

On such an occasion I believe the subject on which I propose to address you to-night will be not unsuitable—a review of the official statistics bearing on the progress of the working classes—the masses of the nation—in the last half century. If you go back to the early records of the Society, you will find that one of the leading objects of its founders was to obtain means by which to study the very question I have selected. Happily we have still with us one or two honoured members associated with the early history of the Society—I may mention Dr. Guy and Sir Rawson Rawson—who will bear me out in what I have stated. I may remind you, moreover, that one of the founders of the Society was Mr. Porter, of the Board of Trade, whose special study for years was much the same, as his well-known book, "The "Progress of the Nation," bears witness; and that in one of the earliest publications of the Society, a volume preceding the regular issue of the *Journal*, he has left a most interesting account of what he hoped might be effected by means of statistics in studying the subject I have put before you, or the more general subject of the "Progress of the Nation." In asking you, therefore, to look for a little at what statistics tell us of the progress of the great masses of the nation, I feel that I am selecting a subject which is connected with the special history of the Society. That it happens for the moment to be attracting a considerable amount of popular attention in connection with sensational politics and sociology, with agitations for land nationalisation and collectivism among pretended representatives of the working classes, is an additional reason for our not neglecting this question; but it is a question to which the Society has a primary claim, and which the authors of the agitations I have referred to would have done well to study from the statistical point of view.

There are two or three ways in which statistics may throw light on such a question as I have put forward. The first and most direct is to see what records there are of the money earnings of the masses now and fifty years ago, ascertain whether they have increased or diminished, and then compare them with the rise or fall in the prices of the chief articles which the masses consume. Even such records would not give a complete answer. It is conceivable, for instance, that while earning more money, and being able to spend it to more advantage, the working classes might be no better off than formerly. There may be masses, as there are individuals, who do not know how to spend. The question of means, however, will carry us some distance on the road to our object. We shall know that the masses must be better off, unless they have deteriorated in the art of spending, a subject of separate inquiry.

In investigating such records, however, we have to recognise that the ideal mode of answering the question is not yet possible. That mode would be to draw up an account of the aggregate annual earnings of the working classes for a period about fifty years ago, and a similar account of the aggregate annual earnings of the same classes at the present time, and then compare the average per head and per family at the different dates. Having thus ascertained the increase or diminution in the amount per head at the different dates, it would be comparatively easy, though not in itself quite so easy a matter as it seems, to ascertain how much less or how much more the increased or diminished sum would buy of the chief articles of the workman's consumption. But no such account that I know of has been drawn up, except for a date about fifteen or sixteen years ago, when Mr. Dudley Baxter and Professor Leone Levi both drew up statements of enormous value as to aggregate earnings, statements which it would now be most desirable to compare with similar statements for the present time, if we could have them, and which will be simply invaluable to future generations. In the absence of such statements, all that can be done is to compare what appear to be the average wages of large groups of the working classes. If it is found that the changes in the money wages of such groups are in the same direction, or almost all in the same direction, then there would be sufficient reason for believing that similar changes had occurred throughout the entire mass. It would be in the highest degree improbable that precisely those changes which could not be traced were in the opposite direction. The difficulty in the way is that in a period of fifty years in a country like England the character of the work itself changes. The people who have the same names at different times are not necessarily doing the same work. Some forms of work pass wholly away and wholly new forms come into existence. Making all allowances, however, and selecting the best comparative cases possible, some useful conclusion seems obtainable.

What I propose to do first and mainly, as regards this point, is to make use of an independent official record which we have to thank Mr. Porter for commencing. I mean the record of wages, which has been maintained for many years in the Miscellaneous Statistics of the United Kingdom, and which was previously commenced and carried on in the volumes of Revenue and Population Tables which Mr. Porter introduced at the Board of Trade about fifty years ago. It is curious on looking back through these volumes to find how difficult it is to get a continuous record. The wages in one volume are for certain districts and trades; in a subsequent volume, for different districts and trades; the descriptive classifications of the workers are also constantly changing. Picking my way through the figures, however, I have to submit the following particulars of changes in money wages between a period forty to fifty years ago—it is not possible to get the same year in all cases to start from—and a period about two years ago, which may be taken as the present time. This comparison leaves out of account the length of hours of work, which is a material point I shall notice presently.

# Comparison of Wages Fifty Years ago and at Present Time.

[From "Miscellaneous Statistics of the United Kingdom," and Porter's "Progress of the Nation."]  
Occupation. Place. Wages Fifty Years ago, per Week. Wages Present Time, per Week. Increase or Decrease, Amount per Cent. Carpenters. Manchester .. 24/-34/-10/-(+ ) 42 " . Glasgow 14/-26/-12/-(+ ) 85 Bricklayers. Manchester\* .. 24/-36/-12/-(+ ) 50 " . Glasgow .. 15/-27/-12/-(+ ) 80 Masons . Manchester\* . 24/-29/10 5/10 (+) 24 " . Glasgow 14/-23/8 9/8 (+) 60 Miners. Staffordshire .. 2/8† 4/-† ¼ (+) 50 Pattern weavers.. Huddersfield . 16/-25/-9/-(+ ) 55 Wool scourers .. " . 17/-22/-5/-(+ ) 30 Mule spinners.. " . 25/6 30/-4/6 (+) 20 Weavers. " . 12/-26/-14/-(+ ) 115 Warpings and beamers " . 17/-27/-10/-(+ ) 58 Winders and reelers. " . 6/-11/-5/-(+ ) 83 Weavers (men). Bradford. 8/3 20/6 12/3 (+) 150 Reeling and warping " . 7/9 15/6 7/9 (+) 100 Spinning (children). " . 4/5 11/6 7/1 (+) 160 \* 1825. † Wages per day.

Thus in all cases where I have found it possible from the apparent similarity of the work to make a comparison, there is an enormous apparent rise in money wages ranging from 20 and in most cases from 50 to 100 per cent., and in one or two instances more than 100 per cent.

The mean of the percentages of increase is over 70.

This understates, I believe, the real extent of the change. Thus, builders' wages are given at the earlier date as so much weekly, whereas in the later returns a distinction is made between summer and winter wages, the hours of labour being less in winter, and as the wages are so much per hour, the week's wages being also less, so that it has been possible to strike a mean for the later period, while it does not appear that anything more is meant at the early period than the usual weekly wage, which would be the summer wage. Without making this point, however, it is obvious that in all cases there is a very great rise.

Before passing from this point there is another and continuous official record I would refer to. Unfortunately it does not go back for much more than thirty years. Still, as far as it goes, the evidence is in the same direction. I refer to the return of merchant seamen's wages annually issued by the Board of Trade, in what is known as the Progress of Merchant Shipping Return. From this return may be derived the following comparison of seamen's wages:—

Here again there is an enormous rise in money wages. This return is specially subject to the observation that money wages are only part of the wages of seamen, but I assume it is not open to dispute, that with the improvement in our shipping there has been an improvement in the food and lodging of the sailor, quite equal to the improvement in his money wage.

This question of seamen's wages, however, well illustrates the difficulty of the whole subject. Ships are not now navigated by able seamen so much as by engineers and stokers. It would seem that as a class the new men all round are paid better than the able seamen, but I should not press this point; it might well be the case that steam ships as a whole could be worked by an inferior class of labourers as compared with sailing ships, and yet the fact that inferior labour is sufficient for this special trade would be quite consistent with the fact that the whole conditions of modern labour require more skill than the conditions fifty years ago, so that there is more labour relatively at the higher rates than used to be the case.

The comparison, except for seamen's wages, where it has only been possible to go back for about thirty years, is made between a period about fifty years ago and the present time only. It would have complicated the figures too much to introduce intermediate dates. I may state, however, that I have not been inattentive to this point, and that if we had commenced about twenty to twenty-five years ago, we should also have been able to show a very great improvement since that time, while at that date also, as compared with an earlier period, a great improvement would have been apparent. A careful and exhaustive investigation of the records of wages I have referred to, in comparison with the numbers employed in different occupations, as shown by the census reports, would in fact repay the student who has time to make it; and I trust the investigation will yet be made.

The records do not include anything relating to the agricultural labourer, but from independent sources—I would refer especially to the reports of the recent Royal Agricultural Commission—we may perceive how universal the rise in the wages of agricultural labourers has been, and how universal at any rate is the complaint that more money is paid for less work. Sir James Caird, in his "Landed Interest" (p. 65), puts the rise at 60 per cent, as compared with the period just before the repeal of the corn laws, and there is much other evidence to the same effect. The rise in the remuneration of labour in Ireland in the last forty years is also one of the facts which has been conspicuously brought before the public of late. In no other way is it possible to account for the stationariness of rents in Ireland for a long period, notwithstanding the great rise in the prices of the cattle and dairy products which Ireland produces, and which, it has been contended, would have justified a rise of rents.

The farmer and the labourer together have in fact had all the benefit of the rise in agricultural prices.

The next point to which attention must be drawn is the shortening of the hours of labour which has taken place. While the money wages have increased as we have seen, the hours of labour have diminished. It is difficult to estimate what the extent of this diminution has been, but collecting one or two scattered notices I should be inclined to say very nearly 20 per cent. There has been at least this reduction in the textile, engineering, and house-building trades. The workman gets from 50 to 100 per cent, more money, for 20 per cent, less work; in round figures, he has gained from 70 to 120 per cent, in fifty years in money return. It is just possible of course that the workman may do as much or nearly as much in the shorter period as he did in his longer hours. Still there is the positive gain in his being less time at his task, which many of the classes still tugging lengthily day by day at the oar would appreciate. The workman may have been wise or unwise in setting much store by shorter hours in bettering himself, but the shortening of the hours of labour is undoubtedly to be counted to the good as well as the larger money return he obtains.

We come then to the question of what the changes have been in the prices of the chief articles of the workman's consumption. It is important, to begin with, that as regards prices of commodities generally, there seems to be little doubt things are much the same as they were forty or fifty years ago. This is the general effect of the inquiries which have been made first as to the depreciation of gold consequent on the Australian and Californian gold discoveries, and next as to the appreciation of gold which has taken place within the last twenty years, consequent on the new demands for gold which have arisen, and the falling off in the supply as compared with the period between 1850 and 1860. It would burden us too much to go into these inquiries on an occasion like the present, and therefore I only take the broad result. This is that while there was a moderate rise of prices all round between the years 1847-50, just before the new gold came on the market, and the year 1862, when Mr. Jevons published his celebrated essay, a rise not exceeding about 20 per cent., yet within the last twenty years this rise has disappeared, and prices are back to the level, or nearly to the level, of 1847-50. The conclusion is that, taking things in the mass, the sovereign goes as far as it did forty or fifty years ago, while there are many new things in existence at a low price which could not then have been bought at all. If, in the interval, the average money earnings of the working classes

have risen between 50 and 100 per cent., there must have been an enormous change for the better in the means of the working man, unless by some wonderful accident it has happened that his special articles have changed in a different way from the general run of prices.

But looking to special articles, we find that on balance prices are lower and not higher. Take wheat. It is notorious that wheat, the staff of life, has been lower on the average of late years than it was before the free trade era. Even our fair trade friends, who find it so difficult to see very plain things, were forced to allow, in that wonderful manifesto which was published in the "Times" some weeks back, that wheat is about 5s. a quarter cheaper on the average than it was. The facts, however, deserve still more careful statement to enable us to realise the state of things fifty years ago and at the present time. The fair trade statement, if I remember rightly, showed an average fall of 5s. in the price of wheat, comparing the whole period since the repeal of the Corn Laws with a long period before. This may have been right or wrong for the purpose in hand, but for our present purpose, which is to compare the present period with that of half a century ago, it is important to note that it is mainly within the last ten years the steadily low price of wheat has been established. Comparing the ten years before 1846 with the last ten years, what we find is that while the average price of wheat in 1837-46 was 58s. 7d., it was 48s. 9d. only in the last ten years—a reduction not of 5s. merely, but 10s. The truth is, the repeal of the Corn Laws was not followed by an *immediate* decline of wheat on the average. The failure of the potato crop, the Crimean War, and the depreciation of gold, all contributed to maintain the price, notwithstanding free trade, down to 1862. Since then steadily lower prices have ruled; and when we compare the present time with half a century ago, or any earlier part of the century, these facts should be remembered.

There is a still more important consideration. Averages are very good for certain purposes, but we all know in this place that a good deal sometimes turns upon the composition of the average,—upon whether it is made up of great extremes, or whether the individual elements depart very little from the average. This is specially an important matter in a question of the price of food. The average of a necessary of life over a long period of years may be moderate, but if in some years the actual price is double what it is in other years, the fact of the average will in no way save from starvation at certain periods the workman who may have a difficulty in making both ends meet in the best of times. What we find then is that fifty years ago the extremes were disastrous compared with what they are at the present time. In 1836 we find wheat touching 36s.; in 1838, 1839, 1840, and 1841, we find it touching 78s. 4d. 81s. 6d., 72s. 10d., and 76s. 1d.; in all cases double the price of the lowest year, and nearly double the "average" of the decade; and in 1847 the price of 102s. 5d., or three times the price of the lowest period, is touched. If we go back earlier we find still more startling extremes. We have such figures as 106s. 5d. in 1810; 126s. 6d. in 1812; 109s. 9d. in 1813, and 96s. 11d. in 1817; these figures being not merely the extremes touched, but the actual averages for the whole year. No doubt in the early

part of the century the over-issue of inconvertible paper accounts for part of the nominal prices, but it accounts for a very small part. What we have to consider then is, that fifty years ago the working man with wages, on the average, about half, or not much more than half, what they are now, had at times to contend with a fluctuation in the price of bread which implied sheer starvation. Periodic starvation was, in fact, the condition of the masses of working men throughout the kingdom fifty years ago, and the inferences to the subject in the economic literature of the time are most instructive. M. Quetelet, in his well-known great book, points to the obvious connection between the high price of bread following the bad harvest of 1816, and the excessive rate of mortality which followed. To this day you will find tables in the registrar-general's returns which descend from a time when a distinct connection between these high prices of bread and excessive rates of mortality was traced. But within the last twenty years what do we find? Wheat has not been, on the average, for a whole year so high as 70s., the highest averages for any year being 64s. 5d. in 1867, and 63s. 9d. in 1868; while the highest average of the last ten years alone is 58s. 8d. in 1873; that is only about 10s. above the average of the whole period. In the twenty years, moreover, the highest price touched at any period was just over 70s., viz., 70s. 5d., in 1867, and 74s. 7d. in 1868; while in the last ten years the figure of 70s. was not even touched, the nearest approach to it being 68s. 9d. in 1877. Thus of late years there has been a steadily low price, which must have been an immense boon to the masses, and especially to the poorest. The rise of money wages has been such, I believe, that working men, for the most part, could have contended with extreme fluctuations in the price of bread better than they did fifty years ago. But they have not had the fluctuations to contend with.

It would be useless to go through other articles with the same detail. Wheat had quite a special importance fifty years ago, and the fact that it no longer has the same importance—that we have ceased to think of it as people did fifty years ago—is itself significant. Still, taking one or two other articles, we find, on the whole, a decline :—

## **Prices of Various Articles about Fifty Years ago and at Present Time.**

1839-40. Present Time. s. d. s. d. Sugar ..... per cwt. 68 8\* 21 9† Cotton cloth exported ..... per yard -5? -3 ¼ (1840.) (1882.) Inferior beasts ..... per 8 lbs. 3 1 4 3 ¾ Second Class ..... " 3 6 4 9 ¾ Third ..... " 3 11 ¾ 5 7 ½ Inferior sheep ..... " 3 5 5 7 Second class ..... " 3 10 ¼ 6 1 ¼ Large hogs ..... " 4 3 ½ 4 6 \* Porter's "Progress of the Nation," p. 543. In the paper as read to the Society I gave the price without the duty, but including the duty the price was what is now given here. The average price with the duty of the ten years ending 1840 was 58s. 4d. † Average price of raw sugar imported.

I should have liked a longer list of articles, but the difficulty of comparison is very serious. It may be stated broadly, however, that while sugar and such articles have declined largely in price, and while clothing is also cheaper, the only article interesting the workman much which has increased in price is meat, the increase here being considerable. The "only" it may be supposed covers a great deal. The truth is, however, that meat fifty years ago was not an article of the workman's diet as it has since become. He had little more concern with its price than with the price of diamonds. The kind of meat which was mainly accessible to the workman fifty years ago, viz., bacon, has not, it will be seen, increased sensibly in price.

Only one question remains. Various commodities, it may be admitted, have fallen in price, but house rent, it is said, has gone up. We have heard a good deal lately of the high prices of rooms in the slums. When we take things in the mass, however, we find that however much some workmen may suffer, house rent in the aggregate cannot have gone up in a way to neutralise to any serious extent the great rise in the money wages of the workman. It appears that in 1834, when the house duty, which had existed up to that date, was abolished, the annual value of dwelling houses charged to duty was 12,603,000*l.*, the duty being levied on all houses above 10*l.* rental in Great Britain. In 1881-82 the annual value of dwelling houses charged to duty, the duty being levied on houses above 20*l.* only, was 39,845,000*l.*, while the value of the houses between 10*l.* and 20*l.* was 17,040,000*l.*, making a total of 56,885,000*l.*, or between four and five times the total of fifty years ago. Population, however, in Great Britain has increased from about 16 ½ millions in 1831, to nearly 30 millions in 1881, or nearly 100 per cent. Allowing for this, the increase in value would be about 32 million pounds, on a total of about 25 million pounds, which may be considered the increased rent which householders above 10*l.* have to pay—the increase being about 130 per cent. Assuming that houses under 1 ½*l.* have increased in proportion, it may be considered that house rents are now 1 ½ times more than they were fifty years ago. In other words, a workman who paid 3*l.* a year fifty years ago, would now pay 7*l.* 10s. Even, however, if rent were a fourth part of the workman's earnings fifty years ago, he would still be much better off at the present time

than he was. His whole wages have doubled, while the prices of no part of his necessary consumption, except rent, as we have seen, have increased—on the contrary, they have rather diminished. Say then that the rent, which was a fourth part of his expenditure, has increased times, while his whole wage has doubled, the account, on a wage of 20s. fifty years ago, and 40s. now, would stand:— —showing still an enormous improvement in the workman's condition.

It may be pointed out, however, that houses are undoubtedly of better value all round than they were fifty years ago. More rent is paid because more capital is in the houses, and they are better houses. It appears also that fifty years ago there were far more exemptions than there are now, rural dwellings particularly being favoured as regards exemption. The increase of rent for the same accommodation, there is consequently reason to believe, has not been nearly so great as these figures would appear to show. It has further to be considered that the whole annual value of the dwelling houses under 10*l.* even now is 17,885,000*l.* only, the number of houses being 3,124,000. This must be a very small proportion of the aggregate earnings of those portions of the working classes who live in houses under 10*l.* rent, and even adding to it the value of all the houses up to 20*l.*, which would bring up the total to 34,925,000*l.*, the proportion would still be very small. On the five million families at least of the working classes in Great Britain, the sum would come to about 7*l.* per family, which is not the main portion of an average working man's expenditure.

It may be convenient to note here that the figures as to dwelling houses which I have made use of are those relating to the Inhabited House Duty. The figures as to houses in the income tax returns include shops and factories as well as dwelling houses, and are not available in a question of house-rent. I have also omitted the question of rates. The rates per pound, however, have not increased as compared with what they were formerly, and it would make no material difference if they were to be included. The workman's payment for rates and rent together cannot have increased more than is here stated for rent.

We return then to the conclusion that the increase of the money wages of the working man in the last fifty years corresponds to a real gain. While his wages have advanced, most articles he consumes have rather diminished in price, the change in wheat being especially remarkable, and significant of a complete revolution in the condition of the masses. The increased price in the case of one or two articles—particularly meat and house rent—is insufficient to neutralise the general advantages which the workman has gained. Meat formerly was a very small part of his consumption, and allowing to house rent a much larger share of his expenditure than it actually bore, the increase in amount would still leave the workman out of his increased wage a larger margin than he had before for miscellaneous expenditure. There is reason to believe also that the houses are better, and that the increased house-rent is merely the higher price for a superior article which the workman can afford.

It has to be added to all this that while the cost of government has been greatly diminished to the working man, he gets more from the government expenditure than he formerly did. It would not do to count things twice over, and as the benefit to the working man of diminished taxes has already been allowed for in the lower prices of wheat and sugar, we need say nothing more on this head. But few people seem to be aware how, simultaneously with this reduction of the cost of government, there has been an increase of the expenditure of the government for miscellaneous civil purposes, of all of which the workman gets the benefit. It may be stated broadly that nearly 15 million pounds of the expenditure of the central government for education, for the post office, for inspection of factories, and for the miscellaneous purposes of civil government, is entirely new as compared with fifty years ago. So far as the expenditure is beneficial the masses get something they did not get before at all. It is the same even more markedly with local government. In Great Britain, the annual outlay is now about 60 million pounds, as compared with 20 million pounds fifty years ago. This 20 million pounds was mainly for poor relief and other old burdens. Now the poor relief and other old burdens are much the same, but the total is swollen by a vast expenditure for sanitary, educational, and similar purposes, of all of which the masses of the population get the benefit. To a great deal of this expenditure we may attach the highest value. It does not give bread or clothing to the working man, but it all helps to make life sweeter and better, and to open out careers even to the poorest. The value of the free library, for instance, in a large city, is simply incalculable. All this outlay the workman has now the benefit of as he had not fifty years ago. To repeat the words I have already used, he pays less taxes, and he gets more—much more—from the Government.

With regard to this question of prices, I have been favoured since the delivery of this address with the copy of a letter, dated 11th June, 1881, addressed by Mr. Charles Hawkins, of 27, Savile Row, to the editor of the "Daily News," on the cost *per patient* of the expenditure of St. George's Hospital in 1830 and 1880. The facts stated confirm in an interesting way what, is here said as to the cost of articles of the workman's consumption fifty years ago and at the present time. Mr. Hawkins, who was at one time one of the treasurers of the hospital, and therefore speaks with authority, gives the following table and notes:—

"Although each patient costs now 1*s.* 1*d.* less than in 1830, there have been "great alterations in the different items of expenditure, viz.:—

"Had wheat cost in 1880 what it did in 1830, 1,884*l.* must have been spent in bread and flour instead of 738*l.* The cost of port wine in 1830 was 72*l.* per pipe; in 1880 45*l.* In 1830 many of the patients provided themselves with tea and sugar. Under the head 'Drugs' is included the cost of leeches; in 1846 14,800 leeches were used, at a cost of 143*l.*; in 1880 only 425, costing 1*l.* 16*s.* In 1833 another hospital, treating double the number of patients, used 48,900 leeches, but in 1880 only 250.

"These items show the great advantage of the reduction of price in some articles of diet, and the great extra expenditure now necessary for the treatment of hospital patients, depending on the greater call for additional 'staff,' more especially for nursing, and an altered mode of treatment of accidents and operations, as also the greater amount of stimulants now exhibited, &c."

As already anticipated, however, the conclusion thus arrived at only carries us part of the way. Assuming it to have been shown that the masses have more money than they had fifty years ago, and that the prices of the chief articles they consume are cheaper rather than dearer, the question remains whether the condition of the masses has in fact been improved. This can only be shown indirectly by statistics of different kinds, which justify conclusions as to the condition of the people to whom they apply. To such statistics I propose now to draw your attention for a moment. I need hardly say that any evidence they contain as to the condition of the people having actually improved corroborates what has been already said as to their having had the means of improvement in their hands. The evidence is cumulative, a point of material importance in all such inquiries.

The first and the most important statistics on this head are those relating to the length of life among the masses of the nation. Do the people live longer than they did? Here I need not detain you. A very effective answer was supplied last session by Mr. Humphreys, in his able paper on "The Recent Decline in the English Death-Rate."

See Statistical Society's *Journal*, vol. xlvi, p. 195, &c.

Mr. Humphreys there showed conclusively that the decline in the death-rate in the last five years, 1876-80, as compared with the rates on which Dr. Fair's English Life Table was based—rates obtained in the years 1838-54—amounted to from 28 to 32 per cent, in males at each quinquenniad of the twenty years 5—25, and in females at each quinquenniad from 5—35 to between 24 and 35 per cent.; and that the effect of this decline in the death-rate is to raise the mean duration of life among males from 39#9 to 41#9 years, a gain of 2 years in the average duration of life, and among females from 41#9 to 45#3 years, a gain of nearly 3 ½ years in the average duration of life. Mr. Humphreys also showed that by far the larger proportion of the increased duration of human life in England is lived at useful ages, and not at the dependent ages of either childhood or old age. This little statement is absolutely conclusive on the subject; but we are apt to overlook how much the figures mean. No such change could take place without a great increase in the vitality of the people. Not only have fewer died, but the masses who have lived must have been healthier, and have suffered less from sickness than they did. Though no statistics are available on this point, we must assume that like causes produce like effects; and if the weaker, who would otherwise have died, have been able to survive, the strong must also have been better than they would otherwise have been. From the nature of the figures also the improvement must have been among the masses, and not among a select class whose figures throw up the average. The figures to be affected relate to such large masses of population, that so great a change in the average could not have occurred if only a small percentage of the population had improved in health.

I should like also to point out that the improvement in health actually recorded obviously relates to a transition stage. Many of the improvements in the condition of the working classes have only taken place quite recently. They have not, therefore, affected all through their existence any but the youngest lives. When the improvements have been in existence for a longer period, so that the lives of all who are living must have been affected from birth by the changed conditions, we may infer that even a greater gain in the mean duration of life will be shown. As it is, the gain is enormous. Whether it is due to better and more abundant food and clothing, to better sanitation, to better knowledge of medicine, or to these and other causes combined, the improvement has beyond all question taken place.

The next figures I shall refer to are those well known ones relating to the consumption of the articles which the masses consume. I copy merely the figures in the Statistical Abstract for the years 1840 and 1881:—

This wonderful table may speak for itself. It is an obvious criticism that many of the articles are also articles of home production, so that the increase does not show the real increase of the consumption of the whole population per head. Assuming a stationary production at home, the increased consumption per head cannot be so much as is here stated for the imported article only. There are other articles, however, such as rice, tea, sugar, coffee, tobacco, spirits, wine and malt, which are either wholly imported, or where we have the excisable figures as well, and they all—with the one exception of coffee—tell a clear tale. The increase in tea and sugar appears especially significant, the consumption per head now being four times in round figures what it was forty years ago. There could be no better evidence of diffused material well-being among the masses. The articles are not such that the increased consumption by the rich could have made much difference. It is the

consumption emphatically of the mass which is here in question.

As regards the articles imported, which are also articles of home production, it has, moreover, to be noted that in several of them, bacon and hams, cheese and butter, the increase is practically from nothing to a very respectable figure. The import of bacon and hams alone is itself nearly equal to the estimated consumption among the working classes fifty years ago, who consumed no other meat.

The only other figures I shall mention are those relating to education, pauperism, crime, and savings banks. But I need not detain you here. The figures are so well known that I must almost apologise for repeating them. I only insert them to round off the statement.

As to education, we have practically only figures going back thirty years. In 1851, in England, the children in average attendance at schools aided by parliamentary grants numbered 239,000, and in Scotland 32,000; in 1881 the figures were 2,863,000 and 410,000. If anything is to be allowed at all in favour of parliamentary grants as raising the character of education, such a change of numbers is most significant. The children of the masses are, in fact, now obtaining a good education all round, while fifty years ago the masses had either no education at all or a comparatively poor one. Dropping statistics for the moment, I should like to give my own testimony to an observed fact of social life—that there is nothing so striking or so satisfactory to those who can carry their memories back nearly forty years, as to observe the superiority of the education of the masses at the present time to what it was then. I suppose the most advanced common education forty or fifty years ago was in Scotland, but the superiority of the common school system there at the present day to what it was forty years ago is immense. If Scotland has gained so much, what must it, have been in England where there was no national system fifty years ago at all? Thus at the present day not only do we get all children into schools, or nearly all, but the education for the increased numbers is better than that which the fortunate few alone obtained before.

Next as to crime, the facts to note are that rather more than forty years ago, with a population little more than half what it is now, the number of criminal offenders committed for trial (1839) was 54,000; in England alone 24,000. Now the corresponding figures are, United Kingdom 22,000, and England 15,000; fewer criminals by a great deal in a much larger population. Of course the figures are open to the observation that changes in legislation providing for the summary trial of offences that formerly went to the assizes may have had some effect. But the figures show so great and gradual a change, that there is ample margin for the results of legislative changes, without altering the inference that there is less serious crime now in the population than there was fifty years ago. Thus an improvement as regards crime corresponds to the better education and well-being of the masses.

Next as regards pauperism; here again the figures are so imperfect that we cannot go back quite fifty years. It is matter of history however that pauperism was nearly breaking down the country half-a-century ago. The expenditure on poor relief early in the century and down to 1830-31 was nearly as great at times as it is now. With half the population in the country that there now is, the burden of the poor was the same. Since 1849, however, we have continuous figures, and from these we know that, with a constantly increasing population, there is an absolute decline in the amount of pauperism. The earliest and latest figures are:—

Thus in each of the three divisions of the United Kingdom there is a material decline, and most of all in Ireland, the magnitude of the decline there being no doubt due to the fact that the figures are for a period just after the great famine. But how-remote we seem to be from those days of famine.

Last of all we come to the figures of savings banks. A fifty years' comparison gives the following results for the whole kingdom:—

An increase of ten-fold in the number of depositors, and of five-fold and more in the amount of deposits! It seems obvious from these figures that the habit and means of saving have become widely diffused in these fifty years. The change is of course in part due to a mere change in the facilities offered for obtaining deposits; but allowing ample margin for the effect of increased facilities, we have still before us evidence of more saving among the masses.

There is yet one other set of statistics I should like to notice in this connection, those relating to the progress of industrial and provident co-operative societies in England and Wales. These I extract from the special appendix to the "Co-operative Wholesale Society's Annual Almanac and Diary" for the present year (pp. 81 and 82). Unfortunately the figures only go back to 1862, but the growth up to 1862 appears to have been very small. Now, however, most material advance is shown:—

Such figures are still small compared with what we should like to see them, but they at least indicate progress among the working classes, and not retrogression or standing still.

To conclude this part of the evidence, we find undoubtedly that in longer life, in increased consumption of the chief commodities they use, in better education, in greater freedom from crime and pauperism, and in increased savings, the masses of the people are better, immensely better, than they were fifty years ago. This is quite consistent with the fact, which we all lament, that there is a residuum still unimproved, but apparently a

smaller residuum, both in proportion to the population and absolutely, than was the case fifty years ago; and with the fact that the improvement, measured even by a low ideal, is far too small. No one can contemplate the condition of the masses of the people without desiring something like a revolution for the better. Still, the fact of progress in the last fifty years—progress which is really enormous when a comparison is made with the former state of things—must be recognised. Discontent with the present must not make us forget that things have been so much worse.

But the question is raised: Have the working classes gained in proportion with others by the development of material wealth during the last fifty years? The question is not one which would naturally excite much interest among those who would answer the primary question as to whether the working classes have gained or not, as I have done, in the affirmative. Where all are getting on, it does not seem very practical in those who are getting on slowly to grudge the quicker advance of others. Usually those who put the question have some vague idea that the capitalist classes, as they are called, secure for themselves all the benefits of the modern advance in wealth; the rich, it is said, are becoming richer, and the poor are becoming poorer. It will be convenient then to examine the additional question specifically. If the answer agrees with what has already been advanced, then, as nobody doubts that material wealth has increased, all will be forced to admit that the working classes have had a fair share.

At first sight it would appear that the enormous figures of the increase of capital, which belong, it is assumed, to the capitalist classes, are inconsistent with the notion of the non-capitalist classes having had a fair share. In the paper which I read to the Society four years ago, on "The Recent Accumulations of Capital "in the United Kingdom," the conclusion at which I arrived was that in the ten years 1865-75 there had been an increase of 40 per cent, in the capital of the nation, and 27 per cent, in the amount of capital per head, that is allowing for the increase of population. Going back to 1843, which is as far as we can go back with the income tax returns, we also find that since then the gross assessment, allowing for the income from Ireland not then included in the returns, has increased from 280 million pounds to 577 million pounds, or more than 100 per cent., in less than fifty years. Assuming capital to have increased in proportion, it is not to be wondered at that the impression of a group of people called the capitalist classes getting richer and richer while the mass remain poor or become poorer, should be entertained. Allowing for the increase of population, the growth of capital and income tax income are really much smaller than the growth of the money income of the working classes, which we have found to be something like 50 to 100 per cent, and more per head in fifty years, but the impression to the contrary undoubtedly exists, and is very natural.

The error is partly in supposing that the capitalist classes remain the same in number. This is not the case; and I have two pieces of statistics to refer to which seem to show that the capitalist classes are far from stationary, and that they receive recruits from period to period—in other words, that wealth, in certain directions, is becoming more diffused, although it may not be diffusing itself as we should wish.

The first evidence I refer to is that of the probate duty returns. Through the kindness of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, I am able to put before you a statement of the number of probates granted in 1881, and of the amounts of property "proved," with which we may compare similar figures published by Mr. Porter in his "Progress of the Nation" for 1838. I am sorry to say Mr. Porter's figures for 1838 are far more detailed than those I am able to give; a more minute comparison would be most instructive; but I was unfortunately too late in applying to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for the details which I found they were most willing to give. However, the statement they supplied to me, and the comparison which can thus be made, seem most instructive. They are as follows:—

***Statement of Number of Probates granted in 1882, with Amounts of Property Proved, and Average per Probate [from figures supplied by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue]; and comparison with a similar statement for 1838. [From Porter's "Progress of the Nation," p. 600 et seq.]***

Number of Probates.	Amount of Property.	Amount of Property per Estate.	1882.	1838.	1882.	1838.	1882.	1838.
£ £ £ £ England .....	45,555	21,900	118,120,961	47,604,755	2,600	2,170	Scotland .....	
5,221	1,272	13,695,314	2,817,260	2,600	2,200	Ireland .....	4,583	2,196
2,000	United Kingdom	55,359	25,368	140,360,854	54,887,255	2,500	2,160	

Thus, in spite of the enormous increase of property passing at death, amounting to over 150 per cent., which is more than the increase in the income tax income, the amount of property per estate has not sensibly increased. The increase of the number of estates is more than double, and greater therefore than the increase of population, but the increase of capital per head of the capitalist classes is in England only 19 per cent., and in the United Kingdom only 15 per cent. Curiously enough, I may state, it is hardly correct to speak of the capitalist classes as holding this property, as the figures include a small percentage of insolvent estates; but allowing all the property to belong to the capitalist classes, still we have the fact that those classes are themselves increasing. They may be only a minority of the nation, though I think a considerable minority, as 55,000 estates passing in a year represent from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 persons as possessing property subject to probate duty; and these figures, it must be remembered, do not include real property at all. Still, small or large as the minority may be, the fact we have before us is that in the last fifty years it has been an increasing minority, and a minority increasing at a greater rate than the increase of general population. Wealth to a certain extent is more diffused than it was.

If I had been able to obtain more details, it would have been possible to specify the different sizes of estates and the different percentages of increase, from which it would not only have appeared whether the owners of personal property were increasing in number, but whether the very rich were adding to their wealth more than the moderately rich or *vice versa*. But it is something to know at least that there are more owners. I trust the Commissioners of Inland Revenue will see their way in their next report to give more details on this very interesting point.

It appears that the increase in the number of probates for less than 1,000*l.* is from 18,490 to 41,278, or about 120 per cent.; the average value per probate being much the same; while the increase of the number of probates for more than 1,000*l.* is from 6,878 to 12,629, or over 80 per cent., and the average value per probate has increased from 7,150*l.* to 9,200*l.*

Before passing on I should like to add a caution which may not be necessary in this room, but which may be needed outside. All such figures must be taken with a good deal of qualification, owing to variations of detail in the method of levying the duty at different times, variations in the character of the administration, and the like causes. I notice, for instance, an unusually remarkable increase both in the number of owners and amount of property passing in Scotland; this last fact, I believe, having already given rise to the statement that there has been something unexampled in the increase of personal property in Scotland. The explanation appears to be, however, that the increase of property in Scotland is, to some extent, only apparent, being due partly, for instance, to the fact that by Scotch law mortgages are real property, whereas in England they are personal property, so that it was necessary, in the course of administering the tax, to pass a special law enabling the Commissioners of Inland Revenue to bring Scotch mortgages into the category of personal property.

See "Special Report of Commissioners of Inland Revenue," 1870, vol. i, p. 99. The law on this and other points was altered by 23 and 24 Vict., cap. 80.

This is only one illustration of the caution with which such figures must be used. Taking them in the lump, and not pressing comparisons between the three divisions of the United Kingdom, or any other points of detail which might be dangerous, we appear to be safe in the main conclusion that the number of owners of personal property liable to probate duty has increased in the last fifty years more than the increase of population, and that on the average these owners are only about 15 per cent, richer than they were, while the individual income of the working classes has increased from 50 to 100 per cent.

The next piece of statistics I have to refer to is the number of separate assessments in that part of Schedule D known as Part I, viz., Trades and Professions, which excludes public companies and their sources of income, where there is no reason to believe that the number of separate assessments corresponds in any way to the number of individual incomes. Even in Part I there can be no exact correspondence, as partnerships make only one return, but in comparing distant periods, it seems not unfair to assume that the increase or decrease of assessments would correspond to the increase or decrease of individual incomes. This must be the case unless we assume that in the interval material differences were likely to arise from the changes in the number of partnerships to which individuals belonged, or from partnerships as a rule comprising a greater or less number of individuals. Using the figures with all these qualifications, we get the following comparison:—

## **Number of Persons at different Amounts of**

# ***Income Charged under Schedule D in 1843 and 1879-80 compared [in England].\****

1843. 1879-80. £ £ 150 and under 200.... 39,366 130,101 200 " 300.... 28,370 88,445 300 " 400.... 13,429 39,896 400 " 500.... 6,781 16,501 500 " 600.... 4,780 11,317 600 " 700.... 2,672 6,894 700 " 800.... 1,874 4,054 800 " 900.... 1,442 3,595 900 " 1,000.... 894 1,396 1,000 " 2,000... 4,228 10,352 2,000 " 3,000.... 1,235 3,131 3,000 " 4,000.... 526 1,430 4,000 " 5,000.... 339 758 5,000 " 10,000.... 493 1,439 10,000 " 50,000.... 200 785 50,000 and upwards ..... 8 68 Total ..... 106,637 320,162 \* The figures for 1843 cannot be given for either Scotland or Ireland.

Here the increase in all classes, from the lowest to the highest, is between two and three times, or rather more than three times, with the exception of the highest class of all, where the numbers, however, are quite inconsiderable. Again a proof, I think, of the greater diffusion of wealth so far as the assessment of income to income tax under Schedule D may be taken as a sign of the person assessed having wealth of some kind, which I fear is not always the case. If the owners of this income, at least of the smaller incomes, are to be considered as not among the capitalists, but among the working classes—a very arguable proposition—then the increase of the number of incomes from 150*l.* up to say 1,000*l.* a-year, is a sign of the increased earnings of working classes, which are not usually thought of by that name. The increase in this instance is out of all proportion to the increase of population.

In giving these figures I have omitted the incomes under 150*l.* There is quite a want of satisfactory data for any comparison, I think, except as regards incomes actually subject to assessment, and the data at the beginning of the period are specially incomplete.

Whichever way we look at the figures therefore we have this result, that while the increase of personal property per head of the capitalist class, according to the probate returns, is comparatively small, being only about 15 per cent., yet there is an increase of the number of people receiving good incomes from trades and professions out of all proportion to the increase of population. We cannot but infer from this that the number of the moderately rich is increasing, and that there is little foundation for the assertion that the rich are becoming richer. All the facts agree. The working classes have had large additions to their means: capital has increased in about equal ratio; but the increase of capital per head of the capitalist classes is by no means so great as the increase of working class incomes.

I should wish farther to point out, however, that it is a mistake to speak of the income in the various schedules to the income tax as the income of a few, or exclusively of classes which can be called capitalist or rich. A suspicion of this has already been raised by the facts as to trades and professions. Let me just mention this one little fact in addition. Out of 190,000,000*l.* assessed under Schedule A in 1881-82, the sum of 11,359,000*l.* was exempted from duty as being the income of people whose whole income from all sources was under 150*l.* a-year. If we could get at the facts as to how the shares of public companies are held, and as to the immense variety of interests in lands and houses, we should have ample confirmation of what has already appeared from the probate duty figures, that there is a huge minority interested in property in the United Kingdom, great numbers of whom would not be spoken of as the capitalist classes.

To test the question as to whether there has been any disproportionate increase of capital, and of the income from it, in yet another way, I have endeavoured to make an analysis of the income tax returns themselves, distinguishing in them what appears to be the income of idle capital from income which is derived not so much from the capital itself as from the labour bestowed in using the capital. Only the roughest estimate can be made, and the data, when we go back to 1843, are even more incomplete than they are now; but I have endeavoured as far as possible to give everything to capital that ought to be given, and not to err on the side of assigning it too small a share. The whole of Schedule A is thus assigned to capital, although it is well known that not even in Schedule A is the income obtained without exertion and care, and some risk of loss, which are entitled to remuneration. In Schedule D also I have allowed that all the income from public companies and foreign investments is from idle capital, although here the vigilance necessary, and the risks attendant on the business, are really most serious, and part of the so-called profit is not really interest on idle capital at all, but strictly the remuneration of labour. I have also rather exaggerated than depreciated the estimate for capital employed in trades and professions, my estimate being rather more than that of Mr. Dudley Baxter in his famous paper on the National Income. With these explanations I submit the following estimate of the share of capital in the income tax income at different dates :—

# ***Analysis of the Income Tax Returns for the undermentioned Years, showing the Estimated Income from Capital on the one side, and the Estimated Income from Wages of Superintendence and Salaries on the other side.***

[In million of pounds, 000,000's omitted, i.e., 10 = 10,000,000/.] 1881. 1862. 1843. From Capital. From Salaries, &c. From Capital. From Salaries, &c. From Capital. From Salari &c. Schedule A— Lands, tithes, &c., exclusive of houses 70, nil 60, nil 57, nil Messuages, &c 117 nil 62, nil 41 nil Schedule B— Occupation of land 25,\* 44, 22 ½, 38 ½ 20 36, Schedule C 40, nil 29, nil 29, nil " D (Part I) 64,† 100,† 32, 49, 29 ½, 46 ½, " (" Part II) ..... 91, nil 47, nil 12, nil " E ..... nil 33, nil 20, nil 11, 407, 177, 252 ½, 107 ½, 188 ½, 93 ½, Note.—In the estimate for 1843 the figures assigned to Schedule A are only those of lands and tithes and houses to correspond with the existing Schedule A: and the figures of Schedule D include mines, quarries, railways, &c., now in Schedule D. An estimate is also made of the totals for Ireland, based on the returns of 1854, the total gross income under all the schedules thus estimated being about 30 million pounds. \* Interest on 500 millions of capital in 1881 at 5 per cent. In my paper on accumulations of capital, I estimated agricultural capital at a larger sum than this, but since then there has been some loss of agricultural capital, and if a larger sum were taken, the rate of interest used in the calculation for the present purpose should be less. † Estimating that the income here is worth four years' purchase, and that it may be capitalised at that rate; and then allowing that this capital earns 10 per cent., the rest being wages of superintendence or salaries.

This estimate may be summarised as follows :—

## ***Summary of Analysis of Income Tax Income in undermentioned Years.***

[In millions of pounds.] Year. From Capital. From Salaries, &c. Total. £ £ £ 1843 188 ½ 93 ½ 282 '62 252 ½ 107 ½ 360 '81 407 177 584

Thus a very large part of the increase of the income tax income in the last forty years is not an increase of the income from capital at all in any proper sense of the word. On the contrary, the increase in the income from capital is only about two-thirds of the total increase. This increase is, moreover, at a less rate than the increase of the capital itself, as appearing from the probate duty returns,

These returns, however, it should always be remembered, do not include real property.

a point which deserves special notice. The conclusion therefore is, that the working classes have not been losing in the last fifty years through the fruits of their labour being increasingly appropriated to capital. On the contrary, the income from capital has at least no more than kept pace with the increase of capital itself, while the increase of capital per head, as we have seen, is very little; so that it may be doubted whether the income of the individual capitalist from capital has on the average increased at all. If the return to capital had doubled, as the wages of the working classes appear to have doubled, the aggregate income of the capitalist classes returned to the income tax would now be 800 instead of 400 millions. In other words it would not be far short of the mark to say that almost the whole of the great material improvement of the last fifty years has gone to the masses. The share of capital is a very small one. And what has not gone to the workman so-called, has gone to remunerate people who are really workmen also, the persons whose incomes are returned under Schedule D, as from "Trades and Professions." The capitalist as such gets a low interest for his money, and the aggregate return to capital is not a third part of the aggregate income of the country, which may be put at not less than 1,200 millions, and is, I should estimate, not much more than a fourth part.

It will be interesting I think to present these conclusions in the form of an account. We have not, as I have already said, an exact statement of aggregate earnings, either at the beginning or at the end of the period; but assuming the aggregate income of the people as about 1,200 millions now, and that the wages of working men

are, per head, twice what they were, the aggregates in 1843 and at the present time would compare as follows:—

## **Progress of National Income.**

[In millions of £'s.]

Income in 1843.	Income at Present Time.	Increase.	Amount.	Per Cent.	£	£	£	Capitalist classes from capital									
190	400	210	110	Working income in income tax returns	90	180	90	100	Working income not in income tax returns	235	620	385	160	515	1,200	685	130

## **Progress of National Capital Paying Probate Duty.**

1838.	Present Time.	Increase.	Amount.	Per Cent.	£	£	£	Amount of capital ....			
155	Ž	per estate ....	2,200	2,500	300	14	Note.—Increase of working income per head	100 per cent.	55 mlns.	140 mlns.	85 mlns.

From this it appears that the increase of what is known as working class income in the aggregate is greater than that of any other class, being 160 per cent., while the return to capital and the return to what are called the capitalist classes, whether it is from capital proper or, as I maintain, a return only in the nature of wages, has only increased about 100 per cent., although capital itself has increased over 150 per cent. At the same time the capitalist classes themselves have greatly increased in number, so that the amount of capital possessed among them per head has only increased 15 per cent., notwithstanding the great increase in capital itself, and the average income per head can have hardly increased at all. On the other hand, as the masses of the nation, taking the United Kingdom altogether, have only increased about 30 per cent, since 1843, when those income tax figures begin, while their aggregate incomes have increased 160 per cent., it is explained how these incomes have gained, individually, about 100 per cent, as against hardly any increase at all in the incomes of what are called the capitalist classes, on the average. Thus the rich have become more numerous, but not richer individually; the "poor" are, to some smaller extent, fewer; and those who remain "poor" are, individually, twice as well off on the average as they were fifty years ago. The "poor" have thus had almost all the benefit of the great material advance of the last fifty years.

We may now conclude this long inquiry. It has been shown directly, I believe, that, while the individual incomes of the working classes have largely increased, the prices of the main articles of their consumption have rather declined; and the inference as to their being much better off which would be drawn from these facts is fully supported by statistics showing a decline in the rate of mortality, an increase of the consumption of articles in general use, an improvement in general education, a diminution of crime and pauperism, a vast increase of the number of depositors in savings banks, and other evidences of general well-being. Finally, the increase of the return to capital has not been in any way in proportion, the yield on the same amount of capital being less than it was, and the capital itself being more diffused, while the remuneration of labour has enormously increased. The facts are what we should have expected from the conditions of production in recent years. Inventions having been multiplied, and production having been increasingly efficient, while capital has been accumulated rapidly, it is the wages receivers who must have the benefit. The competition of capital keeps profits down to the lowest point, and workmen consequently get for themselves nearly the whole product of the aggregate industry of the country. It is interesting, never-theless, to find that the facts correspond with what theory should lead us to anticipate.

The moral is a very obvious one. Whatever may be said as to the ideal perfection or imperfection of the present economic *regime*, the fact of so great an advance having been possible for the masses of the people in the last half-century is encouraging. It is something to know that whether a better *regime* is conceivable or not, human nature being what it is now (and I am one of those who think that the *regime* is the best, the general result of a vast community living as the British nation does, with all the means of healthy life and civilization at command, being little short of a marvel if we only consider for a moment what vices of anarchy and misrule in society have had to be rooted out to make this marvel); still, whether best or not, it is something to know that vast improvement has been possible with this *regime*. Surely the lesson is that the nation ought to go on improving on the same lines, relaxing none of the efforts which have been so successful. Steady progress in the direction maintained for the last fifty years must soon make the English people vastly superior to what they are now.

I should like to add just one or two remarks bearing on questions of the moment, and as to the desirability

or possibility of a change of *régime* now so much discussed, which the figures I have brought before you suggest. One is, that apart from all objections of principle to schemes of confiscating capital,—land nationalisation, or collectivism, or whatever they may be called,—the masses could not hope to have much to divide by any such schemes. Taking the income from capital at 400 million pounds, we must not suppose that the whole of that would be divisible among the masses if capital were confiscated. What the capitalist classes spend is a very different thing from what they make. The annual savings of the country now exceed 200 million pounds, being made as a rule, though not exclusively, by the capitalist classes. If then the 400 million pounds were to be confiscated, one of two things would happen: either the savings would not be made, in which case the condition of the working classes would soon deteriorate, for everything depends upon the steady increase of capital; or the savings would be made, in which case the spending power of the masses would not be so very much increased. The difference would be that they would be owners of the capital, but the income would itself remain untouched. The system under which large capitals are in a few hands may, in fact, have its good side in this, that the Jay Goulds, Vanderbilts, and Rothschilds cannot spend their income. The consequent accumulation of capital is, in fact, one of the reasons why the reward for labour is so high, and the masses get nearly all the benefit of the great increase of production. The other remark I have to make is that if the object really aimed at by those who talk of land nationalisation and the like is carried out, the people who will suffer are those who receive large wages. To effect what they intend, the agitators must not merely seize on the property of a few, they must confiscate what are as much earnings as those of a mechanic or a labourer, and the wages of the most skilled mechanics and artizans themselves. The agitation is, in fact, to level down, to diminish the reward of labourers who receive a large wage because they can do the work the community requires, the proof being that in a market without favour they get the wage, and to increase the reward of other labourers beyond what in the same free market the community would freely give them. Whether the production would be continued at all if there were any success in these attempts, common sense will tell us. Those who have done some hard work in the world will, I am sure, agree with me that it is only done by virtue of the most powerful stimulants. Take away the rewards, and even the best would probably not give themselves up to doing what the community wants and now pays them for doing, but they would give themselves up either to idleness or to doing something else. The war of the land nationalizer and socialist is then not so much with the capitalist as with the workman, and the importance of this fact should not be lost sight of.

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# An Australian Appeal to the English Democracy.

THE English Editor and Politician seem, at last, to be awakening to the existence of an Australian Continent. After years of neglect, the English Press has suddenly begun to notice our affairs, to praise our sentiments, and even to speak of our several Colonies and cities with some approach to geographical accuracy. After this unexpected compliment, it is, perhaps, ungracious to be critical of those who pay it. But the zeal of recent friendship can endure some cooling breaths; and those, who have the welfare of the Empire seriously at heart, will not resent a timely warning, lest this new-born interest in Australia prove as hurtful to the country as the old indifference.

Distance is proverbially misleading, so that it is not surprising if an English journalist should often fail to estimate the forces of Australian politics. It is difficult even for an Australian, living on the spot, to ascertain the political sentiments of the majority of voters. Elections generally turn upon local or personal issues, and questions of political principle are seldom before the country. Under such circumstances there are very few occasions upon which public opinion can make itself known. Orangemen and Catholics, indeed, are active politicians, and the sectarianism of their several societies is often a considerable influence in a general election. But, with this shameful exception, there is no political organisation worthy of the name.

There is, however, one body of men whose sentiments are always forcibly expressed and always brought before the English public. Let any Australian topic be noticed by the English Press, and vigorous letters will be written, speeches made, or resolutions passed, betokening the most surprising unanimity! The English reader must imagine that here, indeed, is a happy country, where men are not divided in opinion! And yet the first warning, which ought to be given to an observer of Australian affairs, is to bid him remember that the Australians who write to the *Times*, or hold meetings at the Colonial Institute, are seldom representative of Australian sentiment. For the most part they are not Australians, but Englishmen who have spent some years of their life in making money in Australia; and, with a few honourable exceptions, they regarded politics, during their absence from England, with ostentatious indifference. All of them, moreover, belong to a class which, in spite of the benefits that it has rendered to Australian progress, has always been upon the losing side in politics—namely, the class of the squatters and their immediate connections, the bankers and merchants. This body of men, which represents the monied interests of the Colonies, has always fought unitedly against the rest of the people for the possession of the public lands. Hitherto the victory has been to the people; but many causes of quarrel still remain, and with them remains a feeling of soreness and class-hatred, which makes squatters and their friends an unsafe guide to the knowledge of Australian sentiment.

Unfortunately the monied interests of Australia have the ear of English opinion. English visitors see nothing of the poorer classes; and—seldom staying long enough in the Colonies to understand political questions—they imagine that in the Melbourne Club or at Darling Point they can become acquainted with every shade of Australian feeling. The Democracy, on the other hand, has no spokesman in England, and but few sympathisers among English travellers. Before long, it may be hoped that the English people will become alive to the necessity for closer intercourse and union with the people of Australia; but, under the existing administration of colonial affairs, it is certain that the perversity of Colonial opinion in London is even more misleading to the English journalist than the sluggishness of public opinion in the Colonies.

Under such circumstances almost any views on Australian politics will only be the impression of one individual, to be taken for what they may be worth. But, in the absence of an authoritative expression of the opinions of the Australian Democracy, the opinion even of an individual acquires a certain interest, especially when Englishmen at present listen only to the other side.

The first difficulty which presents itself to an Australian, who would offer an opinion upon politics to Englishmen, is, that the only Australian questions, which have attracted the attention of the English public, are just those to which Australians are most indifferent. Imperial Union, Colonial Federation, Annexation in the Pacific, are matters of which it may be said that this country knows nothing, except through the letters of London correspondents. It is said, and the statement is probably true, that in the last general election in New South Wales only one candidate made any reference to any of these topics. In Victoria the case is different. But even in Victoria the question of Imperial Union has not yet been treated seriously by any political party, and the two other questions of Colonial Federation and Pacific Annexation excite an interest for particular local reasons which an Englishman is apt to overlook.

This may be discouraging intelligence to earnest sympathisers with Australian progress. Nevertheless, in all probability, we know our own business better than the most enthusiastic advocate of colonial expansion; and it is at least certain that colonists, although they may be too busy with private affairs to form opinions upon distant matters of high policy, will deal with these subjects in a sympathetic and liberal spirit whenever the opportunity for action comes. The danger is lest our people should be disgusted by visionary schemes, or, still worse, be made the subject of crude experiments. Englishmen will have to watch our affairs much more closely than they have done, if they wish to direct colonial opinion into wide channels, or to catch the drift of passing events. The mistakes of English opinion upon each of the three political questions already named will serve to

point a moral to this warning.

First in importance comes the question of Imperial Union. With regard to this Australian sentiment is undoubtedly changing. The recent dispatch of troops from New South Wales to Egypt has been taken for the sign of an entirely new departure. It has brought the question of Imperial Union within the range of Australian politics. But this does not mean, as some eager Federalists imagine, that any one of the difficulties in the way of Union has been removed by Mr. Dalley's offer. The question has simply become ripe for discussion; and it is to the course of that discussion that Englishmen should give attention.

In the first place, Australian opinion on the matter is by no means unanimous. Even now,  
Written 3rd March, 1885.

in the height of the war fever, and while the preparation for the dispatch of troops is still proceeding, a growing murmur of discontent is making itself heard. Sir Henry Parkes, our most experienced party leader, and a man of rare capacity and knowledge, has declared against the course adopted by the Government, and is supported, so far as can be judged by the resolutions of public meetings, by the bulk of the working class. Probably, however, the dispatch of troops will be approved by Parliament. Colonists are naturally disposed to favour an adventurous policy, and there is, no doubt, a strong British sentiment even among genuine Australians. But it has yet to be seen how the home-abiding taxpayer will regard the Expeditionary Bill, and it would be rash to infer from the warlike enthusiasm of the Press, and the splendid quality and temper of the Soudan force, that Australia will be always ready to supply contingents to the British army.

To Englishmen it may seem a small thing to send 600 men to fight in an Egyptian war; but in a country which has hitherto been working out a glorious destiny, removed from European entanglements, and without a thought of warlike dangers, it is natural that political sentiment should be profoundly stirred by such an entry upon unknown paths. The anomalies of the position are obtrusive. In a country where every man is wanted to take his part, in some form or another, in colonising work, we seem to be going out of our way to encourage military ardour! With the right hand we are expending our revenues to import able-bodied men to subjugate the soil, while with the left hand we are sending away the hardiest of our youth to fight the Soudanese! We have to borrow money in England for our necessary public works, and yet with the stroke of a pen and without the knowledge of Parliament, a Minister squanders on a warlike expedition one-twelfth of our annual revenue! Our defenceless position is just beginning to excite alarm when we remove three-quarters of our little army! No wonder that the measure has been strongly canvassed, or that it requires a full defence. For, after all, what have we done?—Joined in a war, in the making of which we had no voice, which many of us disapprove, and which involves us in unknown responsibilities: collected a body of 600 men, of whom only a minority are natives of Australia: paid even the privates among them at the rate of 10s. a day, and undertaken to provide for the wives and children of those who are maimed! "*C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre!*"

If such things are always to be an incident of the English connection as it is at present, and if things cannot be put upon a different footing, it may happen that we shall yet congratulate ourselves on having learnt experience at so cheap a rate.

It lies with English Federalists to prevent this calamitous result. They have most unexpectedly obtained their opportunity! Will they prove themselves capable of taking it? The dispatch of Australian troops to the Soudan is the first step along a bifurcating road, which leads either to Imperial Union or to Separation. Having once surrendered the advantage of our isolated position, we must hence forward be prepared either to take a proper part in European affairs, or else to hold aloof. The notion that Australia might remain a colony of England, and still be neutral if England were engaged in war, has lost what little vitality it ever had. Australia, having revealed her wealth and power to the enemies of England, must now be ready to protect herself against them, either by the help of England or by Independence.

Mr. Forster and the Imperial Federation League have told us that they are enemies of Imperial Union, who imagine schemes by which it might be brought about. But there is a preliminary to Imperial Union, which is eminently pressing for a practical solution, namely, the question of Imperial Defence. Australia has at present some ten thousand men accustomed to bear arms, distributed among the six Colonies; it has also a small naval force, which is perhaps sufficient to defend one harbour. For the rest we rely upon the English squadron. This, however, is notoriously wanting both in strength and speed; and a German purchased cruiser, or the ships of the Messageries Maritimes, could clear the sea of Australian commerce. Were this done, even for six months, the result to us would be national bankruptcy. A nation of less than three million people cannot do a trade of fifty millions annually without a free use of borrowed capital. Were the supply of this stopped, and were the wool clip, even of a single season, prevented from leaving our shores, it is no rash prophecy that nearly every bank would have to close its doors. Federalists must face this danger, and provide against it. The Separatists insist (although they overlook other considerations), that were Australia independent, our commerce would be always safe, since we are never likely to be engaged in war upon our own account—first, because we have no neighbours, and, secondly, because Foreign Powers would never permit any of their own number to aggrandise

himself by an attack upon Australia. Further, they say we could assist England better if we were independent, for we should then relieve her of the responsibility of protecting us, and should be able to help her with our own forces as occasion required.

In the face of such arguments it is the duty of Federalists to show that the grave danger to Australian welfare, which is caused by the existing Colonial relations, can be removed without the risk and inconvenience of another schism. And it is at least their immediate duty to recognise that an occasion has at last arisen for suggesting measures to remove one forcible objection to dependence, namely—its commercial insecurity.

The details of any scheme for effecting such an object must be worked out in England, and the impulse towards its acceptance must also come from there. For not only will England have to supply the requisite naval force, but it is, in reality, *her* commerce which will be protected. Among all the vessels which are employed to carry to and fro the forty million pounds (£40,000,000) worth of goods, which represent our annual dealings with England, there is not a single line, and possibly not a single ship, which is owned entirely in Australia. Were Australia independent and England involved in war, we could find other carriers for our goods, and it would be England that would suffer most from the disturbance of Australian commerce. By realising that, so long as the present Colonial relations continue, any attack upon Australia will be felt with undiminished stress in England, Englishmen may grow accustomed to regard the safety of Australia as a matter of concern to them. We can at any time escape from danger, but England will remain exposed to it in either case. At present it is only a sentiment of loyalty which restrains us from obtaining a position of complete security; and he is the wisest statesman who puts as little strain on sentiment as possible.

The two salient facts about Australia which Federalists must keep in mind are, first—that we shall never need protection against land attacks, and secondly—that unless we are dragged into war by England, our sea-borne commerce is absolutely safe. It is out of the question that we should ever be at war upon our own account, so that, if we were an independent nation our commerce would always be protected by the laws of neutrality; and since we could, with very little trouble, raise a disciplined militia of 200,000 men, our shores would be sufficiently-protected against wanton aggression.

Nevertheless, union with England is worth some sacrifice. An independent Australia would undoubtedly be friendly to England, and might indeed have greater power to help her than if she were an English province. But, with independence there would come the risk of disagreement, together with the clanger and the wasted power of separate Governments. The creation of new separate states is opposed to the spirit of Democracy, whose mission it is to reduce and not to multiply the elements of discord in the human family. Moreover, the feeling of nationality is growing everywhere with immense rapidity, so that it could not fail to be injurious to the English race to fight against the force of nationality. It may be many years before an actual tie can be constructed; but, in the meantime, causes of difference may be removed and encouragement given to the sentiment of union. As the administration of English affairs becomes more inspired by popular ideas, the possibility of closer ties increases. For the spirit of Democracy is Union: and when that spirit has penetrated the English and Australian peoples, the political problem of a Federal Constitution will be nearer to solution.

The present martial movement in Australia has its only justification in being an expression of this wish for union. It may not induce any political changes, but it offers Englishmen the opportunity of taking the only step towards political union which is at present practicable, namely—the construction of a Federal System of Defence.

If England were ready to provide a squadron, which should be devoted simply to the protection of Australia, and which should never be withdrawn from that particular duty, Australians could be depended upon to raise a sufficient force to protect their own country, and to secure the coaling stations in the Pacific for the English navy. The squadron must consist of cruisers fast enough to clear the seas of hostile ships, of torpedo boats for harbour defence, and of one or more ironclads. In return, Australia would fortify her harbours, supply stores for the squadron, and be ready to send soldiers when they were urgently required. England might also provide material for the fortifications and a sufficient number of instructors for the troops. The additional expense of this protection would be trifling as compared with the extent of English commerce, which it would secure. Moreover, it cannot be too often repeated to those who murmur at increased expenditure, that Australia cannot and ought not to make costly naval preparations; and that, in the event of a war between England and a foreign power, Australia will always have it in her power to make her trade with Europe safe, but England will lose it all.

It may be that the practical difficulties in the way of any joint defence will prove insuperable; but this can only be established by experiment. The present is a unique opportunity for making the experiment, which Federalists in England will surely take advantage of, if they are politicians, and not visionaries! A message from the Queen would stir the Colonies to action, and a mere executive order from the Admiralty would accomplish all that is required upon the part of England. The larger schemes of Federal Union can stand over until the Empire is secured against attack. If joint defence should prove impossible, we shall know what value

to attach to the dreams of Imperial Federalists.

It is premature to offer an opinion on this larger question, but it is well to realise the nature of its difficulty.

The first condition of a closer union is that the people of England and Australia should understand each other better.

If such an understanding were once brought about, the English Democracy would immediately recognise that it was rejecting a powerful ally in loosening the connection with Australia. And the people of Australia in their turn would gather strength to overcome the plutocratic spirit from the impulse of English culture and the example of English legislation.

In matters of social legislation, such as the Factory Acts, City Improvement Acts, Adulteration Acts, Legal Procedure, etc., Australia about is thirty years behind England.

The desire for a better understanding between the Democracies of England and Australia is no mere sentimental longing, but is the outcome of a bitter experience of many mistakes. Even at the present moment events are illustrating in a very striking manner the disadvantages which arise from mutual misunderstandings, both to England and Australia.

The two Australian questions which have recently attracted English attention are those of Australian Federation and of Annexation in the Pacific Ocean; and yet, with regard to each of these, the temper of the popular party in Australia has been greatly misunderstood.

The error has, perhaps, been greatest upon the question of Federation. It is generally believed in England that Victoria has been making efforts to form an Australian Dominion, and that she is only prevented from doing so by the provincial jealousy of New South Wales and New Zealand. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is at present but a single obstacle to the union of the Australian Colonies, namely, the Victorian tariff. New South Wales Ministries have (time after time) attempted to draw the Colonies together, but their policy has always been frustrated by the Protectionist party in Victoria. Now the rôles seem changed. Victoria has come forward as the patriot, eager to remove provincial jealousies! The explanation is simple. Fifteen years of Protection have sufficed to choke her markets; she must find new outlets for her products at all hazards. Hence this agitation for a Federal Union and for Annexation! The hope is, that if the Colonies are once united, oven under the semblance of a Federal Constitution, a Protectionist *Zoll-verein* will sooner or later be adopted. Negotiations in this direction have already begun; and Tasmania has been induced to make a reciprocity treaty with Victoria upon a Protectionist basis. In this way it is hoped to close the Australian market against any Free trade Colony—a proof of a disinterested desire for Union which requires no comment.

But, whether it is New South Wales or Victoria that is most eager for Australian Union is a comparatively unimportant local matter. It is far otherwise with the proposed new Constitution. This, as may be well known, establishes what is called a "Federal Council," with limited power to legislate on matters of common interest. It is evident that the constitution of such a governing body is a matter of supreme importance; and it happens that from the Democratic point of view the constitution of the Council, as it stands at present, deserves the strongest expression of ridicule and censure. Yet, so little help do we get at present from the Democracy in England, that not a single newspaper has even attempted a criticism of the clauses of the so called "Enabling Bill," which the Imperial Parliament may be called upon to pass at any moment. It may be fearlessly asserted that, had it not been for the ignorance of Australian matters which prevail in England, it would have been impossible that the draft Bill of the Sydney Convention could have been approved by the Imperial Government. It can only have been accepted in England because it was believed to be an expression of Australian opinion.

But what are the facts? The Bill originated in no Colonial Parliament, and was suggested by no popular movement. The tale of its preparation reads like a passage from a burlesque; yet, told in plain language, the framing of the Constitution of United Australia, which is intended, in the lifetime of many now living, to provide for the governance of thirty millions of people, scattered over a country which is about the size of Europe, if we except the Spanish peninsula, is literally and exactly as follows :—Certain Colonial Ministers met in Sydney in November, 1883. They bore no credentials from their respective Parliaments, nor had any of them any authority to act in any way on behalf of their Colonies. They were merely private individuals on a holiday trip. It occurred to them to frame a Constitution. They held five meetings with closed doors. At these meetings they drafted a Bill, which each of them pledged himself to submit to his respective Parliament. The instant the contents of this Bill were known it was assailed in every Colony with a storm of criticism. No Parliament, it was thought, would pass such a Bill without radical amendment. But the members of the Conference had anticipated this possibility, and had prepared for it by agreeing together not to submit the Bill to their Parliaments in the ordinary way, to be discussed clause by clause, but to tack it, as a sort of schedule, to a resolution requesting the Queen to alter the existing Colonial Constitutions in the manner suggested. The Bill, therefore, could not be amended, and had either to be rejected or accepted *in globo*. The consequence was that in New South Wales and New Zealand the resolution was shelved by means of the "Previous Question." But in the other Colonies Ministers staked their existence on the carrying of the resolution, and calculated accurately

that the Opposition could not turn them out on a matter upon which the outside public took so little interest. Those, who know anything of the working of Colonial politics, will understand how safe such a calculation was likely to be. Even with this difficulty in the path the Opposition in Queensland and South Australia was so active, that it had to be pacified by the assurance, that the right time for proposing amendments would be on the return of the Bill from the Colonial Office. That time has now come. Yet again we are witnessing, in a Democratic country, a spectacle which would be impossible even in Germany or Russia. Ministers in Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Tasmania have communicated their views to each other by means of private memoranda. Cabinet Councils are then held in the several Colonies, and the alterations in the Bill proposed by the Colonial Office are said to be approved or disapproved, as the case may be, by the people of that Colony. Not one of the Parliaments has been summoned to consider the alterations, and the amended Bill will return to the Colonial Office with the unanimous approval of the four Colonies already named. The result is that a few men will have taken advantage of popular indifference to force a Constitution on the country which had never been discussed, never been approved, and never even been presented to the people. Assuredly Democratic forms, where the spirit of Democracy is sluggish, do offer the greatest opportunities to despotism! But it is not yet too late for the English Democracy to help us. New South Wales and New Zealand have done their best to call attention to the sort of Constitution which is being foisted on Australia; but the criticism of one Colony seldom awakens more than angry irritation among its neighbours. The criticism which is required is a frank, sympathetic criticism in the English Press and in the English Parliament. This would rouse attention here, and give the Opposition a foothold for resistance. At present electors regard Federation as a question which is outside of politics. The political hacks do not understand or care for it; and the people, except in New Zealand and New South Wales, have never had it before them.

A bare perusal of the Bill will show its faults. There is no occasion for lengthy criticism from this country.

The Federal Council is to have "original" powers of legislation (paramount in cases of conflict with the local legislature of any federated Colony) on the following subjects, *inter alia* :—(1) The relations of Australia with the Islands of the Pacific; (2) Prevention of the Influx of Criminals; (3) Fisheries in Australasian Waters beyond territorial limits; (4) The service of Civil and Criminal Process of the Courts of any Colony outside the jurisdiction of that Colony; (5) The Enforcement of Judgments of Courts of Law of any Colony beyond the limits of that Colony. It is to have "derivative" powers of legislation (that is, by request of the legislatures of at least two federated Colonies) on the following subjects :—(1) General Defences; (2) Quarantine; (3) Patent Law; (4) Copyright; (5) Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes; (6) Marriage and Divorce Laws; (7) Naturalisation and Aliens; (8) *Any other matter of general Australian interest, with respect to which the legislatures of the several Colonies can legislate within their own limits*, and as to which it is deemed desirable that there should be a Law of General Application. This is plainly not an "Enabling" Bill, but a Constructive Bill of a bad kind. A true Enabling Bill is what we want. Give the Colonies power to alter their own Constitution, and trust to them to take all possible steps towards a real union.

But let those who believe in popular institutions understand that this "Enabling Bill" transfers the supreme political authority over the whole of Australia to a non-elective body of thirteen members and their opposition to it is assured. This body, which has no representative basis, and is too small to generate within itself that healthy degree of public opinion which is indispensable to sound legislation, is to have the sole control of all our foreign policy, and to be the supreme authority over many matters of domestic concern. No wonder that it receives the vehement support of the Australian Tories, who fear popular government, and themselves love power. Still it is surprising that the "formal" defects of such a Constitution should have escaped the notice of its framers! This precious "Federal Council" is inferior in all the attributes of a governing body. It makes no provision for an executive: it has no power of taxation: it has no power to appropriate a penny of the Federal Revenue: it contains no provisions for an appeal to the power to which it owes its existence, or for an appellate judiciary to decide on any conflicts between federal and local authority. It is thus a Cabinet without responsibility, a Government without authority, an Executive without a revenue. Even those who may not be hostile to the principle of the measure must recognise that in its present form it must give rise to numberless occasions for dispute, and that it offers no remedy for these except disruption of the Union.

The derivative power of legislation is also open to great objection. At first it seems reasonable enough that any two Colonies may refer a question of common interest to be settled by the Federal Council; but it is plain, upon reflection, that this power will work injuriously in practice. Suppose, for example, that the Federal Council frames a divorce law for the two Colonies of Tasmania and Victoria: that law will then become the Federal Statute on the subject of divorce, and will have to be accepted *in globo* by any other Colonies that may wish for Federal legislation on the subject. Thus the indirect result of the action of any two Colonies will be either to force a Statute on all the other Colonies, or else to compel them to except the subject of that Statute from the jurisdiction of the Federal Council. What the result of this may be if the matter referred to the Council is the settlement of a tariff, it requires no power of political forecast to imagine.

The Federal Council, indeed, in these respects, goes too far, while in others it does not go far enough. Until the means of communication between the Colonies are bettered, and the tariff difficulty is removed, a close Federal Union is impossible. But a Central Council for deliberative and consultative purposes would foster the spirit of union, and be, practically, very useful. The duties of such a Council should be strictly limited to the suggestion of measures on matters of intercolonial interest. Their work might be that both of innovators and codifiers—either they might draft new measures, or harmonise those which already exist; but in each case the actual legislative authority would remain with the local Parliaments. Australia is quite ripe for such a Council, and its work would be of an extremely useful character. Australian politicians often lack the power or opportunity to prepare well-drafted measures on technical subjects, and the differences of local legislation arise quite as much from carelessness or ignorance as from any settled difference in policy. The suggestions and supervision of a council of experts could not fail to improve Colonial legislation, both in form and quality. The proposed Federal Council will do nothing well. It does not pretend to give genuine Federation, but it substitutes a grotesque, amorphous phantom, which, by the irritating disputes between the Colonies to which its existence will give rise, will create a new and almost insurmountable obstacle to the real union which all Australians desire.

Nor is the existence of such a council altogether without danger to England, since the first matter which the Enabling Bill surrenders to its control is "The relations of Australasia with the Islands of the Pacific"; that is to say—the people of each Colony are to surrender all control over the only matters of foreign policy which are likely to lead us into serious difficulties. By an amendment of the Colonial Office, nothing can be done under this authority without the previous sanction of the Imperial Government.

But the history of New Guinea shows how difficult it will be for the English Government to object to anything after it is done. The Federal Council will be able to force the hands of the English Government whenever it likes, just as it will also be able to force the hands of the Australian Parliaments.

Suppose—and the supposition is not improbable—that a majority of the Council should agree to annex the greater part of the Pacific Islands! Such a measure might or might not be desirable. But are the people of each Colony, who will have to pay the cost of annexation, to have no voice in the matter? Small bodies of men are generally more ready for a "forward policy" than the masses, on whom the responsibility will ultimately fall. Let Englishmen put themselves in our place. Imagine that during the Russo-Turkish war the control of foreign affairs had been completely in the hands of the Beaconsfield Cabinet! Is it not morally certain that England would have been committed to a position from which it would have been impossible to withdraw peaceably? A foreign policy, more than a domestic policy, requires the constant check and pressure of public opinion. This, as English experience has proved, can be brought to bear most effectually upon the Minister of a Representative Assembly, where every proposal can be publicly canvassed. Foreign affairs, more than any other, require to be conducted in the light of day, and popular knowledge of what is being done may often be the surest guarantee of peace.

Nor are we in Australia without a recent experience of the recklessness with which a certain party is ready, in the names of Christianity and commerce, to disregard the rights of other nations. Late events have brought into a startling prominence a party which insists on the entire exclusion of foreigners from the Pacific Ocean. The headquarters of these narrow doctrinaires are naturally in Melbourne, where the zealous Christian is more pressed to find relief for pious feelings and for glutted markets. Their views, however, found some supporters at the Sydney Convention; and it is quite likely, if the proposed Federal Council came into existence, that Victoria, in the absence of New South Wales, will be able to commit the associated Colonies to a policy which will seriously involve Australia, and which may complicate the relations of England with other European Powers.

It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the compact body of Annexationists, with their definite interests to serve, and their opportunities for making themselves heard, accurately represent the feelings of the disorganised and silent mass of Australian voters. New South Wales, indeed, has already given an emphatic refusal to join in a demand for further annexation; although, as usual, this difference of opinion is attributed in England to provincial jealousy. In reality, however, the older colony is, in this matter, the mouthpiece of Democratic sentiment, and ought, therefore, to receive the warm support of English Radicals.

It would seem, from the arguments of Annexationists, that foreign settlements are deplored upon two grounds, namely—for the injury they will inflict on our material interests, and for the suffering they will cause to native races. The humanitarian argument is that which we have heard so often, and which is always trotted out to justify aggression. No one, who is acquainted with the missionaries of the Pacific Islands, could doubt that there are some of them who use this argument in all good faith. The widest extension of British rule would be desirable if it would strengthen the hands of men like Chalmers, Lawes, or Selwyn. But experience does not show that British rule is beneficial to a native race. With the best intentions and with really heroic sacrifices, Englishmen have failed to win the regard of any nation that they rule. Everywhere they form a governing class

apart from the people; and where Frenchmen or Spaniards would, by intermarriage with the natives, continue something of the national life, Englishmen only destroy whatever society already exists. The Pacific Islands, in particular, are painful witnesses to our disastrous presence. Rum and disease have everywhere carried to the natives more convincing proof of the nature of English benevolence than could be afforded by the best of wishes or by miles of missionary calico. Set Java and Tahiti on one side, and New Zealand on the other, and then let it be said whether we can claim a monopoly of charitable feeling towards the native races! Certainly whatever may be our feelings, we have not surpassed either the Dutch or the French in the success with which we have exhibited them to the Pacific Islanders. These may well pray to be delivered from English kindness.

In one point only have the friends of the Pacific Islanders any real cause for alarm.

Prince Bismark has proclaimed, in deference to the wish of Gorman traders, that he aims rather at protecting commerce than at founding Colonies. In plain language, this means, in the Pacific, that German traders will be free to deal with native races as they please.

At present, England is making a noble effort to protect the Pacific Islanders from the greed of Europeans. The regulations of the High Commissioner endeavour to control the Labour Traffic, to stop the importation of rum and firearms, and to prohibit the purchase of land. Other nations have, as yet, been chary of assisting at this work; and it is now feared that the occupation of new territory by France or Germany will give a shelter to the lawless practices which England has been struggling to put down. The Germans, in particular, have disregarded their duties to native races with most shameless cynicism; and the German traders openly avow their disbelief in measures to protect the islanders, and their intention to govern their new territories upon purely commercial principles. The French have hitherto shown more humanity, and their Colony of Otaheite is the only Pacific island under white control where the native population is increasing.

This is one of the reasons in favor of the proposal to annex the New Hebrides to France. Those islands are already developed largely by French enterprise, and could without difficulty be brought under French influence. Moreover, the islands are geographically attached to New Caledonia, and their occupation by the English would be likely to give rise to constant irritation between us and the French. If the French should pledge themselves (as they have declared their willingness to do) not to use these islands for a penal settlement, their presence could not in any way injure or menace Australia, while it would be in the highest degree beneficial to the natives and to the increase of commerce in the Pacific Ocean. The agitation against the French has been got up by mining and land speculators, and by the Protestant missionaries, who are jealous of their Catholic rivals. It has actually been made a formal cause of complaint by the English missionaries that the native children in the Loyalty Islands are instructed in the French language; while it is hardly necessary to say, that, while the French Protectorate continues, the missionaries cannot act as they have done in Tonga, and assume the reins of government. The alternative proposal, to "internationalise" these and every other island which England does not at present covet, is one which can only have emanated from an editorial arm-chair. To "internationalise" in the Pacific Ocean is simply to create an Alsatia. An international arrangement between France, Germany, England, and America, for police purposes, having reference to the labour traffic, the acquisition of land, and the sale of rum and fire-arms, would be very useful, but the internal government of the islands ought to be under some one responsible power.

Accordingly, the honest members of the missionary party denounce the recent annexations, because they fear, not that the Germans will establish arsenals, but that they will neglect to govern. They take Prince Bismarck at his word, and they believe that it will be possible even for Germany, now that she has assumed at least a nominal authority, to decline the responsibility of preserving order. She will, undoubtedly, require pressure to be brought upon her; but let her Government be once established, and she will be compelled by the force of public opinion to give protection to her native subjects. Our object ought to be to bring the necessity for such protection strongly before the German Government; and if the English journalists, when they are tired of abusing Lord Derby, would insist that we should have a common understanding with France and Germany as to the purchase of land from the islanders, and the traffic in labour, firearms, and rum, they would benefit Australia greatly, whilst serving the cause of humanity. What is wanted is an International agreement, such as that which was proposed at the Congo Conference, to the effect that all annexations of barbarous territories should carry with them the responsibility for order and government. At present it is openly admitted by the German traders in Sydney that commerce is their only concern; and unless strong pressure is brought to bear upon the Government by France and England, the Imperial flag will only float in the Pacific in order to conceal the present infamies.

It is, perhaps, too much to expect that the Germans will show the same aptitude as the French for dealing with the native races, or that they will turn any of their new possession into a northern Otaheite; but, at least, they are a civilised people, who are not likely, when the facts are brought to their notice, to encourage a revival of the labour traffic, or of land-grabbing, or of the sale of rum and firearms to ignorant islanders.

Hut even supposing that this expectation is not fulfilled, and that the acts of Germany should justify the

worst anticipations of those who have already seen the conduct of her traders; yet, that will not impose upon our Government the duty of immediate annexation. How often must it be repeated that we have no mission to redress the grievances of every native race, even were we able to do it? Germany may fail to treat the natives well, but we ourselves are by no means certain to succeed better, although our points of failure might be different. Yet, in order to correct the possible faults of German rule, we are asked ourselves to assume the reins of Government, before we have tried the efficacy either of official remonstrances or of the pressure of well-informed public opinion! Surely our first concern is with Australian affairs; and while we ought to use all our influence to secure fair treatment to the islanders, it would be a grave political mistake to endanger our own security in order to protect theirs.

But this, the Annexationists have said, is a begging of the question. Annexation by England would involve us, they say, in far fewer difficulties than those into which we shall certainly fall if the annexation is made by any foreign power.

The most baseless assertion comes to be believed if it is frequently repeated; so that it is possible that honest men may really believe that the presence of the Germans at New Britain, or the French at the New Hebrides, will be a source of danger to Australia! Yet, how is such a view borne out by any facts? Is the presence of the French at Pondicherry any danger to the Indian Empire? Or does the adjacency of Cuba menace the United States? Yet, in twenty years Australia will be to the Pacific Islands as the United States are to Cuba or Jamaica. They will just as little be a source of danger to our ports and commerce; and, in the event of war, we could snap them up in a week—if we wanted to do so.

If, on the other hand, we annexed those islands, instead of leaving them to foreign powers, we should be scattering instead of concentrating our resources. We should be offering a greater number of vulnerable points to any enemy, instead of leaving him to offer them to us.

But can we seriously believe that any islands taken by a foreign power are to be turned at once into fortified posts? Let us show a little common sense in talking about foreign politics! Let us remember what these islands are—that they are tropical islands, with malarious climates, lying far from civilised settlement: that they are places which offer no inducement to English settlers, and no work for European labourers. What then do we suppose that it would cost a European power to establish and maintain a Malta at a place like one of these? And if an Annexationist is bold enough to face this question, let him be further asked to explain the motive for such waste of money.

But there is another side to the question. Suppose it to be granted, for the sake of argument, that the presence of foreigners in the Pacific will cause some appreciable danger to Australia! The risk from English Annexation might still be out of all proportion to the danger which we would avoid. The Democratic party here believe that to be the case; and that the exclusion of foreigners from the Pacific would not only involve us in responsibilities that would seriously hamper our material progress, but would deprive Australia of grant at moral and material benefits.

It is certain that England is in no mood to acquire new responsibilities. If the islands are annexed, it is Australia that will have to be responsible. English journalists, particularly those who are most eager to display their friendship to Australia, talk of this as though it were a matter of no concern. Yet the popular party in Australia takes a very different view.

In the first place, we have not got the men who could administer the islands. Our Parliaments show no superfluity of administrative talent; and we have not succeeded well in such a comparatively simple matter as the regulation of the Labour Traffic. Our own affairs still occupy us fully. Three-quarters of our own continent have still to be annexed. And yet we are advised by Englishmen to direct our energies into other fields!

Moreover, there is another argument in favour of foreign settlements, which can only, perhaps, be fully appreciated by those who are acquainted with Australia. We suffer at present from our isolation. We are outside the main current of European thought; so that in spiritual and intellectual matters we are somewhat stagnant. We have but one type—that of the British "bourgeois," with "his sombre attire, his repellent manners, his gloomy worship, his mechanic habitudes of toil." Is it better that the Pacific Islands should be kept for the perpetuation of this type, or that other types should settle there for our example and improvement? France and Germany have, each of them, political and intellectual ideas which differ from the English; and the observation of new ideas and other forms of social life cannot fail to stimulate a nation's mental growth. By the presence of foreign settlements in the Pacific, Australia would be brought more into the stream of modern thought,—and that is of itself a great advantage.

But besides the moral advantages of having in our neighbourhood the representatives of other civilisations, there are great material advantages to be derived from this propinquity.

Sydney is, by its position, the emporium of the island trade. Whatever develops commerce in the islands must increase the wealth of Sydney. The only question is, whether this development is to be effected by introducing fresh capital and labour from new European sources, or whether it is to be effected by drawing on our

own stores, which are already insufficient to properly develop our own country. No Australian, at any rate, is likely to deny, that had Fiji been exploited by a foreign power, millions of much needed capital would never have been taken from Australia.

Penal settlement as it is, New Caledonia has already caused a considerable increase in the volume of Australian trade. A similar result must follow the establishment of every new settlement. Whatever commerce may spring up in the Pacific, Australia must obtain the larger share of it. The Germans may attempt to exclude English trade, but the position of Australia, as the nearest source of supply, will prevent them establishing any insurmountable barriers.

Foreign Annexation will also save us from another danger which Englishmen cannot be blamed for not appreciating.

Those tropical islands can never form a coherent part of our political system. They can only be worked by coloured labour, and coloured labour will be a permanent source of disunion and difficulty to Australia. A foreign power can face this danger, because it has no white settlements close by; but workmen in Australia will never consent to be taxed for the government of coolie plantations. The coloured labour difficulty is at this very time threatening the disruption of Queensland, and we cannot forget that it is not 20 years since the same difficulty menaced the existence of the United States.

Englishmen, accordingly, do not assist the Democratic party in Australia by echoing the clamour of the Annexationists. When a real danger arises, such as that which was lately threatened by the Récidiviste Bill, we can protect ourselves against it fully, and without panic. But we are not now threatened by any danger great enough to drive us into vast and unknown responsibilities. Our greatest danger in the Pacific is the continuance of the present disorder, and we are grateful to any civilised power which offers to set up a staple government. Any danger of future hostilities is very trifling, and to insure ourselves against it, by ourselves annexing, requires too high a premium for the risk. While we are united with England her navy will protect us from danger; if we should be independent, the causes of collision are removed. Our work, as Australians, lies in another direction than in acquiring dependencies. If we annex the islands they must be exploited by Australian capital, to the detriment of Australian development. As things are, we shall have an influx of foreign capital, foreign enterprise, and foreign ideas. We leave all the rough work of settlement to others, and can, at any time, if we should so desire, step into the inheritance.

Finally, the Democratic party in Australia denounces further Annexation upon higher grounds. They insist that duty counts for something in a nation's politics, and that to drive a native people from its land is not the less an act of robbery because it is supported by some missionaries. Black races, they say, have a claim to equal treatment at our hands; and the nation which disregards justice in its dealings, even with a savage race, inevitably falls away in moral strength. Australians have a noble future for their country, independently of foreign conquests. We have to build up a great nation upon the bases of social equality and political freedom. That is a sufficient task, from which we do not need distraction, and it is the task by which our claim to greatness will be judged. Nobility of thought, not acreage of territory, is the secret of national strength.

These are the ideas that we look to the English people, and especially to English Radicals, to enforce in their policy and writings. For it is in points like these that the influence of one Democracy re-acts upon another. Yet, if a certain section of the Liberal party shall prevail in England, this is just the help that we shall not receive from the English Democracy.

It is no business of ours to join in the conflict of English parties; but when any programme is put forward in the name of Democracy, the Democratic party in every quarter of the Empire may, without presumption, offer words of warning and advice. For Democracy is of no country. It is a spirit uniting all.

Yet our new guides, speaking in the name of Democracy, are urging us upon a policy which would shatter the English Union. By fanatical appeals to national selfishness and periodic incitements to war, they would drive England further and further upon the path of foreign aggression. Their policy is a new Jingoism, which only differs from the Beaconsfieldian by a substitution of the epithet "moral." Wherein the particular "morality" of that policy consists is a question for the consciences of its supporters. Outsiders are only concerned with its practical effects, and of these among the first would be the separation of England's self-governing Colonies. Those who desire the union of the English Empire through an union of the English people can only regard the prevalence of such a policy with sheer dismay.

Bernhard Wise,

*Wentworth Court, Sydney,*

*March, 1885.*

Front Cover

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## To Parents & Guardians, &c.

To Parents & Guardians &c.

THOSE engaged in pastoral, commercial, or manufacturing pursuits, will admit that in these days of financial operations of magnitude, involving an acquaintance with the manners, customs, and requirements of the different peoples of the earth, such a knowledge, and the wisdom necessary to the proper and successful use of that knowledge, is best obtained by travel.

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Many Australian parents have long ago made this discovery; and heads of families would gladly give their sons this advantage if the dangers inseparable from inexperience could be reduced to a minimum.

Young men in after life will reap the full benefit of a visit to Europe, in the greater enjoyment and the better grasp of the work to which education most properly bends the mind and attention.

As population increases and wealth accumulates, no one's education will be considered complete without a visit to the Old World, the hallowed cradle of modern civilisation and intellectual development. "There can be no more vivifying influence on the expanding mind of the young, no more certain means of instilling a living, active interest in life and work than the personal, if brief, sojourn of the young Australian among the people and scenes with which life and work deals."

Travel also effects a world of good in re-establishing health or restoring the balance of the nervous system.

Therefore, with this view I purpose starting from Sydney for New Zealand, *via* Melbourne, calling at the ports of Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington, and Napier; from whence we should start overland to the Hot Springs and marvellous Terraces, "the Wonderland" of this hemisphere.

The extraordinary recuperative properties of these springs, both for body and mind, will shortly render them a general resort for invalids as well as pleasure-seekers, and they are far too important to be missed.

Arriving at Auckland, a beautiful little city, with its lovely harbour and hospitable inhabitants, we should remain a day. Sydney harbour is more commodious and picturesque, but Auckland harbour, seen from the top of Mount Eden, an extinct volcano, is very beautiful and striking.

Here we should take the San Francisco mail boat for Honolulu. This neat little town, including the King's palace, and the Pali, a steep, rocky defile, are soon seen.

Steaming from here, we should make San Francisco, the Golden City. The discovery of gold in 1849 commenced the development of what was then a small town, into what is now a large, increasing city, with over 350,000 inhabitants. Every nation in the world seem to have representatives here, and it is well worth spending a day or two among the most cosmopolitan surroundings, and visiting some of the places of interest in the neighbourhood.

The next place would be the charming valley of Yosemite—where Nature herself invites our admiration—which, with its towering cliffs, grand waterfalls, and sublime beauty, must be seen to be appreciated. If desirable, a little shooting could be indulged in; though, since the writer was there "with Octavius Stone, Esq., one of the Royal Geographical Society's explorers of New Guinea," game has become

very scarce. This lovely valley is 4000 feet above the level of the sea. Its splendid pine vegetation and its bracing and rejuvenescent air seem to impart extra life to all, whether travelling for health or pleasure.

Those who have seen the big trees on the Black Spur, in Victoria, will not be surprised at the big trees of California, which we pass on our return through the immense Californian wheat fields, each some twenty miles in extent, or more, and continue our journey as far as Salt Lake City.

A day or two could be usefully spent in seeing the city, the lake, and the Mormons, of whom it is estimated that 70 per cent, are farmers. These very extraordinary people are the subduers of the most sterile portion of the United States, and are reclaiming thousands of acres annually from the desert.

Passing onward to Omaha, and over the immense tracts of land under maize, we reach Chicago. Here we might see some of the interesting industries of this new city. A great deal of information might be obtained which would be useful in after life to anyone in this country, especially those from the farming district of Illawarra, &c.

Going *via* Detroit to the wonderful Falls of Niagara, famous for its gigantic volume of water and splendour rather than for its height. The stately grandeur of such scenery, while awe-inspiring, is most useful in the education of the soul, speaking to it loudly of its divine origin, and awakening those finer emotions of our nature which unite it to the infinite. Such impressions are never lost, and tend to make us better men and better women.

We should journey direct to Quebec, and come down the majestic and world-renowned river, St. Lawrence, calling at the most noted Canadian towns, and visiting the seat of Government.

We should then pass through some very lovely lake scenery. Lakes Champlain and George to Saratoga, the most fashionable inland watering-place in the States, figuratively speaking the "Rotten Row" of America.

At Albany we join the Hudson River, and among other places of interest we pass the residence of Washington Irving, the most polished author of his day, on our way to New York.

Being tolerably well-known at New York and in the States generally, I should have a Government permit to inspect and visit places of public interest and importance.

From New York we should have to take a run to Philadelphia and back, the noted Quaker city, where there is much to learn. It also has the most complete and extensive sanitary arrangements yet entered into by any municipality. These are worthy of attention.

Then we should take the most convenient and best found steam route to London, too well known to need any description.

Once in England, our plans would have to be further arranged according to the weather.

One South Coast and West trip, bringing in Brighton, the Isle of Wight, and Devonshire.

A trip to Ireland, where we should see the most beautiful lake scenery in the Emerald Isle, taking in Cork, Bandon, Drincoleague, by car to Glengariffe, Kenmare, Killarney, Mallow, and Dublin.

The next tour would take in Cambridge, the noble seat of learning, with its colleges and associations, its river Cam, boat race contests, and beautiful avenues of trees, under which many of our great and good men have walked, hoped, studied and prayed, forming noble characters, which have subsequently left their mark for good upon society.

To Ely, Peterbro', Lincoln, and York Cathedrals.

Thence through the northern counties, skipping the Black Country, to Cumberland, a noble county and as noble a people, the nursing ground of many a self-made London merchant, and many pious, healthy women and poets. Windemere steamer to Ambleside, coach to Keswick, Ulswater steamer length of lake, and rail to Carlisle.

Thence to Melrose and the splendid city of Edinburgh, by far the most handsome city in Britain, through the Trossachs to Glasgow.

Returning now to London, we should on our way spend a fortnight at Grantham, in Lincolnshire, where we shall be within easy distance of three packs of hounds.

A drive would bring us, among other interesting places, to Belvoir Castle, the noted seat of the Duke of Rutland. The Dukeries, Sherwood Forest (the scene of Robin Hood's adventures), Newsted Abbey (where Byron lived), Southwell Cathedral, and the room where King Charles slept the night before he was handed over to the English. Newark Castle, where he was first imprisoned, and where King John died. Gunderby Moor, and Staunton Hall, described in the touching tale by Sir Walter Scott—"The Heart of Midlothian," &c.

## The Continent of Europe.

We should leave England, *via* Newhaven, to Dieppe and Rouen, up the Seine to Paris. I prefer this route on account of the scenery, which is infinitely more beautiful than on any other.

At Paris we should remain some little time, the city where art, at least modern art, has reached its highest

perfection.

We should then journey by train to Lyons, the seat of the French silk trade, then to Marseilles, Nice, and Monaco.

We should stay a day or two at picturesque Genoa, on the sacred soil of Italy, the most beautiful "Sunny South" in the world.

Thence to Pisa, with its wonderful leaning tower; and Florence, where there is so much to see.

We should then visit

## Rome.

Now we have reached the one-time capital and wonder of the world, the city on seven hills, always a wonder, and still the admiration and paradise of sculptors, artists, &c.

So stupendous the centre, and so varied, from which radiates in every direction, from pole to pole, from East to West, the great Catholic influence. Here the places of interest and charm, like nothing else in the world, are so numerous that there is every temptation during a short stay to do too much. Even the environs are full of beauty, and we should not omit a few rides or drives into the Campagna.

If there are now any members of the party who wish, they could be presented to His Holiness Leo XIII., as I possess the requisite introduction to secure this favour through the Bishop of the English Catholic College.

Passing further South we come to Naples (Vesuvius), and, at the end of a fourteen-mile drive, to Pompeii, the city of the dead past, of 1800 years, visiting scenes that were in full life when Christ was upon the earth.

The beautiful, very beautiful, little island of Capri ought then to be seen. This is generally missed by tourists.

Retracing our steps as far as Florence, this is the only instance of our going over the same ground. Thence to Bologna, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, from whence we command a beautiful view of the Alps, and through the St. Gothard Tunnel to Chamounix and Geneva. The particulars of this tunnel prove it to be the most wonderful engineering enterprise that the world has ever seen completed.

Steaming up the Lake of Geneva to Lausanne, by rail to Fribourg, we reach the capital of Switzerland, Berne.

From here to Lake Thun, to Giesback (waterfall), and Interlaken. Lake Brienz, coach to Lucerne and see the lake, Rigi, Altorf, and, in fact, all the interesting places near Lake Lucerne, including the scene of William Tell's adventure, of ancient story.

After visiting Zurich, the commercial centre of Switzerland, and Constance, we change our mode of travelling, down the well-sung Rhine by boat, as far as Schaffhausen.

Then we vary our scene by a drive through the Black Forest to Strasburg, on to Heidelberg and Frankfort.

Here we join another beautiful part of the Rhine, going to Cologne by water.

Taking the train to Aix la Chapelle, we leave Germany, and cross the Belgian frontier, passing Liege, to the beautiful town of Brussels. It's a pleasant drive from here to the field of Waterloo, the scene of the battle which decided the fate of freedom in the commencement of this century.

We then return to London *via* Antwerp, Ostend, or Rotterdam, as the majority wished, there being something to see in each route.

Reuben's masterpieces, the "Crucifixion," and the "Descent from the Cross," are well worth the journey to Antwerp.

Unless otherwise arranged, we should take steamer for Sydney, touching at Gibraltar, Malta, Port Said, Aden, Ceylon, &c. Each member of the party during our stay would be afforded opportunities for breaking his journey to visit any British friends or any special locality.

I calculate that this trip would cover a period from Nine to Ten Months, and that the whole Cost would be about £700 each. This sum would have to be guaranteed, or placed at my disposal by circular note through the Union Bank, Sydney, before we started.

I do not anticipate it would cost less; but if so, *the balance would be returned.*

My remuneration would be £100 from each, in the form of a promissory note, lodged with the Union Bank in Sydney, and payable to my account in nine months.

Naturally, you will ask what do I offer in exchange for this.

I offer to assume the entire personal responsibility over my charges and companions, for their welfare and enjoyment. Their interest will be studied as my own. They will have the benefit of the experience of a much travelled man of known repute (see letters), and run none of those risks so often encountered by young men travelling alone.

They would be relieved of all business arrangements; as I should organise all trips, pay all travelling, hotel, and other expenses.

There would be a reasonable amount of economy, and any reduction in fares would be for the benefit of the whole party. No commissions of any kind to go into my pocket.

My own expenses, and my experienced man servant's, would have to be paid out of the general fund.

The probable date of sailing will be the end of March next—sooner, if possible—and the approximate time it will take is, roughly, as follows:—

Baggage.—Allowance only 250 lbs. for through passengers; therefore, no one must take more, as the extra charge is very high.

Clothing.—Each will require a change of cloth clothes, shirts, shoes or boots, slippers, six socks at least, great coat or travelling rug; in fact, the ordinary changes in domestic use to which he has been accustomed. But all must be packed into one medium-sized portmanteau and a hand-bag. All these things can be purchased so cheaply as we go along, that it is quite unnecessary to carry clothing for the trip right through.

The idea of extensive travel is not new, and *is an education in itself*. By this agency a sound practical knowledge of the world, places, and people, differing wholly one from another, is acquired, not to be obtained in any other way.

In the old country sons of gentlemen, before they come of age, or settle down to business pursuits, complete a tour in foreign countries, and now often visit these colonies.

The number is limited to seven (unless there should be brothers or friends, but certainly not over ten in any case), and all minor details can be settled by a personal interview or correspondence.

As a much greater number will apply, and berths must be secured by the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. *a month before leaving*, an early communication is requested, giving particulars as to age, *See.*, and a bank or other reference in Sydney, if possible.

I have been kindly permitted to refer to the attached list of gentlemen as to my worthiness to be intrusted with the care of the undertaking, and therefore herewith give some letters and extracts out of a few of the very kind communications I have received, which I particularly request you to read. Many of them are well known to the residents of this and other colonies.

Malcolm M. Irving.

Vignette

## English References.

BROOMHALL, J., Esq., J.P., County Surrey, Adelaide-place, London. Director United Kingdom General Temperance Provident Insurance Company.

BROOMHALL, EDWARD, Esq., East India Broker, 134 Fenchurch-street, London.

BRIDGER, A. E., Esq., M.D., &c., WALTERTON-road, London, W.

BLANCHARD, E. L., Esq., Editor London "Era," &c., &c., 6 Adelphi-terrace, London, W.C.

BELL GEORGE, Esq., Carruthers, Dumfries.

BURROUGHS, S. M., Esq., Merchant, Snow-hill, London, E.C.

CLERKE, Colonel SHADWELL, R.A., 33 Golden-square, London, W.

DUNCAN, WALTER D., Esq., G Cleaveland-row, London, S.W.

ELLIS, J. SHIPLEY, Esq., Jun., Knighton-hall, Leicester.

FITCH, Colonel, U. States Army, Ashford, England.

GILL, W. BATESHELL, Esq., M.D., &c., Cambridge-terrace, Regent's Park, London.

HALLS, REVEREND GEORGE, M.A., Clent Vicarage, Worcestershire.

IRVING, CHARLES, Esq., Late House Surgeon and Physician St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Surgeon Cypress Pioneers, &c., and House Surgeon Great Northern Hospital, London, Bennington, Grantham.

JONES, WILLIAM, Esq., Merchant, Basinghall-street and Teddington, London.

LESTER, W. H., Esq., Dudley-hill, Bradford, Yorks.

MAWSON, M., Esq., H.M. Customs, London.

PINHORNE, STANLEY H., Esq., Oxley Manor, Wolverhampton.

TAYLOR, FREDERICK, Esq., M.D., Physician to Guy's Hospital, St. Thomas-street, London.

WHITFIELD, GEORGE, Esq., J.P., Sussex, The Bank, Lewes, and Hamsey House, Sussex, England.

WALKER, A. W., Esq., New University Club, St. James-street, London, S.W.

WATSON, H. T., Esq., Meadow Bank, Farnham, Surrey.

WYMAN, JOHN S., Esq., M.D., London, &c., 22 Nottingham-place, London, W.

## Foreign References.

A. S. MURRAY, Esq., Manager South British Insurance Company, Calcutta.

J. F. GEARY, Esq., M.D., 632 Howard-street, San Francisco.  
P. MOREL, Esq., 29 Rue de Crèqui, Lyons.  
WILLIAM REID, Esq., Banker, &c., Portland, Oregon.  
ROBERT YOUNG, Esq., Hamilton, Canada.

## New Zealand References.

SIR FREDK. WHITAKER, K.C.M.G., Late Premier and Attorney-General of New Zealand, Auckland.  
Hon. ROBERT STOUT, Premier of New Zealand, Wellington and Dunedin.  
Major-General J. STODDARD, R.A., Onehunga, Auckland.  
Capt. E. S. BABOT, late Commander ship "Hydaspes," Shaw, Saville & Co.'s Agent, and Agent for Albion Co., &c., for New Zealand, Wellington.  
JAMES MILLS, Esq., General Manager Union Steamship Co. of New Zealand, Dunedin.  
GEO. PATRICK PIERCE, Esq., J.P., General Manager New Zealand Insurance Co.  
District Grand Master of Freemasons, I.C., Auckland.  
GEO. S. GRAHAM, Esq., Director Government Life Insurance of New Zealand. Late General Manager Colonial Insurance Co. Formerly Inspector of the Norwich Union Fire Society. District Grand Master of Freemasons, E.C., Auckland. Chairman Fire Marine Underwriters' Association, &c., Wellington.  
A. HILL JACK, Esq., General Manager National Insurance Co. of New Zealand Dunedin.  
GEO. JOHNSTON, Esq., General Manager South British Insurance Co., Auckland.  
DR. GRABHAM, Government Inspector of Hospitals, Asylums, &c., Wellington.  
WILLIAM DEAMER, Esq., M.D., &c. Deputy District Grand Master of Freemasons, E.C., and 33 London, Christchurch.  
JAMES IRVING, M.D., Edinburgh, M.R.C.S., London. M.D., New Zealand University, Cambridge-terrace, Christchurch.  
W. WATT, Esq., M.H.R., Wanganui.  
JOSEPH HATCH, Esq., M.H.R., Invercargill.  
J. A. BONAR, Esq., M.H.R., &c., Hokitika.  
R. BROWNING, Esq., Auckland.  
Hon. ERNEST E. TOWNSHEND, Ponsonby, Auckland.  
EDWARD CHAPMAN, Esq., Spring Bank, Rangiora, Canterbury.  
ROBERT PATERSON, J.P., &c., Dunedin.  
JOHN MCBETH, Esq., J.P., Dunsinane, Marton.  
Capt. WHEELER, S.S. "Wakatipu," Dunedin.  
Capt. EDIE, S.S. "Waihora," Dunedin.

## Australian References.

Hon. WILLIAM BEDE DALLEY, Q.C., Attorney-General, Acting Colonial Secretary of New South Wales.  
JAMES COLES ELLIS, Esq., M.L.C., Acting Vice-Consul for Spain, &c., Newcastle, and George-street, Sydney.  
E. C. CRACKNELL, Esq., Superintendent of Telegraphs for New South Wales. Major Commanding Torpedo and Signalling Corps, Edgecliff-road, Sydney.  
Reverend A. C. S. MINTON SENHOUSE, Curate in charge St. Albans Anglican Church, Muswellbrook.  
EUSTACE H. L. PRATT, Esq., M.D., &c., Tainworth.  
FREDERICK WADHAM, Esq., F.R.C.S., Redmyre.  
EVAN PROSSER, Esq., O'Connell-street and Darling-point, Sydney.  
ALFRED FELTON, Esq., Messrs. Felton, Grimwade & Co., Flinders-lane, Melbourne.  
J. E. POUNDS, Esq., formerly Manager Union Bank, Auckland, &c., Kew, Melbourne.  
JOHN STOREY JAMIESON, Esq., J.P., Messrs. Prince, Ogg & Co., Sydney.  
S. HAGUE SMITH, Esq., Manager New Zealand Insurance Co., Pitt-street, Sydney.  
W. A. GIBB, Esq., Manager National Insurance Company, Bridge-street, Sydney.  
GILDEROY WILLS GRIFFIN, Esq., J.P., United States Consul, Sydney.  
ERNEST W. MOON, Esq., J.P., Consul-General in Australia, Republic Costa Rica, Central America, &c., Macquarie-place, Sydney.  
C. W. READETT, Esq., Solicitor, &c., Sydney.  
E. G. W. PALMER, Esq., Secretary Civil Service Board, Phillip-street, Sydney, and Burwood.  
CAPT. CARGILL, late Commander S.S. "Australia," &c., Market-street, Sydney, and Redmyre.

DAVID MILLS, Esq., Manager Union S.S. Company of New Zealand, Melbourne.  
ANDREW MACFARLANE, Esq., Booligal, Trelangerin, Hay, N.S.W., and Australian Club, Melbourne.  
ROBERT J. DAVIDSON, Esq., Australian Mutual Provident Society, Pitt-street, Sydney.  
DR. POWER, Surgeon, &c., West Maitland.  
JAMES B. CRABBE, Esq., M.D., J.P., &c., Maclean, Clarence River.  
SAMUEL NASMITH, Esq., Bank of New South Wales, Sydney.  
Capt. TROUTON, Manager A.S.N. Co., Sydney.  
J. RANDALL MANN, Esq., C.E., Hergot Springs, South Australia.

## English.

Walterton House, Walterton Road, London, W.

August 12, 1884.

MY DEAR IRVING,—It is with very great pleasure that I bear testimony to your ability to carry out your proposed trip for the sons of New South Welsh-men. From your career, connections, and acquaintance with the countries you mention, those under your care will be exceedingly fortunate in securing your services. The moral tone of your past life induces me to say, after knowing you for over twenty years, that no young gentleman could secure a better friend and more prudent counsellor. I am confident you will endeavour to point out the study of the higher interests of life in travel, and thus follow in the steps of your eminent father, Dr. William Bell Irving. With kindest regards, believe me always, yours sincerely,

A. E. Bridger, M.D., &c.  
M. M. IRVING, Esq., Kilmore Street, Christchurch.

Royal Thames Yacht Club, London,

August 1, 1884.

*Extract from Colonel Fitch's Letter.*—"I have travelled many countries with you and your late brother-in-law, much to my advantage. Your courteous attention to my family during severe illness abroad, and the general tone of your life and conversation, render it a pleasure to me to state that I could not think more highly or respect you more than I do."

## New Zealand.

*From Sir Fredk. Whitaker, K.C.M.G., late Premier of New Zealand, Attorney-General, &c. Auckland,*  
December 31, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wish you success in your proposed undertaking to visit Europe, America, &c. The trip you sketch out in your letter to me is a very interesting one, and I have no doubt that you will be able to manage it with satisfaction to those who will accompany you. If you think that my name, as a referee, will be of any use to you, you are quite at liberty to use it.

I remain, yours very truly,  
Fredk. Whitaker.  
MALCOLM M. IRVING, Esq.

*From Major-General f. Stoddard, R.A., Onehunga, Auckland, N.Z. Onehunga, Auckland,*  
December 27, 1884.

MY DEAR IRVING,—I consider your plan of taking a few young gentlemen on a tour to America and Europe an excellent one. It would greatly benefit them to see the world. I think, indeed I am sure, they could

not have a better guide and companion than yourself. I hope you will succeed. I will write my nephew in New South Wales to call upon you. Of course you can refer to me if it will help on your plans. As already said, I am sure you will be an excellent mentor to anyone committed to your charge. Wishing you success and all the compliments of the season, believe me, yours sincerely,

J. Stoddard.  
M. M IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

Dunedin,

January 2, 1885.

DEAR SIR,—I wish you every success in your projected tour. Should you desire to refer anyone to me, I shall be very pleased to assure them that my knowledge of you from many years' residence here, gives me every confidence in believing that you will carry out such a tour as you propose with credit to yourself and pleasure to your charges. Wishing you every success in your undertaking, I am, yours faithfully,

James Mills,

Managing Director U.S.S. Co. of N.Z., Limited.

M. M. IRVING, Esq.,

19 O'Connell Street, Sydney.

Wellington, N.Z.,

January 13, 1885.

DEAR MR. IRVING,—I have the pleasure to own receipt of yours, dated 20th ultimo; and note your intention to visit the Old Country.

In doing so, I feel sure whatever obligations you undertake will be honourably fulfilled to the satisfaction of all concerned; as such, if my name will be of use to you as a reference, you have full permission to use it.

Trusting you will be successful in forming a party, have a pleasant visit home, and safe return, I am, dear Mr. Irving, yours faithfully,

Geo. S. Graham,

*Director Government Life Assurance Association of New Zealand, late General Manager Colonial Insurance Co. Formerly Inspector of the Norwich Union Fire Society. District Grand Master of Freemasons, Auckland, E.C. Chairman of Fire and Marine Underwriters' Association, &c.*

M. M. IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

Christchurch, N.Z.,

January 1, 1885.

MY DEAR IRVING,—Your letter dated December 19 just received; and if you get your team together, I feel sure you will succeed in making it a very enjoyable trip for those who go with you, and it ought to be profitable to yourself. You are at liberty to use my name in any way that it will serve your present purpose; and hoping to see you before you leave these shores,

Yours very sincerely,

W. Deemer, M.D. and J.P., &c.  
MALCOLM M. IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

*From James Irving, Esq., M.D., &c., Christchurch.* Christchurch, N.Z.,

January 10, 1885.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I sincerely trust you will succeed in getting together suitable companions for your trip; and that with your many amiable qualities you will be able to manage, so that all will feel happy and enjoy themselves. Of your ability, &c., of course there is no doubt. Being relations, I can hardly write what I could say with truth of you to others. I shall be glad to reply to anyone writing to me, or serve you in any way I can. Can I forward your views here?

Your affectionate brother,

James Irving.  
M. M. IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

Invercargill, N.Z.,

December 30, 1884.

DEAR SIR,—Having been well acquainted with you during the last eight years or more, thus being able to form an opinion of your integrity and aptitude for carrying out successfully such an undertaking as you propose, I have great pleasure in testifying to that, and sincerely hope that you will be able to conduct the same to a successful issue.

I hope to be able to visit the Home Country myself in 1886, and most likely my son will go with me; otherwise I should most certainly put him under your care.—With kind regards I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,

Joseph Hatch,  
M.H.R. for Invercargill.  
MALCOLM M. IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

*From the Hon. E. E. Townshend, Auckland.* Bayfield, Ponsonby,

January 5, 1885.

MY DEAR IRVING,—You may certainly add my name to your list of referees, if you think fit. I am quite sure that whoever is lucky enough to take part in the tour you anticipate, will not only enjoy themselves, but, if they like to be interested in what I know you will take the trouble to point out in your travels in the countries named, they will also find it very instructive. I am confident that those who would like their sons to see the world in safety, would find it money well laid out; and with you as companion, could not spend it better as a means of education. I say this because it has been my good fortune to know you many years, and we have travelled together. I always found you an amiable and good companion, and I could wish my boy to be with you, were he old enough to go. Trusting you will have a pleasant journey, with kind regards, believe me always, yours sincerely,

Ernest E. Townshend.  
M. M. IRVING, Esq.,

19 O'Connell Street, Sydney.

Dunsinane, Marton, N.Z.,

December 28, 1884.

MY DEAR MR. IRVING,—It gave me much pleasure to receive your letter. . . . Referring to your trip to England, the idea is a fine one. Although the care, attention, responsibility is heavy, let me assure you, in the circle of all the men I know, I know of none so well qualified or adapted to the charge of youthful sons of old settlers of the colonies. I trust your venture will be crowned with success. I am quite sure, from many years of friendship, your companions will ever after retain in happy memory the name of Malcolm M. Irving. Should this note or my reference be of any service to your undertaking, I shall only be too happy. Meantime, wishing you the best, remain, my dear Mr. Irving, yours sincerely,

John F. McBeth, J.P.  
MALCOLM IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

## Australian.

*From the Honourable W. B. Dalley, Q.C., Attorney-General and Acting Colonial Secretary for New South Wales. Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,*

January 20, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR,—Having had the pleasure of an introduction to you from my friend, Mr. Readett, and heard of your scheme to visit Europe and America in charge of a number of youths upon a semi-educational tour, permit me to wish you every success in your somewhat novel undertaking.

Should you refer anyone to me, I shall, upon the strength of Mr. Readett's introduction and the letters you have shown me, have much pleasure in advocating your scheme; and shall be glad to hear of your success in organising it.

Yours faithfully,

William B. Dalley.  
M. M. IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

*From Rev. Minton-Senhouse, Curate to English Church, Muswellbrook. St. Albans, Muswellbrook,*

December 24, 1884.

DEAR MR. IRVING,—I am glad to hear of your proposed undertaking. It will be a capital opportunity for gentlemen's sons to obtain a knowledge of the world; and I am sure they could not be entrusted to better care than yours, whose example and influence would be as beneficial in one way as the tour would be in another. Hoping you will meet with the success you deserve, I am, your sincere friend,

C. A. S. Minton-Senhouse.

P.S.—Since seeing you, I have had to alter my name as above.

M. M. IRVING, Esq.

Tamworth,

December 15, 1884.

MY DEAR IRVING,—In one way I am sorry to hear of your trip to England, as I hoped to have had the pleasure of seeing you here again. I trust it will be a pleasant trip to you, and I hope remunerative, although the sum you mention seems very small to me for such a splendid trip, combined with your care and instructive and interesting companionship. You are quite welcome to use my name in any way you like, or to refer anyone to me, as I formed a very high opinion of you, and consider that the parents will be lucky who can give their sons such a trip under your care. With very kind regards, I am, my dear Irving, yours very faithfully,

Eustace H. L. Pratt, M.D., &c.  
M. M. IRVING, Esq.,

19 O'Connell Street, Sydney.

19 and 21 O'Connell Street, Sydney,

January 7, 1885.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your request, I am glad to be able to say that I think anyone visiting New Zealand, America, and Europe under your guidance will be very fortunate. You are well acquainted with these countries, and competent to make the tour agreeable and interesting.

I have known you since your first visit to the Colonies, now nearly fifteen years, and from time to time have had you in my employment.

You have recently been in America and Europe, and since you have been in N. S. Wales have filled an important position in my establishment, which you resigned in consequence of domestic affairs. I shall be happy to supply any particulars as to your ability, family, or financial position, personally or through my Manager, Mr. O'Keefe, to the parents or friends of anyone who accompanies you.—Wishing you success, yours truly,

E. Prosser.  
M. M. IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

Melbourne,

December 16, 1884.

MY DEAR IRVING,—YOU can use my name as a reference, and I should think you would make an admirable cicerone Compliments of the season from yours truly,

Alfred Felton,

Messrs. Felton, Grimwade & Co., Flinders Lane, Melbourne.

M. M. IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

17 Bridge Street, Sydney,

January 12, 1885.

DEAR IRVING,—I regret very much that you are not as well known in New South Wales as you are in New Zealand, as I think you should receive the support of all those who have the welfare of our growing youth at heart.

Your cheerful disposition and firmly settled opinions have, to my certain knowledge, caused your advice to be asked and acted upon by many a young New Zealander, and I know of no one better qualified to pilot a company through such a trip as you purpose to take than yourself.

Wishing you every success, I remain, yours sincerely,

W. A. Gibb,  
Manager National Insurance Co.  
M. M. IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

Sydney,

January 10, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am very glad to be able to pay you the compliment, and that no empty one, that I know of none of my acquaintance with the practical business ability so fitted to be trusted with the responsibilities of the trip you propose as yourself.

Your companions will be very fortunate in having your society. You can refer to me in any way you like, having known you for some eight years.

With kind regards, I am, yours truly,

Ernest W. Moon, J.P.,

Consul-General in Australasia,  
Republic of Costa Rica, Central America.

M. M. IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

Sydney,

January 19, 1885.

DEAR IRVING,—Having heard that you contemplate a pleasure trip to the Old Country, taking with you several young gentlemen under your supervision, with the object of sight-seeing, coupled with the advantage of the benefits of travelling and expanding the mental faculties, it gives me great pleasure to state that, from my personal acquaintance, I know nobody more gifted to carry out a scheme of that nature better than yourself.

Should I be of any value to you as to references, let me know, and I will do what I can.

The Hon. W. B. Dalley, now Acting Premier of the Colony, will give you a letter if necessary.

Wishing you every success and a pleasant trip, yours very truly,

C. W. Readett.  
M. M. IRVING, Esq.

*From Captain Cargill, late of s.s. "Australia," &c. 28 Market Street, Sydney,*

January 13, 1885.

DEAR SIR,—If my name can be of any use to you, I shall be glad to have it amongst your referees. Hoping you may be successful, I remain, yours truly,

W. Cargill.  
M. M. IRVING, Esq.,

Sydney.

Maclean, Clarence River,

December 16, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR,—I shall be only too glad to be referred to by anyone on the subject of your letter, viz., that of American and Continental travel. Of course you would be a capable and good companion and guide for anyone to have. If you hear of any fortunate "Clarenceite" likely to form one of your party, send him along to me.

With kindest regards, yours truly,

James B. Crabbe, M.D., J.P., &c.  
M. M. IRVING, Esq.

Via Adelaide, S.A.,

November 20, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR,—I read with much interest the details of your project for a tour through America, Britain, and Europe; and much regret that I have no sons old enough to participate in such an interesting and instructive expedition. From my knowledge of you for so many years past, I can safely say that to any "young fellows" placed under your charge, you will prove a much better "conductor" than any of the leaders of Cook's tours I have ever met. The terms you propose are very moderate; and such an amount so laid out would, in my opinion, be money very well spent.

I am somewhat out of the world up here (Hergott Springs), where I am now Resident Engineer of the Railway to Primrose Springs, a 150-mile section of the Trans-Continental Railway to Port Darwin, else I might be able to find one or two for your company in this colony.

Wishing you success, believe me, yours very truly,

J. Randall Mann, A.M. Inst. C.E.  
MALCOLM M. IRVING, Esq.,

19 O'Connell Street, Sydney.

## Extracts from Various Letters.

"So much depends on whom a gentleman travels with, whether he reaps any benefit from it, that I do not scruple to say you are specially adapted by temperament and disposition to carry out successfully the trip you propose. I think you have named a sum rather too low, as I always found I had to allow a day all round."

A temperance friend writes :—"You know my views, and I hope you will discourage drinking all you can. Although you are practically a total abstainer, still you will have some difficulty in influencing seven or eight young Colonials."

A wealthy New Zealand friend says :—"You know my dear son, as fine a boy as ever left the colonies, spent £1500 in nine months; spent all his time in London, and returned home in bad health to die, having seen absolutely nothing. I shall always blame myself for letting him go alone."

A minister of religion writes :—"I trust you will insist on the due observance of Sunday; don't travel on that day if possible, but keep it as your Anglican Church training teaches you. With the blessing of one who has known you from boyhood," &c.

Vignette

Batson and at Water, Printers, 195 Clarence Street, Sydney.

Pacific Mail Steamship Co., To Passengers desirous of avoiding the Heat and discomfort of the Red Sea. Overland Route to Great Britain, through America, Under Contract with N.S.W. and N.Z. Governments. The Magnificent Steamships of this line leave Sydney for San Francisco, calling at Auckland and Honolulu, every fourth Thursday, at 3 p.m., as under:— Steamer. Tons. Date of Departure. City Of Sydney 3400 February 26 May 21 Australia 3200 March 26 June 18 Zealandia 3200 April 23 July 16 Passengers are booked to any point on the principal Railroad Routes in the United States and Canada, or through to Liverpool, London, or Paris, &c.; with special advantages, and have choice at San Francisco of the unrivalled Atlantic steamships of Cunard, Inman, White Star, and other lines; and all First-class Passengers are allowed 250lb. baggage Free of Charge. Tickets are good until used, and allow passengers to stop off as long as they choose, to visit all places of interest in America and Canada. Stop-over privilege is also allowed on steamers' tickets for Auckland and Honolulu. Through Fare To London First-Class: £66 and Upwards Time cards, railway maps, and guide books, showing all routes to any point in the United States, may be had on application. Passengers proceeding eastward can connect with the steamers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company leaving ports in China and Japan for San Francisco. For rates of passage and freight and all other information, apply to— Gilchrist, Watt & Co., General Agents, 1 Bent St., Sydney.

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Fac-Simile. Inspecting Engineer'S Form. Reply To be addressed to— The Director-General of Stores India Office, Westminster, S.W. India office, Westminster, S.W. 3rd January 1880 I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acquaint you that your Tender of the date and for the articles mentioned below has been this day accepted, subject to the Conditions and Specification on which you tendered. Your claim must be preferred in duplicate on the forms provided by this office, and you are requested to quote on them the date of this letter and the following reference. I request that you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter, and that you will not commence the work until you have received full instructions from the Inspecting Engineer. I am, Your obedient Servant, Director-General of Stores. Date of Tender Nature of Articles For what Service Rate per each Gross Amount. £. s. d. £ s. d. G. & S. [945] 600 8/1 The above is a fac-simile (omitting price) of the Fourth consecutive order from the British Government to the American Watch Co, of Waltham, Mass., for Watches to be used by the Conductors, Engineers, Station-Masters, and other employees on the Indian State Railways. The Waltham Watches were selected as The Best, after thorough examination and open competition with the watches of the most prominent European makers. About 1500 Watches have now been furnished the British Government by the Waltham Company. Gold Medals. Highest Awards At All International Exhibitions—Philadelphia, Paris, Sydney, Melbourne. American Watch Company, Waltham, Mass., U.S.A., Branch Office—Waltham Buildings, Bond Street, Sydney. Donald Manson, General Manager In Australia. Offices and Sales Rooms— New York. Boston. Chicago. London. Robbins & Appleton, General Agents. The Wholesale only supplied.

A Recent Exploration of the King Country, New Zealand.

By J. H. KERRY-NICHOLLS.

*From 'Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography,' April No 1885.*

## A Recent Exploration of the King Country, New Zealand.

By J. H. KERRY-NICHOLLS.

*Introduction.*—That part of the North Island known as the King Country extends from lat. 38° to 39° 20#

S., and from long. 174° 20' to 176° E. Its area as well as can be defined is equivalent to about 10,000 square miles. The *aukati* or sacred boundary-line of the Maoris separating it from the European portion of the colony will be seen coloured red on the map. The physical features of this vast region present not only many beauties, but many natural advantages for European settlement, while it is one of the best watered parts of the island. In its southern portion the Whanganui passes through it, fed by many tributaries flowing from the high mountain ranges both in the southern and central divisions of the island. In the west the Maukau river and its affluents flow from its central region to the coast. In the north the Waipa, Puniu, Waipari, Waipapa, and other streams having their sources in the Titiraupenga and Rangitoto Mountains, wind through it to the Waikato river; the high wooded ranges of the central tableland form the sources of many watercourses disemboguing into Lake Taupo, while in the south-east the snow-clad heights of Tongariro and Ruapehu pour down their rapid waters in a perfect network of creeks and rivers. In the west it has an extensive coast-line, and it possesses one of the largest harbours in the island. Dense forests cover a large portion of its southern area and extend northerly over the broken ranges of the Tuhua to Mount Titiraupenga, and the Rangitoto Mountains. Westward of this division there is a considerable area of open country, including the valley of the Waipa, which in its turn is bounded on the west by high fern-clad hills and wooded ranges. In the vicinity of the high snow-clad mountains in the south there are vast open tablelands, while immediately to the west of Lake Taupo and north of Titiraupenga to the banks of the Waikato there are again extensive open plains.

Geologically considered, the King Country possesses all the rock formations or strata in which gold, coal, iron, and other minerals are found, while its extensive forests are rich in timber of the most varied and valuable kind. Geysers and thermal springs possessing wonderful medicinal properties are found in the vicinity of its many extinct craters; and while it possesses one of the largest active volcanoes in the world, its grand natural features are crowned by the snowy peaks of some of the highest mountains of Australasia. In the north the trachytic cones of Titiraupenga and Perongia rise to an elevation varying from 3000 to 4000 feet; near to its western boundary the snowy peak of Taranaki or Mount Egmont attains to an altitude of 8700 feet; on its eastern confines the rugged crater of Tongariro sends forth its clouds of steam from a height exceeding 7000 feet, while on its southern side the colossal form of Mount Ruapehu rears its glacier-crowned summit to an altitude of over 9000 feet above the level of the sea. With these important features Nature has endowed it with scenery of the grandest order and with a climate unsurpassed for its variety and healthfulness.

The political state of the King Country forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of New Zealand. In 1840 the colony was founded. In this year the treaty of Waitangi was signed, and by it the Maoris ceded all the rights of sovereignty to the Queen, and her Majesty confirmed and granted to the chiefs and tribes exclusive possession of their lands. In 1854 the native chiefs, seeing that their *mana* or authority over the tribes decreased with the advance of European settlement, convened a great tribal gathering, at which it was decided that the sacred mountain of Tongariro should form the centre of a district in which no land should be sold to the Government, that no roads should be made by the Europeans within the area, and that a king should be selected to reign over the Maoris. These resolutions were all eventually carried out. After the war in 1863-64 Te Kooti, the principal rebel leader, with his marauding bands and many of the tribes then in rebellion withdrew into the territory now known as the King Country; the *aukati* or sacred boundary-line was drawn, and the Hauhaus—the native name by which the rebel Maoris were known—forbade, under penalty of death, the entrance of Europeans into their country.

In undertaking my journey of exploration I was prompted by no other desire than to make known more fully that portion of the colony which was virtually a blank on the maps. The object was, in fine, of a purely scientific nature, and was prosecuted solely in conformity with that view, and entirely on my own responsibility; since, owing to the complicated phases of the Maori question, I found that I could get no support from the Government until I had successfully carried out my object. Owing to the hostility of the natives the difficult point was to decide how the journey could be best set about. The matter was laid before Sir George Grey—late Governor of the colony; and he with a ready desire to promote the object wrote a letter of introduction in my behalf to Tawhiao, the Maori king, asking him to grant me his *mana* or authority to travel through the Maori territory. The letter was presented at a moment when the native mind was much disturbed in connection with the political relationship existing between the Maoris and the Europeans, and the king advised me not to set out on my journey at that time. I made no further appeal to Tawhiao; but I determined that if I could not get into the King Country at the north, I would do so at the south, and on the 8th March, 1883, I left Auckland for Tanranga to explore the country at my own risk.

Some of the most interesting results of the exploration may be summarised as follows:—

Up to the time of my making the journey, the King Country, owing to the obstruction of the natives, had never been surveyed, and consequently many of its remarkable geographical and geological features had remained but imperfectly known, the existing maps of this part of the colony being mere outlines. From the commencement of my journey I therefore adopted a system of barometrical measurements and topographical

observations, and thus secured a supply of information which I mapped out from day to day, while the names of mountains, rivers, plains, and other features of topographical importance were obtained from the natives by my interpreter. Altogether we accomplished over 600 miles of travel—with three horses ultimately reduced to two; found twenty-five rivers not previously shown on the maps, with two small lakes; examined the hydrography of Lake Taupo in relation to the four distinct watersheds flowing into that lake; traced the sources of four of the principal rivers of the colony, viz. the Whanganui, Waikato, Whangaehu, and Manganui-a-te-Ao; ascended Tongariro (7300 feet) and examined its active crater; ascended Mount Ruapehu (9000 feet), the highest peak of the North Island; traced the principal mountain ranges forming the central division of the King Country; ascended the Kaimanawa Mountains to an altitude of 4000 feet, and found the geological formation to be indicative of auriferous and other metalliferous deposits; fixed the altitude of 100 different points throughout the journey, from sea-level to over 9000 feet above that standard—by this table the configuration of a large portion of the island may be arrived at.

The various altitudes above sea-level of the country traversed will be found in the table on the map, and the numbers of which correspond to those marking the camping-places and principal stations of observation along the route.

During the journey I had an opportunity of examining the varied flora of this division of New Zealand, and I obtained some of the choicest specimens of Alpine plants and obtained their native names from the Maoris. I secured specimens from the highest altitude attained by plant life in the North Island, in the *Gnaphalium bellidioides* and the *Ligusticum aromaticum*. It is remarkable that the Maoris could give us no native names for these two plants.

In thus referring to what I have done in connection with travel in New Zealand, it is a pleasing duty for me to make at least a passing reference to others who have laboured in the same field. At the head of the list as an explorer and author stands Sir George Grey, at one time a Vice-President of this Society, and who during the period of his governorship of the colony did much in the cause of travel in many parts of both islands, and rescued from oblivion some of the finest poetry and most valuable traditions of the Maori race. In the early days of the colony, at a time when the Maoris were ready to welcome Europeans, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, a member of the Austrian *Novara* Expedition, travelled through a large portion of the North and South Islands, and published a very valuable work upon his explorations. At the present day Dr. Julius von Haast—a Gold Medallist of this Society—has done great work in connection with scientific research, especially in the Middle Island. Dr. James Hector has laboured long and earnestly in the Geological Department of the colony. Again, the Survey Department has been for many years carried on in a very able way under Mr. James McKerrow and Mr. Percy Smith. This branch of the civil service has had many difficulties to contend with, owing in many instances to native obstruction, as well as to the rugged and mountainous character of a great portion of the colony. I may also here point out that about a year subsequent to my journey through the King Country the Government obtained permission from the native chiefs to allow a flying survey to be made for a proposed line of railway through the Maori country, and since that time a triangulation of a portion of the King Country has been effected.

In setting out upon the undertaking, as I had resolved to travel without the assistance of friendly natives, whose aid it would have been impossible to obtain, and as I could not speak the native language, I had to secure the services of an interpreter. In this I was fortunately successful in the person of Mr. J. A. Turner, a half-caste youth, to whose intelligence and good-fellowship I owe much of the success of my journey. Like myself, he had not before travelled through the country we intended to explore. We were each mounted, and our tent and what little provisions we could carry were placed on a third horse, which unfortunately broke down through overwork and privation before our journey was half completed. We started from Tauranga, examining the lakes and hot springs on our way, and on the 5th of April made a final departure for the King Country, from the extensive geyser and hot-spring region of Wairakei.

*The Native Race.*—There can be no doubt whatever that the Maori race is greatly on the decrease. In Cook's time (1769) the whole native population was estimated as exceeding by a little 100,000, but I am of opinion that this was a very low estimate for that period. In 1859 it only amounted to 56,000; of this number 53,000 fell to the North Island and only 2283 to the Middle Island. In 1881 the number had decreased to 44,099, of which 24,370 were males and 19,729 females. The three principal diseases conducing to the decay of the race I found to be phthisis, chronic asthma, and scrofula, the first two being principally brought about, I believe, by a half-savage half-civilised mode of life, and the latter from maladies contracted since the first contact with Europeans. It is, however, clear that there is a large number of natives yet distributed throughout the King Country, and among them are to be found, as of old, some of the finest specimens of the human race. A change of life, however, so different from that followed by their forefathers has brought about a considerable alteration for the worse among the rising population, and although during my journey I met and conversed with many tattooed warriors of the old school, who were invariably both physically and mentally superior to the

younger natives, it was clear that this splendid type of savage will soon become a matter of the past. I found the natives living much in their primitive style, one of the most pernicious innovations, however, of modern civilisation amongst them being an immoderate use of tobacco among both old and young. Although most of the native women were strong and well-proportioned in stature, and apparently robust and healthy, there appeared to be a marked falling off in the physical development of the younger men when compared with the stalwart muscular proportions of many of the older natives—a result which may, no doubt, be accounted for by their irregular mode of life when compared with that usually followed by their forefathers, combined with the vices of civilisation, to which many of them are gradually falling a prey.

*The Region of Lake Taupo.*—This region is formed of an extended tableland which towards its central point, that is to say in the vicinity of the lake margin, attains to a mean altitude of nearly 2000 feet above the level of the sea. Beyond this inner circle of the great lake basin, the plane of elevation varies in altitude, and attains its highest point at its southern division, where, on the Onetapu desert at the eastern base of the great mountain Ruapehu, it rises to a height of 3000 feet, from which place it inclines gradually towards the south coast, and divides the northern and southern watershed of this portion of the country. Easterly of this the tableland is intersected by the Kaimanawa Mountains, and from the western base of Ruapehu it falls with a rapid descent into the valley of the Whanganui. To the north of the lake along the upper valley of the Waikato it has an average elevation of from 1500 to nearly 2000 feet, until it descends into a broad valley near Atea-Amuri, where the Waikato river flows to the north-west to enter the plains of its lower valley. Eastward of the lake the highest point of the plateau is attained near to the northern slope of the Kaimanawa Mountains, where it clips in a north-easterly course in the direction of the Bay of Plenty. Over a large area along the western shore of the lake, the tableland maintains a more equal elevation than near the eastern shore-line until it reaches the head of the Waihora river, whence it inclines north-westerly around the high mountains of Titiraupenga, until it gradually merges into the broad low valley of the Upper Waipa.

It is as near as possible in the centre of this vast area of elevation that the enormous sheet of water forming Lake Taupo is situated. Its superficial area is over 300 square miles, and its mean altitude by barometrical measurement I found to be 1.175 feet. The margin or shore-line assumes a somewhat oval shape, with a broad bay on the western side. It possesses one small island situated near to its south-eastern shore, and its coast is varied with beautiful bays and headlands which in some instances rise many hundreds of feet above the white pumice shore. Although the waters of the lake are comparatively shallow around a greater part of its margin, there are places where it is of enormous depth, especially near its centre in the direction of the western bay.

In describing the hydrography of this wide region, the area of the lake basin may be defined by those divisions of the country which give rise to the rivers, creeks, and other waters flowing into it, and which have their origin for the most part in the extensive mountain ranges scattered over various parts of the tableland. Although on the most recent maps of the colony only about eight rivers are represented as flowing into the lake, I found on the western shore, in addition to other smaller streams, the Kuramanga, Kuratao, Whareroa, Mangakara, Whanganui,

This river is distinct from the large river of that name flowing to the south, and which has no connection with the lake.

Waikino and Waikomiko, besides three other streams on the northern shore, the names of which I was unable to ascertain.

It will therefore be seen that there are not less than seventeen rivers running into this lake, with innumerable smaller streams; while it should be remarked that the only river or stream of any kind flowing out of this immense area of water is the Waikato at the north-east end. Most of the rivers on the eastern side of the lake receive their waters from the north-western slope of the Kaimanawa Mountains, and those from the west from the Tuhua Hauhungaroa and Hurakia ranges; comparatively little water flows into the lake at the northern end, since the country thereabouts dips mostly in the direction of the valley of the Waikato. It is, in fact, at its southern end that the lake receives its greatest volume of water from the Upper Waikato river and its tributaries. This river, rising at an altitude of 7000 feet on the eastern side of Ruapehu, is fed by the snows of that mountain and of Tongariro, as well as by the enormous watershed of a large portion of the Kaimanawa Mountains, along the western base of which it runs in its winding course to the lake, receiving likewise on its way the eastern streams of the Kakaramea ranges and the overflowing waters of Lake Rotoaira as they descend by the Poutu river. The waters of the lake rise rapidly during the rainy season; while, with the continuance of heavy winds, its waves are lashed into fury, and break upon its shores with the force and roar of a raging sea.

The existence of a body of water of the area of Lake Taupo, and of its form and depth in the centre of this elevated region, may be accounted for in several ways. It may have originated in the terrific throes of an earthquake, or by a fracture or break in the plateau. I am, however, of opinion that the present basin of the lake was at one time an active crater, which had its existence long prior to the period when the volcanic cones surrounding it sprang into existence, and that at the time of its activity it was considerably higher than it is at

the present day; its subsidence or depression having been caused by one of those sudden changes peculiar to regions subject to volcanic disturbance. From every outward indication it would appear that the vast deposits of pumice rock so widely distributed over this portion of the tableland had their origin in the once active crater forming the basin of the great lake, and that both the volcanoes of Ruapehu and Tongariro rose above their still higher planes long after the period when the great Taupo crater—now forming the cup of the great lake—was the principal outlet of subterranean fires in this wide field of volcanic action.

The *fauna* of the lake, so far as it is at present known, is not extensive, although a system of dredging in its deep waters might bring to light interesting and perhaps new forms of life. The largest indigenous fish is the *inanga*

Specimens of the *inanga* and *koura* were obtained from the lake and brought with me to England and submitted for examination to Dr. A. Gunther, to whom I am indebted for their names and distribution.

of the natives, about 6 inches long. It is the *Galaxias brevipinnis*, and is characteristic of the fresh-water *fauna* of the Antarctic zone, the genus being represented by several species in temperate Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Tierra del Fuego, and Patagonia. There are likewise two smaller fish, the *koaro*, about 3 inches long, common to Lake Taupo and to Lake Rotoaira, and the *kakopu*, a scaleless and still smaller fish. There is also a crawfish, *Paranephrops planifrons*, a form characteristic of New Zealand; this species, which is abundant in the lakes and rivers of the North Island, is represented in the South Island by *Paranephrops setosus*. It is named *koura* by the Maoris, and is much esteemed as an article of food. Although eels abound in all parts of the island, there are none to be found in the waters flowing into Lake Taupo. The fresh-water shells are represented by *Unio cyclas* and a small species of *hydrobia*, the two former kinds being common on the western shore of the lake. There is a small graceful gull called by the natives *tarapunga*; the head, breast, and under part of the body of this bird are snow white, the wings of a light grey tipped with black, and the tail white and grey with black horizontal bars. The lake is at all times frequented by large Hocks of wild duck, and by other aquatic fowl common to the North Island. The only representative of reptilian life I found in the vicinity of the lake was a small brown lizard about 2 inches long.

There are several centres of thermal action within the immediate regions of Lake Taupo, and both at its northern and southern end considerable areas of country are covered with geysers, solfataras, fumaroles, and hot springs in a very active condition.

*Northern End of Lake Taupo.*—Wairakei forms one of the principal seats of thermal action, which would seem to extend with more or less continuity from the volcano of Tongariro in the south through the lake country to Whakari the active crater in the Bay of Plenty in the east. Following the course of the Waiko river, we reached Tapu-waeharuru at the northern end of Lake Taupo. The bay on which this place is situated, and around which our journey began, is one of the most remarkable parts of the lake, for it is here that the Waikato river rolls out of the broad expanse of water to pursue its long winding course to the sea. At the point where the river leaves its great natural reservoir the depth of water is not more than from four to six feet, but a few feet beyond it gradually deepens as it flows onward in a rapid course through a winding narrow valley with sloping sides which gradually become higher and steeper until they form a precipitous terraced gorge as the stream cuts its way through the pumice formation of the tableland in a devious course to the Huka Falls, over which it plunges to dash onward again through a still deeper valley, the bed of which at the base of the falls is a little over 100 feet below the water-level of the lake—the distance between the lake and the falls by the course of the river being about five miles. The point where the river takes its rise is the only outlet of any kind around the vast margin of the lake, and it is this spot which forms, as a matter of fact, the true source of the Waikato. The great river which enters the lake at the south, and which is supposed by a romantic fiction of the natives to flow through the lake district without mingling with its waters, and which is erroneously styled the "Upper Waikato," is without doubt, when geographically considered, a distinct stream, which is no more connected with the Waikato proper than are the numerous other streams which all add their quota to the lake waters.

*Eastern Shore of Lake Taupo.*—From Tapuwaeharuru our course lay around the eastern shore of the lake, and as the weather was remarkably fine we obtained an uninterrupted view of the magnificent scenery that unfolded itself before the gaze. Taking into consideration the grand expanse of lake, the varied forms of the surrounding mountains, with the active crater of Tongariro and the colossal proportions of Ruapehu—in fine, snow, water, mountain, and volcano—never had I gazed, in any part of the world, upon so varied and so beautiful a scene.

We passed along the shore until the western side of the lake opened out into a deep bay, with bold rugged cliffs shooting up perpendicularly from the water, and the moon was already high when we pitched our first camp on the banks of the Waitahanui river, with the broad lake on one side of our tent and a *raupo* swamp on the other.

At this camping-place, which stood on a level with the lake (1175 feet above the sea), we experienced for the first time one of those sudden changes of temperature which afterwards became a remarkable feature of the

journey. At 4 P.M. the thermometer registered as high as 80° Fahr. in the shade, and at midnight it stood at 2° below freezing-point, being a variation of no less than 50° in eight hours; when we awoke at daylight the thermometer marked 4° below freezing-point. On the second day we likewise experienced a great variation from cold to heat and from heat to cold. Thus, on the 7th April at 6 A.M. the thermometer indicated 4° of frost, at 1 P.M. it registered 84° in the shade, at 3 P.M. it had fallen to 80°, and at 7.30 P.M. to 64°, giving an extreme variation of 56° in seven hours. At midnight we had 6° of frost.

Our journey of about 30 miles around the eastern shore of the lake brought us to the delta of the Upper Waikato, where that river flows into the lake. At this point the rapid stream flows into a semicircular bay formed by a bend in the lake shore. The river, owing to recent rains and the melting of the snows of Ruapehu, was coming down at a rapid rate; and the water, sweeping over our horses' backs, nearly carried them from under us. This is one of the most dangerous crossing-places around the lake at the time of a strong fresh, as the waters in their rapid descent from the highlands to the south carry everything in their course into the broad lake beyond.

At a short distance from this point we reached Tokanu, which is situated at the extreme south-western end of the lake and on the shores of a picturesque bay. Here, upon the sides of the fern-clad slopes and level flats, amidst boiling fountains, hot springs, and fumaroles, the *whares* of the natives were scattered about in the most picturesque confusion, but all looking out upon the lake and its picturesque surroundings. All the springs, solfataras, and fumaroles hereabout partake of the same character as those of the other centres of thermal action around the lake, and are used by the natives in the same way for the curative properties they possess, as well as for cooking, bathing, and other purposes. The largest and most remarkable geyser is Te Pirori, which from a deep round hole throws up a column of boiling water to a height of 10 to 15 feet amidst vast volumes of steam. The whole region of the Kaka-ramea range to the rear of the settlement was without doubt at one time the seat of an extensive volcanic action, and it is from the still active agencies observable in certain parts of these mountains that the existence of the present springs may be traced.

*The Rangipo Tableland.*—From Tokanu we followed the course of the Upper Waikato, our direction being along the Rangipo tableland towards Tongariro, which was some 15 miles distant by the way we were going to attack it; and as we were acting a kind of strategic movement, we kept out to the east along the Waikato river to avoid being seen by the natives of Rotoaira, who keep watch and ward over the sacred mountain.

The Rangipo plateau—or place of the "black cloudy sky," as its name implies—which may be said to form the central division of the great highland of the interior of the island, is in reality considerably higher than the extensive elevated region surrounding Lake Taupo. While the latter has a mean elevation of about 2000 feet above the level of the sea, the height of the Rangipo is over 3000 feet at its highest point on the Onetapu desert on the eastern side of Ruapehu. This extensive plane of elevation takes its rise a short distance from the southern end of the lake, and extends in the form of broad open downs for a distance of over 40 miles, when it merges into the Murimotu Plains as they fall to the south. On its eastern margin are the Kaimanawa Mountains, at the extreme base of which the Upper Waikato rises in its winding course to join the great lake beyond; to the north-west the cone-shaped summits of the Kakaramea range rise up, clothed with a dense vegetation as they slope gracefully to the shores of Lake Rotoaira in the west, and beyond which there are again extensive plains which slope gradually to the valley of the Whanganui. Eight in the very centre of the tableland towers the magnificent cone of Tongariro, situated in the midst of a cluster of lower mountains; whilst close to it and separated only by a narrow valley stands the giant form of Ruapehu.

Up to the time when we arrived at the Rangipo we had enjoyed the most delightful weather, but a sudden change was the prelude to some of the hardest experiences of our journey. A great storm and flood set in, and during the ten days and nights which it lasted, the rain poured down incessantly without a single hour's intermission and without a single break in the clouds, the wind blowing a hurricane most of the time, and veering round to all points of the compass, but invariably coming back to north-east and north.

*Ascent of Tongariro.*—Before dealing with the particulars of the ascent of Tongariro, I will describe the general physical and geological features of the system of volcanic cones, comprising what I may term the Tongariro group.

The cluster of cones forms collectively an almost complete circle rising from a level plateau, which near the base of the mountains has a general elevation of about 3000 feet above the level of the sea. Right in the very centre of this great circle of cones and extinct craters, the tapering form of the burning mountain rises from the bottom of an extensive basin-like depression, which, encircled as it is by the rugged sides of the surrounding ranges, has somewhat the appearance of an ancient crater. This beautiful mountain, especially when viewed from its southern side, strikes the beholder by its wonderfully symmetrical proportions. Besides the active crater at the summit of the great cone, there is another to the north-eastern side of the group, known as *Ketetahi*, near to which there is likewise an extensive system of boiling springs.

The morning of the 18th April broke dull and cloudy. We had up to this time been detained exactly ten days

through stress of weather, whilst waiting to ascend the *tapued* mountain,

Tongariro is strictly *tapu*; this word is applied to all places held sacred by the Maoris, it is synonymous with the *taboo* of the South Sea Islanders. To interfere with or trespass upon any place to which the *tapu* has been extended is considered an act of sacrilege.

the dull monotony of our position being only relieved by the somewhat exciting expectation that the Maoris might be down upon us at any moment. The thermometer which for the three previous days had given a mean average of 57° Fahr. in the shade, suddenly fell to 43°. The omen was a good one; a cold invigorating breeze blew direct from the south, the sun shone brilliantly, the dark cloud which had up to this time entirely obscured the mountain, rolled away, and the magnificent tapering cone glittering with ice and snow, and crowned with its cloud of steam, stood out against the sky in beautiful relief.

We gained the Waihohonu valley, a wild ravine, with a winding stream running down its centre, and strewn with gigantic boulders of black shining rock, volcanic rock which appeared to have been rounded by the action of fire, and in some cases to have been partially melted before their ejection from the crater.

We reached the base of the great cone at its southern side, at a point which marked 4000 feet above the level of the sea. Just at this part of the cone some volcanic disturbance which had occurred probably ages ago, had poured down a stream of liquid lava, which, cooling as it were by some sudden blast, had congealed into a rugged and almost perpendicular ridge of dark lustrous adamantine-like rock, in its overflow from the summit of the mountain. It was up this precipitous ridge that we determined to fight our way.

Fortunately the weather kept beautifully clear, and at an altitude of 5000 feet we obtained a magnificent view of Mount Egmont, its peaked snow-clad summit rising like a glittering island above the vapoury cloud that hung around the lower portion of the mountain. At 6600 feet two small blue lakes were visible on the summit of a flat-topped spur, while about six miles distant to the south was the grand form of Ruapehu, its peaks rising in the form of glittering cones high into the clear air. At this point we found the last sign of vegetation in the small Alpine plant *Gnaphalium bellidioides*. At 7000 feet the whole aspect of the cone had a bare and desolate appearance, and was very treacherous and slippery with sheets of ice. Here we had to go on all-fours, and even in this way it was very difficult to prevent ourselves rolling down the precipitous slopes below. We could now smell the sulphurous fumes of the crater, as the clouds of steam rolled over us.

We crawled up a steep frozen incline on to the hot quaking edge of the great crater, where a grand and curious sight burst upon our view. We were now at an altitude of over 7000 feet above the level of the sea. The steep broken sides of the crater wound before us in the form of an almost complete circle, nearly a mile in circumference. Within the great circle there was a smaller or inner crater, the sides of which inclined gradually towards its centre in the shape of a complete funnel. This inner crater was separated from the larger one only by a narrow slip or ridge.

Looking down into the main crater which appeared to be about 400 feet in depth, its sides, rugged and broken as it were by the force of volcanic fires, were built up principally of enormous masses of trachytic rock, lava ridges, and beds of conglomerate, formed mostly of rounded stones and boulders, fused together into a compact mass by what must at some period have been a very powerful igneous action. At the bottom of the crater there were scattered about huge rocky ridges, from the large crevices and fissures of which jets of steam burst forth with a roaring screeching noise which echoed from the depths below with a wailing sound. Hot springs sent up streams of boiling water, which, running over the rocks and losing themselves in the hot soil, were sent high into the air again in the form of coiling jets of vapour. Miniature cones of dark, smoking mud rose up in every direction, while around all was a seething fused mass of almost molten soil. In every direction were large deposits of pure yellow sulphur, some of which assumed a rock-like formation. At other places it formed a crust over the steaming earth, and when the thermal action was less intense the glittering yellow crystals covered the ground like a thick frost. No fire was visible in the crater, nor was there any indication of a very recent volcanic eruption. The whole crater of the mountain was in the state of a very active solfatara, which is evidently more active at some periods than at others.

The inner or second crater, which likewise sent forth a vast volume of steam from its boiling depths, was in much the same condition of activity as the larger one, only that the deposits of sulphur literally lined its sloping sides with a bright yellow coating, which came up to the very summit of its rim, and lit up the steam clouds in brilliant prismatic hues.

It was dark when we reached the base of the mountain, but we managed by slow degrees to find our way over the masses of rock which lay scattered over the deep ravine forming the head of the Waihohonu valley. When we arrived at our camping-place our first anxiety was to see that the natives had not swept down and taken our horses. Luck was, however, on our side, and we found the animals where we had left them. It was evident that we were going to have a severe night, as the temperature was falling rapidly, and as the moon rose bright and clear, a heavy frost set in. We lit a fire and made a scanty meal off tea and biscuit, and as we were anxious to get clear of the *tapued* mountain with the first streak of dawn, we resolved not to erect our tent in

order that we might not be delayed in our rapid retreat. We therefore spread our blankets upon the ground and made a tolerably comfortable bed on the scoria. At midnight the whole valley was covered with a thick coating of white frost, which glistened like snow beneath the pale moonlight. At this hour the thermometer stood at 27°; at four o'clock A.M. it marked 22°, and at six o'clock, just before sunrise, it indicated exactly 12° of frost.

It did not take us long to saddle up, and once on our horses we rode rapidly away from Tongariro; and just as the first ray of sunlight gleamed over the hills, we gained the plains beyond to begin the ascent of Ruapehu.

*Ascent of Ruapehu.*—The level plain separating Tongariro from Ruapehu was not more than five miles across between the wide-spreading bases of the two mountains, and as we gradually approached towards the latter its gigantic proportions became every moment more distinctly visible. The aspect of the mountain as it rose in all its grandeur above the surrounding tableland, resplendent in ice, snow and sunshine, was most beautiful. Ruapehu is situated immediately in the centre of the great tableland which forms the most elevated portion of the North Island. The mountain which takes rank among the largest extinct craters in the world, assumes the form of an enormous truncated cone, with a far-reaching base of oblong form, and which gradually narrows towards the summit, at which point the mountain is nearly a mile in length from its northern to its southern peak. Its base, if calculated from where it springs from the level plains, may be estimated at about 60 miles in circumference. Ruapehu, unlike Tongariro, is not a true scoria cone, but a gigantic crater of elevation which during its volcanic outbursts sent forth showers of ashes and rivers of lava that spread themselves for miles around the base of the mountain, while the surrounding region over a vast area was upheaved by its elevatory force.

It did not take us long to see that it would be impossible to make the ascent and descent of the mountain in a single day. We therefore tethered our horses on a small patch of Alpine shrubs, where they remained with but scanty food and without water for thirty-six hours. We next packed ourselves with the tent blankets and other necessaries to the extent of about 25 lbs. each, and set off to climb the long dreary spurs which mounted steeply upward until they lost themselves in the snowline where we resolved to camp for the night in order to begin the final ascent to the summit of the great peak at daylight on the morrow. Heavily laden as we were, we found the climbing both trying and monotonous. Our feet sank deeply into the shifting scoria which, fractured into small pieces, covered the sides of the mountain for miles around in a dark grey deposit devoid of all vegetation.

At an altitude of 6200 feet, evening closed around us, and we determined to make the dreary locality we had reached our camping-place for the night; and by the aid of the alpenstocks and flagstaff we had brought up with us, we managed to partially erect our tent under the lee of a boulder. Although the moon shone as bright as day, the wind still continued to blow in heavy gusts, and at midnight the climax came—a terrific gale of wind swept over the mountain, and in an instant our tent was carried away from over us. So great was the force of the wind, that it was impossible to stand against it. Blinding showers of sand and scoria filled the air almost to suffocation; everything was covered with a fine dust, which got into the hair, filled the eyes, and caused a choking sensation about the throat. It was useless to endeavour to erect our tent again, so we squatted down, Maori fashion, in our blankets, behind another boulder which served to break the force of the wind. The thermometer now stood at 27°, and the gale continued to blow throughout the night, sweeping over the ice-bound summit of the mountain and then down into the valleys below with extraordinary force. At five o'clock in the morning the thermometer indicated 7° of frost.

As soon as we had breakfasted we started to make the ascent of the great peak whose steep snow-clad sides rose up at the end of the spur on which we had been camped, the altitude of this spot being 6200 feet. At 7000 feet we gained an enormous lava bluff, which formed rugged giantlike steps of rock, up which we climbed with great difficulty. At 7400 we came to another bluff-like formation, which rose above a steep scoria ridge covered with small particles of trachytic rock, pumice, tufa, and obsidian. From an altitude of a little over 5000 feet we had found no vegetation, save that represented by the two small plants previously mentioned, *Ligusticum aromaticum* and the *Gnaphalium bellidioides*, which grew side by side at an altitude of 7000 feet under the sheltering rocks of a lava ridge facing the north. At an altitude of 8400 feet towered a series of jagged rocks, which form conspicuous features in the outline of the great mountain when viewed from the plains to the east and north. All round this region the mountain was clad with snow, and festoons of icicles glittered from every rock and precipice. At 9000 feet we came to a steep incline covered with frozen snow as hard as ice. Up to this we had to crawl on our hands and knees, as the wind, sweeping around the mountain from the right, fearfully cold and with unabated force, made it impossible to stand. At an altitude of 9100 feet, after a hard struggle we gained the rounded top of the great peak. Even at this stage we were not at the summit of the mountain; for the enormous rocky crown which we had remarked from the plain below, still towered above our heads to a height of 150 feet. We now found that this singular monument was formed by a large outcrop of lava and conglomerate rock, which appeared at some remote period, when the volcanic fires were at their fiercest stage, to have oozed up above the surface of the surrounding rocks, and then congealed into a craggy mass with a symmetrical outline which assumed the form of a rounded bluff towards the east, and tapered gradually off

towards the west, covered with a thick crown of frozen snow that overhung its summit like a fringe. To scale this ice-bound pinnacle was our next task. With the cold blasts coming now and again with the force of a perfect hurricane, we crawled on our hands and knees along the steep slopes of the lower end, and cut footsteps with our tomahawks in the snow and ice. In order to steady ourselves, we linked ourselves together by holding on to the flagpole, as in many places a single slip of the foot would have sent us rolling down the frozen steep. Cutting away the enormous icicles that impeded our progress, we climbed step by step up the treacherous sides, but as we neared the top the gusts of wind swept round on every side, so as to render it impossible at some points to approach the edge.

On the summit, which stretched away for nearly a mile in length, a glorious sight burst upon the view. Peak rose above peak from the dazzling expanse of snow, each towering mass of rock, tinted of a reddish hue, standing out clearly defined against the light blue sky. Immediately beneath where we stood was a steep precipice which fell perpendicularly for hundreds of feet below, and beneath this again was an enormous circle of jagged rocks marking the outline of a gigantic crater filled to its brim with snow which was furrowed into chasms of great depth. The furthest southern peak of the mountain stood out in grand relief in the distance, its rounded cupola-shaped summit being perfect in outline, as if artificially fashioned to serve for the dome of a Mahomedan mosque.

When we had roughly mapped out, by the aid of some of the most prominent mountains, our intended northerly course through the King Country, we set to work and built a cairn of rock of pyramidal shape about four feet high, on which we erected a flag.

As we had now successfully accomplished the ascent of the two great mountains, I determined to leave the *tapued* district as soon as possible and strike a south-easterly course across the Onetapu desert to the southern base of the Kaimanawa Mountains, in order to examine the geological formation of that region.

*The Onetapu Desert.*—The Onetapu desert, or "desert of sacred sand," as its name implies, forms one of the most curious features of this region. It stretches from the eastern slope of Ruapehu to the banks of the Upper Waikato river across the centre of the great tableland, and covers a large area of country. In summer it is parched and dried, and gives life only to a few stunted Alpine plants; and in the winter months, when the snows cover it, it is both difficult and dangerous to traverse. The desert at the surface is composed entirely of a deposit of scoria, with rounded stones and trachytic boulders above, while in some places rise enormous lava ridges. By its formations it would appear as if Ruapehu when in a state of activity had distributed its showers of ashes and lava over this wide region; and it would also appear that at the period at which this extensive deposition of scoria occurred, there must have been growing upon this very spot an extensive forest similar to that now found on the western side of the mountain; for as we rode over the dreary expanse we found the remains of enormous trees, which had been converted into charcoal as it were at the time when the fiery ashes swept over them, and which had since been exposed as the upper surface was denuded by the action of the water flowing down from the mountains.

*The Kaimanawa Mountains.*—The Kaimanawa Mountains are situated in almost the very centre of the island, with a general north-easterly and south-westerly bearing, and attain to an elevation of about 6000 feet above the level of the sea. Stretching across the great central tableland in an extent of about 80 miles, their tall serrated peaks form a grand and beautiful feature in the landscape, while the primeval forests which clothe them to their summits are among the finest in the country. It is, however, the geological formation of this extensive range, covering many hundreds of square miles, which is of special interest. Unlike the volcanic cones which form one of the most remarkable features over a large portion of this division of the country, and which belong to a more recent geological period, the rocks composing the Kaimanawa Mountains comprise the Lower Carboniferous and Upper Devonian systems.

We ascended these mountains to an altitude of over 4000 feet, and found quartz reefs *in situ*, with disintegrated quartz of a gold-bearing character on the slopes of the hills and abundant quantities in the creeks; and from these and other auriferous indications I noticed on all sides, I am firmly of opinion that this extensive range offers to the geologist and the miner a rich field for research. Natives of this district with whom we afterwards came in contact assured us of the existence of gold in these mountains, as likewise of a mineral which by the description they gave I judged to be silver.

*Second Ascent of Ruapehu: Sources of the Whangaehu and Waikato Rivers.*—Having satisfied myself as to the geological formation of the Kaimanawa Mountains, I next determined to trace up the Whangaehu and Waikato rivers to their sources in Ruapehu.

The Whangaehu river, which takes its rise in the eastern side of Ruapehu, is one of the largest streams in the Island. Bursting forth high up in the snows of the mountain, it crosses the desert in an easterly direction, and then takes a swift bend towards the south in its course to the coast, where it joins the sea at a distance of about 60 miles from its source. From the point where it issues from the mountain and for many miles as it winds through the plains, its waters are rendered perfectly white by the enormous amount of alum with which they are

charged. We had been informed by the natives at Tokanu that the source of the river lay in an enormous black rock or dark bluff which forms a conspicuous feature near the eastern base of the mountain, and it was therefore towards this point we directed our course. It was, however, soon made clear that the true source of the river was a long distance up the mountain from this point. The dark rocks, which were nothing more than enormous outcrops of lava resembling solid walls of bronze, 200 feet in height, formed the portals or entrance to a deep rugged gorge that wound steeply to the snow-line of the mountain.

At 5300 feet this ravine opened out on our left, and over a flat terrace above a large waterfall fell from a height of 150 feet of a semicircular precipice into a deep rocky basin. We named this "the Horseshoe Fall," from the shape of the precipice over which it fell. From this point we mounted still higher; on our right was a sheer precipice of 400 feet and on our left rolled the Whangaehu at a depth of about 300 feet in the gorge below. At 6200 feet another waterfall, far larger and more beautiful than the one we had previously discovered, burst into view. Here the white waters of the Whangaehu rolled swiftly from the snows above, until the whole volume concentrated into a narrow rocky channel burst over a precipice with a fall of 300 feet into the rocky gorge below. All around, the craggy rocks and icicles were white with a deposit of alum from the spray of the fall; while the water, of a milky hue, poured over the precipice in a continuous frothy stream, which appeared by its whiteness like folds of delicate lace. We named this the "Bridal Veil Fall," on account of its peculiar lace-like appearance. At 6700 feet we discovered two cascades falling over a steep bluff-like precipice, and only at a short distance apart from each other. At an altitude of 7000 feet there was only just room enough to crawl along between the wall of rock on one side and a precipice of 200 feet on the other which fell with a sheer descent into a big circular ice-bound pool into which the milky waters of the river poured in the form of foaming cascades. Here around on every side rose lofty precipices, and buttresses of black lava in the form of stupendous bluffs, supporting, as it were, the rampart-like height above, while right in front of us and towering to an altitude of over 1000 feet, was a glacier slope crowned with craggy peaks which stood out in bold relief against the sky. This rugged locality was one of the most singular of the whole mountain. The gorge wound here in such a way that none of the surrounding country could be seen, and there was nothing but the blue heavens above to relieve the frigid glare of the ice, the cold glitter of the snows, and the dreary tints of the frowning fire-scorched rocks. Eight under the snowy glacier above us were wide yawning apertures, arched at the top, and framed as it were with ice in the form of rude portals, through which the waters of the river burst in a continuous stream. We entered the largest of these singular structures, and found ourselves in a cave of some 200 feet in circumference, whose sides of black volcanic rock were sheeted with ice and festooned with icicles. At the further end was a wide cavernous opening, so dark that the waters of the river, as they burst out of it in a foaming, eddying stream down the centre of the cave, looked doubly white in comparison with the black void out of which they came. The roof of the cave was formed of a mass of frozen snow, fashioned into oval-shaped depressions, all of one uniform size, and so beautifully and mathematically precise in outline as to resemble the quaint designs of a Moorish temple; while from the central points to which the edges of these singular designs converged, along single icicle hung down several inches in diameter at its base, perfectly round, smooth, and as clear as crystal, tapering off towards its end with a point as sharp as a needle. We had brought candles with us and we managed with some difficulty to cross the stream to explore the deep cavern beyond, but to do so we had to climb over sharp slippery rocks, which were covered with a coating of ice, as if they had been glazed with glass. We managed with considerable difficulty to get into the second cave, and to penetrate into the centre as it were of the great mountain, but just as we were winding along a kind of subterranean passage through which the river burst, our lights went out owing to water falling from above, and as we could hear nothing but rushing waters ahead, we with great difficulty beat a retreat into the first cave. Wherever the water poured over the rocks it left a white deposit, and when we tasted it it produced a marked astringent feeling upon the tongue, leaving a strong taste of alum, sulphur, and iron, with all of which ingredients, especially the two former, it appeared to be strongly impregnated.

It is an interesting geographical fact that the waters which form the source of the Upper Waikato river burst from the sides of Ruapehu within a short distance of the Whangaehu, and at almost the same altitude. Both streams run almost parallel to each other for a long distance from the source, and then as they reach the desert they gradually diverge and divide the two great watersheds of this portion of the country, the Waikato flowing to the north into Lake Taupo, and the Whangaehu to join the sea in the south.

We followed the course of the Whangaehu river through open country for about 40 miles in a south-easterly direction, and then travelled westerly across the Murimota Plains, a fine open tract of grassed country forming the southern slope of the great central tableland. From this point I determined to penetrate as far west as the valley of the Whanganui river at its junction with the Manganui a-te-Ao and reach the plains to the north of Ruapehu and Tongariro by the valley of the latter river.

*The Te Rangikaika Forest.*—Once across the Murimotu Plains we entered the Te Rangikaika Forest, which, rising almost to the snowline on the western side of Ruapehu, stretches in an unbroken course to the west coast,

and covers an approximate area of some 3000 square miles. This is, without doubt, so far as the size and variety of its vegetation is concerned, the finest forest in New Zealand. When we had got well on our way we found this enormous wilderness spreading itself over a perfect network of broken rugged ranges. The soil was everywhere of the richest description, and many of the colossal trees averaged from 30 to 40 feet in circumference at the base, and towered above us to a height considerably over 100 feet. We found travelling through this wilderness of vegetation both fatiguing and difficult; there was not 100 yards of level ground, and our course lay over steep precipitous hills from 200 to 400 feet in height, which we were constantly ascending and descending. Our first day's journey brought us to two small lakes named by the natives Rangitauaiti and Rangitauanui. This spot seemed to be the home of many of the beautiful native birds of the island.

*The Manganui a-te-Ao.*—A journey of four days' incessant travelling through the forest brought us to Ruakaka, an extensive native settlement situated in the valley of the Manganui a-te-Ao, which was here sunk like a pit in the heart of the mountainous forest region. Here we found the Maoris living in the same primitive way as in the time of Cook. When we questioned them as to their religious principles they told us "that they believed in nothing, and got fat on pork and potatoes."

I found the altitude of Ruakaka was 800 feet above the level of the sea, and it is worthy of remark, as showing the rapid fall of the country in this direction, that in order to reach this place from the great central table-land where we had at first entered the forest we had descended by the circuitous way we had come 1600 feet in about 40 miles.

These figures will give some idea of the swift current of the Manganui a-te-Ao, which, taking its rise near the north-western side of Ruapehu, cuts its way through a mountainous country in a deep, rock-bound channel, and receives the waters of innumerable tributaries along its entire course. The volume of water poured down by this impetuous stream is something prodigious, while, I believe, the rapidity of its current is unequalled by any other river in New Zealand. We found that the river was known to the natives by three names, viz. Manganui a-te-Ao, or "great river of light"; Te Waitahupara, and Te Wairoahakamanamana-a-Rongowaitahanui, or "the river of ever-dancing waters and steep echoing cliffs"; while the Whanganui, into which it fell, was likewise known as Te Wainui-a-Tarawera, "the great waters of Tarawera." The two rivers form the principal means of communication for the natives of Ruahaka, with the outer world, as by this means they travel by canoes to the coast. They are expert canoe-men, and shoot the rapids of both rivers with wonderful dexterity.

From Ruahaka our course lay easterly up the valley of the Manganui a-te-Ao, and for 30 miles through another portion of the dense forest. We had to cross the river ten times at different points in its winding course. Although we could only lead our horses through the forest, it was necessary to ride them whenever we came to the crossing places, as at these points the water was in most places over their backs, and often nearly over their heads when they got into the big holes that everywhere dotted the rugged channel of the river. All along the course of the Manganui a-te-Ao, the scenery was of the wildest description, the steep cliffs and mountains towering above us in the grandest confusion.

After crossing the stream for the ninth time in a two days' journey, we climbed a steep ascent and gained the broad open tableland at an altitude of 2850 feet. Thus to arrive at this elevation from Ruahaka, we had travelled over hills and mountains the whole way, and yet in a distance of about thirty miles the country had risen 2000 feet from our point of departure, which stood at an altitude of 800 feet.

The rapid rise of the valley of this river may be seen by reference to the altitudes of the various crossing places as given on the table attached to the map.

Now that we had done eighty miles of forest travelling since we had left the Murimotu Plains, it is impossible to describe with what delight we hailed the grand open country before us, as a pleasant change from the endless vegetation we had passed through and which had literally rained with moisture.

The fine grassy expanse covered with a thick coating of white frost we had now entered, we afterwards found was known to the natives as Waimarino, from the name of the river running through it, which had its source in Haurangatahi, a large densely wooded mountain visible in the distance to our right. We now viewed Tongariro and Ruapehu from the north-west, an aspect from which we had not beheld them before, while the snow since last we had beheld it had crept down to their base, and mingling with the green of the vegetation, produced the most beautiful effect as the mist of morning rolled away beneath the glowing power of the sun.

We journeyed on for about fifteen miles to Ngatokorua, a Maori pah, where we were hospitably entertained for three days by Pehi Hetau Turoa, one of the principal chiefs of the Whanganui tribes; from this place we took an easterly curve across the open plains in the direction of Tongariro, with a view of tracing up the source of the Whanganui river, which we had learned from the natives rose somewhere in the northern side of the volcano, and after that I had determined to examine the Tongariro springs and the crater of Ketetahi, which were situated a short distance further to the east on the same mountain.

*Source of the Whanganui.*—On one of the principal spurs to the north of Tongariro, we found the source of the Whanganui, in a narrow rocky gorge at an altitude of 3700 feet above the level of the sea, the water

evidently arising from mountain springs, and at certain times from the melting of the snows. The river from this point runs rapidly down the winding gorges of the mountain, and after receiving in its course the waters of numerous other streams, winds across the Okahakura Plains, and afterwards enters the dense forest of the Tuhua, and then taking a bold sweep to the north-west receives the waters of the Ougaruhe and numerous other streams as it flows in its long course to join the sea in the south. The Whanganui, which, after the Waikato, forms the most important river of the North Island, receives the whole of the western watershed of the great central tableland, besides that of other divisions of the country.

*Hot Springs of Tongariro.*—Leaving the source of the Whanganui, we took an easterly direction up one of the northern mountain spurs of Tongariro, and at an altitude of 4900 feet we found the hot springs roaring beneath us. We got with some difficulty down the rugged sides of a chasm, when we stood in the centre of a region where boiling springs burst from the earth, where jets of steam shrieked from innumerable fissures, where enormous boiling mudholes bubbled like heated cauldrons, and where the hot steaming soil, covered in every direction with yellow crystals of sulphur and glistening siliceous deposits, quaked beneath our feet, clouds of steam wound overhead, and in many places fountains of hot water shot high into the air. Some of the warm springs were of a dark coffee colour, caused apparently by the admixture of iron; others were yellow with excess of sulphur; others white with alum; while not a few were of the purest blue. These springs, as the Maoris afterwards informed us, possess wonderful curative properties in all cases of chronic rheumatism and cutaneous disorders, and many natives suffering from ailments of that kind come long distances to avail themselves of the thermal waters. This portion of Tongariro, like all other parts of the mountains, is strictly *tapu* to Europeans.

A short distance beyond the springs and near to the end of the great spur, we found the small crater known to the natives as Ketetahi, formed by a circular aperture emitting vast volumes of steam.

*Western Taupo.*—Leaving the Tongariro Mountains, we took a northerly course along the Te Pakaru plain, a fine open tract of country between the Kakaramea ranges and the Tuhua forest. We next reached the western watershed of Lake Taupo, the first stream flowing in that direction being the Koromanga. I determined to take this direction in order to explore the great tableland of Western Taupo, and thence penetrate to Alexandra by the country to the northward of the great central mountain chain ending in Titiraupenga.

The western tableland of Lake Taupo has an average altitude of 1700 to 2200 feet above the level of the sea; it stretches along the entire western shore of the lake, and inland to the Haurungaroa and Hurakia Mountains, which extend in a northerly direction as far as Mount Titiraupenga, and form the eastern boundary of the mountainous central portion of the King Country. These two mountain chains attain to an altitude of 2300 to 2500 feet above the level of the sea, the eastern slopes forming the principal source of the watershed of the western division of the lake; while the inland waters with those of other mountains of the same system are received mostly by the Ogaruhe river, one of the principal tributaries of the Whanganui. The whole of these ranges, which present a very broken appearance, are densely covered with luxuriant forests. The country from the eastern slopes stretches in a series of open plains to the lake, the western coast of which is bounded by steep rugged cliffs, which assume in many places the form of bold headlands, the highest of which, Mount Karangahape, attains to an altitude of about 2000 feet.

*The Northern Tableland.*—Having traversed the western tableland, we reached the head-waters of the Waihora river, which was the last stream of any importance forming the western watershed of Lake Taupo. Taking now a north-westerly course, we crossed the Te Tihoi plains, a fine tract of open country extending around the Mountains of Titiraupenga as far north as the banks of the Waikato, into which the drainage of this portion of the country fell by means of many fine streams, the largest of which were the Waikino, Waipapa, Waipari, and Upper Punui. Here the tableland began to fall perceptibly towards the north-west, and for a long distance it averaged in altitude from 1000 to 1150 feet.

*Valley of the Waipa.*—Once across the Te Toto Mountains, we soon gained the broad open valley of the Waipa. This river, which forms the principal tributary of the Waikato, has its source on the southern side of the Rangitoto Mountains. The principal tributaries are the Mangapu, Manga-o-Rewa, and Mangawhero, with the Punui as the chief. Beyond the head of the river the watershed falls towards the Mokau river, south of which the country is open for a considerable distance in the direction of the Te Taraka plains, until the great central belt of forest country is reached. The whole valley of the Waipa lies very low, its altitude near the margin of that stream being scarcely 100 feet above the level of the sea. Travelling along this valley, we reached the King's settlement at Whatiwhatihoe and crossed the *aukati* line forming the northern boundary of the King Country on the night of the 18th of May, 1883.

Previous to reading of the paper,

The PRESIDENT said that Mr. Kerry-Nicholls was not a colonist but a traveller whom a laudable curiosity had led to Australia, and then on to New Zealand, where he spent eighteen months. He had a great deal to say about a region which was almost, if not entirely, new to the members of the Society. No doubt many now present heard the interesting paper which was read by the Rev. Mr. Green last year on the Alps of the Southern

Island of New Zealand. Mr. Kerry-Nicholls would not be able to give a description of the same tremendous glaciers or lofty mountains, but he would describe a district quite as interesting and as curious, different from that explored by Mr. Green, and still more different from ordinary European countries. The part of New Zealand in which Mr. Kerry-Nicholls had travelled was inhabited by the Maoris to the entire exclusion of all European settlers. He must not be understood to say that all the Maoris were collected in that district; but whilst they were distributed over considerable portions of the island, the particular part to be described in the paper—on the west of the island, was inhabited exclusively by the Maoris. After a good deal of experience of the white man, the Maoris had come to the conclusion that if they desired to maintain any portion of their country which they could call their own and inhabit in the fashion of their ancestors, they must keep out the invading white man, and he thought that no one would be prepared to say that they were wrong in that view; for the natural instinct of the white man was to spread everywhere, and wherever the white man and the coloured man came into collision, it was generally but a very short time before the coloured man disappeared. The region was full of great interest, and was inhabited by a people admitted to be among the finest of the so-called savage races in the world.

On the conclusion of the paper,

The PRESIDENT in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Kerry-Nicholls, said that the meeting was no doubt satisfied that his opening expressions as to the novelty, strangeness, and peculiarities of the country had been fully justified. They had been carried by the lecturer into a region of extraordinary beauty and interest, and he hoped that Englishmen would not be tempted to take possession of the districts which had been retained by the native inhabitants, who seemed to be very good neighbours. He trusted that good faith would be kept with the people in spite of the temptations to possess such a beautiful region.

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## Map of the King Country and Neighbouring Districts in New Zealand

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## **Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography.**

### ***A Recent Exploration of the King Country, New Zealand.***

**By J. H. KERRY-NICHOLLS.**

**(Read at the Evening Meeting, February 23rd,  
 1885.)**

Map, p. 272.

*Introduction.*—That part of the North Island known as the King Country extends from lat. 38° to 39° 20'S.,  
 and from long. 174° 20' to 176° E. Its area as well as can be defined is equivalent to about 10,000 square miles.  
 The *aukati* or sacred boundary-line of the Maoris separating it from the European portion of the colony will be  
 seen coloured red on the map. The physical features of this vast region present not only many beauties, but  
 many natural advantages for European settlement, while it is one of the best watered parts of the island. In its  
 southern portion the Whanganui passes through it, fed by many tributaries flowing from the high mountain  
 ranges both in the southern and central divisions of the island. In the west the Maukau river and its affluents  
 flow from its central region to the coast. In the north the Waipa, Puniu, Waipari, Waipapa, and other streams  
 having their sources in the Titiraupenga and Rangitoto Mountains, wind through it to the Waikato river; the  
 high wooded ranges of the central tableland form the sources of many watercourses disemboguing into Lake  
 Taupo, while in the south-east the snow-clad heights of Tongariro and Ruapehu pour down their rapid waters in  
 a perfect network of creeks and rivers. In the west it has an extensive coast-line, and it possesses one of the  
 largest harbours in the island. Dense forests cover a large portion of its southern area and extend northerly over

the broken ranges of the Tuhua to Mount Titiraupenga, and the Rangitoto Mountains. Westward of this division there is a considerable area of open country, including the valley of the Waipa, which in its turn is bounded on the west by high fern-clad hills and wooded ranges. In the vicinity of the high snow-clad mountains in the south there are vast open tablelands, while immediately to the west of Lake Taupo and north of Titiraupenga to the banks of the Waikato there are again extensive open plains.

Geologically considered, the King Country possesses all the rock formations or strata in which gold, coal, iron, and other minerals are found, while its extensive forests are rich in timber of the most varied and valuable kind. Geysers and thermal springs possessing wonderful medicinal properties are found in the vicinity of its many extinct craters; and while it possesses one of the largest active volcanoes in the world, its grand natural features are crowned by the snowy peaks of some of the highest mountains of Australasia. In the north the trachytic cones of Titiraupenga and Perongia rise to an elevation varying from 3000 to 4000 feet; near to its western boundary the snowy peak of Taranaki or Mount Egmont attains to an altitude of 8700 feet; on its eastern confines the rugged crater of Tongariro sends forth its clouds of steam from a height exceeding 7000 feet, while on its southern side the colossal form of Mount Ruapehu rears its glacier-crowned summit to an altitude of over 9000 feet above the level of the sea. With these important features Nature has endowed it with scenery of the grandest order and with a climate unsurpassed for its variety and healthfulness.

The political state of the King Country forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of New Zealand. In 1840 the colony was founded. In this year the treaty of Waitangi was signed, and by it the Maoris ceded all the rights of sovereignty to the Queen, and her Majesty confirmed and granted to the chiefs and tribes exclusive possession of their lands. In 1854 the native chiefs, seeing that their *mana* or authority over the tribes decreased with the advance of European settlement, convened a great tribal gathering, at which it was decided that the sacred mountain of Tongariro should form the centre of a district in which no land should be sold to the Government, that no roads should be made by the Europeans within the area, and that a king should be selected to reign over the Maoris. These resolutions were all eventually carried out. After the war in 1863-64 Te Kooti, the principal rebel leader, with his marauding bands and many of the tribes then in rebellion withdrew into the territory now known as the King Country; the *aukati* or sacred boundary-line was drawn, and the Hauhaus—the native name by which the rebel Maoris were known—forbade, under penalty of death, the entrance of Europeans into their country.

In undertaking my journey of exploration I was prompted by no other desire than to make known more fully that portion of the colony which was virtually a blank on the maps. The object was, in fine, of a purely scientific nature, and was prosecuted solely in conformity with that view, and entirely on my own responsibility; since, owing to the complicated phases of the Maori question, I found that I could get no support from the Government until I had successfully carried out my object. Owing to the hostility of the natives the difficult point was to decide how the journey could be best set about. The matter was laid before Sir George Grey—late Governor of the colony; and he with a ready desire to promote the object wrote a letter of introduction in my behalf to Tawhiao, the Maori king, asking him to grant me his *mana* or authority to travel through the Maori territory. The letter was presented at a moment when the native mind was much disturbed in connection with the political relationship existing between the Maoris and the Europeans, and the king advised me not to set out on my journey at that time. I made no further appeal to Tawhiao; but I determined that if I could not get into the King Country at the north, I would do so at the south, and on the 8th March, 1883, I left Auckland for Taranaki to explore the country at my own risk.

Some of the most interesting results of the exploration may be summarised as follows:—

Up to the time of my making the journey, the King Country, owing to the obstruction of the natives, had never been surveyed, and consequently many of its remarkable geographical and geological features had remained but imperfectly known, the existing maps of this part of the colony being mere outlines. From the commencement of my journey I therefore adopted a system of barometrical measurements and topographical observations, and thus secured a supply of information which I mapped out from day to day, while the names of mountains, rivers, plains, and other features of topographical importance were obtained from the natives by my interpreter. Altogether we accomplished over 600 miles of travel—with three horses ultimately reduced to two; found twenty-five rivers not previously shown on the maps, with two small lakes; examined the hydrography of Lake Taupo in relation to the four distinct watersheds flowing into that lake; traced the sources of four of the principal rivers of the colony, viz. the Whanganui, Waikato, Whangaehu, and Manganui-a-te-Ao; ascended Tongariro (7300 feet) and examined its active crater; ascended Mount Ruapehu (9000 feet), the highest peak of the North Island; traced the principal mountain ranges forming the central division of the King Country; ascended the Kaimanawa Mountains to an altitude of 4000 feet, and found the geological formation to be indicative of auriferous and other metalliferous deposits; fixed the altitude of 100 different points throughout the journey, from sea-level to over 9000 feet above that standard—by this table the configuration of a large portion of the island may be arrived at.

The various altitudes above sea-level of the country traversed will be found in the table on the map, and the numbers of which correspond to those marking the camping-places and principal stations of observation along the route.

During the journey I had an opportunity of examining the varied flora of this division of New Zealand, and I obtained some of the choicest specimens of Alpine plants and obtained their native names from the Maoris. I secured specimens from the highest altitude attained by plant life in the highest point of the plateau is attained near to the northern slope of the Kaimanawa Mountains, where it dips in a north-easterly course in the direction of the Bay of Plenty. Over a large area along the western shore of the lake, the tableland maintains a more equal elevation than near the eastern shore-line until it reaches the head of the Waihora river, whence it inclines north-westerly around the high mountains of Titirapenga, until it gradually merges into the broad low valley of the Upper Waipa.

It is as near as possible in the centre of this vast area of elevation that the enormous sheet of water forming Lake Taupo is situated. Its superficial area is over 300 square miles, and its mean altitude by barometrical measurement I found to be 1.175 feet. The margin or shore-line assumes a somewhat oval shape, with a broad bay on the western side. It possesses one small island situated near to its south-eastern shore, and its coast is varied with beautiful bays and headlands which in some instances rise many hundreds of feet above the white pumice shore. Although the waters of the lake are comparatively shallow around a greater part of its margin, there are places where it is of enormous depth, especially near its centre in the direction of the western bay.

In describing the hydrography of this wide region, the area of the lake basin may be defined by those divisions of the country which give rise to the rivers, creeks, and other waters flowing into it, and which have their origin for the most part in the extensive mountain ranges scattered over various parts of the tableland. Although on the most recent maps of the colony only about eight rivers are represented as flowing into the lake, I found on the western shore, in addition to other smaller streams, the Kuramanga, Kuratao, Whareroa, Mangakara, Whanganui,

This river is distinct from the large river of that name flowing to the south, and which has no connection with the lake.

Waikino and Waikomiko, besides three other streams on the northern shore, the names of which I was unable to ascertain.

It will therefore be seen that there are not less than seventeen rivers running into this lake, with innumerable smaller streams; while it should be remarked that the only river or stream of any kind flowing out of this immense area of water is the Waikato at the north-east end. Most of the rivers on the eastern side of the lake receive their waters from the north-western slope of the Kaimanawa Mountains, and those from the west from the Tuhua Hauhungaroa and Hurakia ranges; comparatively little water flows into the lake at the northern end, since the country thereabouts dips mostly in the direction of the valley of the Waikato. It is, in fact, at its southern end that the lake receives its greatest volume of water from the Upper Waikato river and its tributaries. This river, rising at an altitude of 7000 feet on the eastern side of Ruapehu, is fed by the snows of that mountain and of Tongariro, as well as by the enormous watershed of a large portion of the Kaimanawa Mountains, along the western base of which it runs in its winding course to the lake, receiving likewise on its way the eastern streams of the Kakaramea ranges and the overflowing waters of Lake Rotoaira as they descend by the Poutu river. The waters of the lake rise rapidly during the rainy season; while, with the continuance of heavy winds, its waves are lashed into fury, and break upon its shores with the force and roar of a raging sea.

The existence of a body of water of the area of Lake Taupo, and of its form and depth in the centre of this elevated region, may be accounted for in several ways. It may have originated in the terrific throes of an earthquake, or by a fracture or break in the plateau. I am, however, of opinion that the present basin of the lake was at one time an active crater, which had its existence long prior to the period when the volcanic cones surrounding it sprang into existence, and that at the time of its activity it was considerably higher than it is at the present day; its subsidence or depression having been caused by one of those sudden changes peculiar to regions subject to volcanic disturbance. From every outward indication it would appear that the vast deposits of pumice rock so widely distributed over this portion of the tableland had their origin in the once active crater forming the basin of the great lake, and that both the volcanoes of Ruapehu and Tongariro rose above their still higher planes long after the period when the great Taupo crater—now forming the cup of the great lake—was the principal outlet of subterranean fires in this wide field of volcanic action.

The *fauna* of the lake, so far as it is at present known, is not extensive, although a system of dredging in its deep waters might bring to light interesting and perhaps new forms of life. The largest indigenous fish is the *inanga*

Specimens of the *inanga* and *koura* were obtained from the lake and brought with me to England and submitted for examination to Dr. A. Gunther, to whom I am indebted for their names and distribution.

of the natives, about 6 inches long. It is the *Galaxias brevipinnis*, and is characteristic of the fresh-water

*fauna* of the Antarctic zone, the genus being represented by several species in temperate Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Tierra del Fuego, and Patagonia. There are likewise two smaller fish, the *koaro*, about 3 inches long, common to Lake Taupo and to Lake Rotoaira, and the *kakopu*, a scaleless and still smaller fish. There is also a crawfish, *Paranephrops planifrons*, a form characteristic of New Zealand; this species, which is abundant in the lakes and rivers of the North Island, is represented in the South Island by *Paranephrops setosus*. It is named *koura* by the Maoris, and is much esteemed as an article of food. Although eels abound in all parts of the island, there are none to be found in the waters flowing into Lake Taupo. The fresh-water shells are represented by *Unio cyclas* and a small species of *hydrobia*, the two former kinds being common on the western shore of the lake. There is a small graceful gull called by the natives *tarapunga*; the head, breast, and under part of the body of this bird are snow white, the wings of a light grey tipped with black, and the tail white and grey with black horizontal bars. The lake is at all times frequented by large flocks of wild duck, and by other aquatic fowl common to the North Island. The only representative of reptilian life I found in the vicinity of the lake was a small brown lizard about 2 inches long.

There are several centres of thermal action within the immediate regions of Lake Taupo, and both at its northern and southern end considerable areas of country are covered with geysers, solfataras, fumaroles, and hot springs in a very active condition.

*Northern End of Lake Taupo.*—Wairakei forms one of the principal seats of thermal action, which would seem to extend with more or less continuity from the volcano of Tongariro in the south through the lake country to Whakari the active crater in the Bay of Plenty in the east. Following the course of the Waiko river, we reached Tapu-waeharuru at the northern end of Lake Taupo. The bay on which this place is situated, and around which our journey began, is one of the most remarkable parts of the lake, for it is here that the Waikato river rolls out of the broad expanse of water to pursue its long winding course to the sea. At the point where the river leaves its great natural reservoir the depth of water is not more than from four to six feet, but a few feet beyond it gradually deepens as it flows onward in a rapid course through a winding narrow valley with sloping sides which gradually become higher and steeper until they form a precipitous terraced gorge as the stream cuts its way through the pumice formation of the tableland in a devious course to the Huka Falls, over which it plunges to dash onward again through a still deeper valley, the bed of which at the base of the falls is a little over 100 feet below the water-level of the lake—the distance between the lake and the falls by the course of the river being about five miles. The point where the river takes its rise is the only outlet of any kind around the vast margin of the lake, and it is this spot which forms, as a matter of fact, the true source of the Waikato. The great river which enters the lake at the south, and which is supposed by a romantic fiction of the natives to flow through the lake district without mingling with its waters, and which is erroneously styled the "Upper Waikato," is without doubt, when geographically considered, a distinct stream, which is no more connected with the Waikato proper than are the numerous other streams which all add their quota to the lake waters.

*Eastern Shore of Lake Taupo.*—From Tapuwaeharuru our course lay around the eastern shore of the lake, and as the weather was remarkably fine we obtained an uninterrupted view of the magnificent scenery that unfolded itself before the gaze. Taking into consideration the grand expanse of lake, the varied forms of the surrounding mountains, with the active crater of Tongariro and the colossal proportions of Ruapehu—in fine, snow, water, mountain, and volcano—never had I gazed, in any part of the world, upon so varied and so beautiful a scene.

We passed along the shore until the western side of the lake opened out into a deep bay, with bold rugged cliffs shooting up perpendicularly from the water, and the moon was already high when we pitched our first camp on the banks of the Waitahanui river, with the broad lake on one side of our tent and a *raupo* swamp on the other.

At this camping-place, which stood on a level with the lake (1175 feet above the sea), we experienced for the first time one of those sudden changes of temperature which afterwards became a remarkable feature of the journey. At 4 P.M. the thermometer registered as high as 80° Fahr. in the shade, and at midnight it stood at 2° below freezing-point, being a variation of no less than 50° in eight hours; when we awoke at daylight the thermometer marked 4° below freezing-point. On the second day we likewise experienced a great variation from cold to heat and from heat to cold. Thus, on the 7th April at 6 A.M. the thermometer indicated 4° of frost, at 1 P.M. it registered 84° in the shade, at 3 P.M. it had fallen to 80°, and at 7.30 P.M. to 64°, giving an extreme variation of 56° in seven hours. At midnight we had 6° of frost.

Our journey of about 30 miles around the eastern shore of the lake brought us to the delta of the Upper Waikato, where that river flows into the lake. At this point the rapid stream flows into a semicircular bay formed by a bend in the lake shore. The river, owing to recent rains and the melting of the snows of Ruapehu, was coming down at a rapid rate; and the water, sweeping over our horses' backs, nearly carried them from under us. This is one of the most dangerous crossing-places around the lake at the time of a strong fresh, as the waters in their rapid descent from the highlands to the south carry everything in their course into the broad lake

beyond.

At a short distance from this point we reached Tokanu, which is situated at the extreme south-western end of the lake and on the shores of a picturesque bay. Here, upon the sides of the fern-clad slopes and level flats, amidst boiling fountains, hot springs, and fumaroles, the *whares* of the natives were scattered about in the most picturesque confusion, but all looking out upon the lake and its picturesque surroundings. All the springs, solfataras, and fumaroles hereabout partake of the same character as those of the other centres of thermal action around the lake, and are used by the natives in the same way for the curative properties they possess, as well as for cooking, bathing, and other purposes. The largest and most remarkable geyser is To Pirori, which from a deep round hole throws up a column of boiling water to a height of 10 to 15 feet amidst vast volumes of steam. The whole region of the Kaka-ramea range to the rear of the settlement was without doubt at one time the seat of an extensive volcanic action, and it is from the still active agencies observable in certain parts of these mountains that the existence of the present springs may be traced.

*The Rangipo Tableland.*—From Tokanu we followed the course of the Upper Waikato, our direction being along the Rangipo tableland towards Tongariro, which was some 15 miles distant by the way we were going to attack it; and as we were acting a kind of strategic movement, we kept out to the east along the Waikato river to avoid being seen by the natives of Rotoaira, who keep watch and ward over the sacred mountain.

The Rangipo plateau—or place of the "black cloudy sky," as its name implies—which may be said to form the central division of the great highland of the interior of the island, is in reality considerably higher than the extensive elevated region surrounding Lake Taupo. While the latter has a mean elevation of about 2000 feet above the level of the sea, the height of the Rangipo is over 3000 feet at its highest point on the Onetapu desert on the eastern side of Ruapehu. This extensive plane of elevation takes its rise a short distance from the southern end of the lake, and extends in the form of broad open downs for a distance of over 40 miles, when it merges into the Murimotu Plains as they fall to the south. On its eastern margin are the Kaimanawa Mountains, at the extreme base of which the Upper Waikato rises in its winding course to join the great lake beyond; to the north-west the cone-shaped summits of the Kakaramea range rise up, clothed with a dense vegetation as they slope gracefully to the shores of Lake Rotoaira in the west, and beyond which there are again extensive plains which slope gradually to the valley of the Whanganui. Eight in the very centre of the tableland towers the magnificent cone of Tongariro, situated in the midst of a cluster of lower mountains; whilst close to it and separated only by a narrow valley stands the giant form of Ruapehu.

Up to the time when we arrived at the Rangipo we had enjoyed the most delightful weather, but a sudden change was the prelude to some of the hardest experiences of our journey. A great storm and flood set in, and during the ten days and nights which it lasted, the rain poured down incessantly without a single hour's intermission and without a single break in the clouds, the wind blowing a hurricane most of the time, and veering round to all points of the compass, but invariably coming back to north-east and north.

*Ascent of Tongariro.*—Before dealing with the particulars of the ascent of Tongariro, I will describe the general physical and geological features of the system of volcanic cones, comprising what I may term the Tongariro group.

The cluster of cones forms collectively an almost complete circle rising from a level plateau, which near the base of the mountains has a general elevation of about 3000 feet above the level of the sea. Eight in the very centre of this great circle of cones and extinct craters, the tapering form of the burning mountain rises from the bottom of an extensive basin-like depression, which, encircled as it is by the rugged sides of the surrounding ranges, has somewhat the appearance of an ancient crater. This beautiful mountain, especially when viewed from its southern side, strikes the beholder by its wonderfully symmetrical proportions. Besides the active crater at the summit of the great cone, there is another to the north-eastern side of the group, known as *Ketetahi*, near to which there is likewise an extensive system of boiling springs.

The morning of the 18th April broke dull and cloudy. We had up to this time been detained exactly ten days through stress of weather, whilst waiting to ascend the *tapued* mountain,

Tongariro is strictly *tapu*; this word is applied to all places held sacred by the Maoris, it is synonymous with the *taboo* of the South Sea Islanders. To interfere with or trespass upon any place to which the *tapu* has been extended is considered an act of sacrilege.

the dull monotony of our position being only relieved by the somewhat exciting expectation that the Maoris might be down upon us at any moment. The thermometer which for the three previous days had given a mean average of 57° Fahr. in the shade, suddenly fell to 43°. The omen was a good one; a cold invigorating breeze blew direct from the south, the sun shone brilliantly, the dark cloud which had up to this time entirely obscured the mountain, rolled away, and the magnificent tapering cone glittering with ice and snow, and crowned with its cloud of steam, stood out against the sky in beautiful relief.

We gained the Waihohonu valley, a wild ravine, with a winding stream running down its centre, and strewn with gigantic boulders of black shining rock, volcanic rock which appeared to have been rounded by the action

of fire, and in some cases to have been partially melted before their ejection from the crater.

We reached the base of the great cone at its southern side, at a point which marked 4000 feet above the level of the sea. Just at this part of the cone some volcanic disturbance which had occurred probably ages ago, had poured down a stream of liquid lava, which, cooling as it were by some sudden blast, had congealed into a rugged and almost perpendicular ridge of dark lustrous adamantine-like rock, in its overflow from the summit of the mountain. It was up this precipitous ridge that we determined to fight our way.

Fortunately the weather kept beautifully clear, and at an altitude of 5000 feet we obtained a magnificent view of Mount Egmont, its peaked snow-clad summit rising like a glittering island above the vapoury cloud that hung around the lower portion of the mountain. At 6600 feet two small blue lakes were visible on the summit of a flat-topped spur, while about six miles distant to the south was the grand form of Ruapehu, its peaks rising in the form of glittering cones high into the clear air. At this point we found the last sign of vegetation in the small Alpine plant *Gnaphalium bellidioides*. At 7000 feet the whole aspect of the cone had a bare and desolate appearance, and was very treacherous and slippery with sheets of ice. Here we had to go on all-fours, and even in this way it was very difficult to prevent ourselves rolling down the precipitous slopes below. We could now smell the sulphurous fumes of the crater, as the clouds of steam rolled over us.

We crawled up a steep frozen incline on to the hot quaking edge of the great crater, where a grand and curious sight burst upon our view. We were now at an altitude of over 7000 feet above the level of the sea. The steep broken sides of the crater wound before us in the form of an almost complete circle, nearly a mile in circumference. Within the great circle there was a smaller or inner crater, the sides of which inclined gradually towards its centre in the shape of a complete funnel. This inner crater was separated from the larger one only by a narrow slip or ridge.

Looking down into the main crater which appeared to be about 400 feet in depth, its sides, rugged and broken as it were by the force of volcanic fires, were built up principally of enormous masses of trachytic rock, lava ridges, and beds of conglomerate, formed mostly of rounded stones and boulders, fused together into a compact mass by what must at some period have been a very powerful igneous action. At the bottom of the crater there were scattered about huge rocky ridges, from the large crevices and fissures of which jets of steam burst forth with a roaring screeching noise which echoed from the depths below with a wailing sound. Hot springs sent up streams of boiling water, which, running over the rocks and losing themselves in the hot soil, were sent high into the air again in the form of coiling jets of vapour. Miniature cones of dark, smoking mud rose up in every direction, while around all was a seething fused mass of almost molten soil. In every direction were large deposits of pure yellow sulphur, some of which assumed a rock-like formation. At other places it formed a crust over the steaming earth, and when the thermal action was less intense the glittering yellow crystals covered the ground like a thick frost. No fire was visible in the crater, nor was there any indication of a very recent volcanic eruption. The whole crater of the mountain was in the state of a very active solfatara, which is evidently more active at some periods than at others.

The inner or second crater, which likewise sent forth a vast volume of steam from its boiling depths, was in much the same condition of activity as the larger one, only that the deposits of sulphur literally lined its sloping sides with a bright yellow coating, which came up to the very summit of its rim, and lit up the steam clouds in brilliant prismatic hues.

It was dark when we reached the base of the mountain, but we managed by slow degrees to find our way over the masses of rock which lay scattered over the deep ravine forming the head of the Waiho-honu valley. When we arrived at our camping-place our first anxiety was to see that the natives had not swept down and taken our horses. Luck was, however, on our side, and we found the animals where we had left them. It was evident that we were going to have a severe night, as the temperature was falling rapidly, and as the moon rose bright and clear, a heavy frost set in. We lit a fire and made a scanty meal of tea and biscuit, and as we were anxious to get clear of the *tapued* mountain with the first streak of dawn, we resolved not to erect our tent in order that we might not be delayed in our rapid retreat. We therefore spread our blankets upon the ground and made a tolerably comfortable bed on the scoria. At midnight the whole valley was covered with a thick coating of white frost, which glistened like snow beneath the pale moonlight. At this hour the thermometer stood at 27°; at four o'clock A.M. it marked 22°, and at six o'clock, just before sunrise, it indicated exactly 12° of frost.

It did not take us long to saddle up, and once on our horses we rode rapidly away from Tongariro; and just as the first ray of sunlight gleamed over the hills, we gained the plains beyond to begin the ascent of Ruapehu.

*Ascent of Ruapehu.*—The level plain separating Tongariro from Ruapehu was not more than five miles across between the wide-spreading bases of the two mountains, and as we gradually approached towards the latter its gigantic proportions became every moment more distinctly visible. The aspect of the mountain as it rose in all its grandeur above the surrounding tableland, resplendent in ice, snow and sunshine, was most beautiful. Ruapehu is situated immediately in the centre of the great tableland which forms the most elevated portion of the North Island. The mountain which takes rank among the largest extinct craters in the world,

assumes the form of an enormous truncated cone, with a far-reaching base of oblong form, and which gradually narrows towards the summit, at which point the mountain is nearly a mile in length from its northern to its southern peak. Its base, if calculated from where it springs from the level plains, may be estimated at about 60 miles in circumference. Ruapehu, unlike Tongariro, is not a true scoria cone, but a gigantic crater of elevation which during its volcanic outbursts sent forth showers of ashes and rivers of lava that spread themselves for miles around the base of the mountain, while the surrounding region over a vast area was upheaved by its elevatory force.

It did not take us long to see that it would be impossible to make the ascent and descent of the mountain in a single day. We therefore tethered our horses on a small patch of Alpine shrubs, where they remained with but scanty food and without water for thirty-six hours. We next packed ourselves with, the tent blankets and other necessaries to the extent of about 25 lbs. each, and set off to climb the long dreary spurs which mounted steeply upward until they lost themselves in the snowline where we resolved to camp for the night in order to begin the final ascent to the summit of the great peak at daylight on the morrow. Heavily laden as we were, we found the climbing both trying and monotonous. Our feet sank deeply into the shifting scoria which, fractured into small pieces, covered the sides of the mountain for miles around in a dark grey deposit devoid of all vegetation.

At an altitude of 6200 feet, evening closed around us, and we determined to make the dreary locality we had reached our camping-place for the night; and by the aid of the alpenstocks and flagstaff we had brought up with us, we managed to partially erect our tent under the lee of a boulder. Although the moon shone as bright as day, the wind still continued to blow in heavy gusts, and at midnight the climax came—a terrific gale of wind swept over the mountain, and in an instant our tent was carried away from over us. So great was the force of the wind, that it was impossible to stand against it. Blinding showers of sand and scoria filled the air almost to suffocation; everything was covered with a fine dust, which got into the hair, filled the eyes, and caused a choking sensation about the throat. It was useless to endeavour to erect our tent again, so we squatted down, Maori fashion, in our blankets, behind another boulder which served to break the force of the wind. The thermometer now stood at 27°, and the gale continued to blow throughout the night, sweeping over the ice-bound summit of the mountain and then down into the valleys below with extraordinary force. At five o'clock in the morning the thermometer indicated 7° of frost.

As soon as we had breakfasted we started to make the ascent of the great peak whose steep snow-clad sides rose up at the end of the spur on which we had been camped, the altitude of this spot being 6200 feet. At 7000 feet we gained an enormous lava bluff, which formed rugged giantlike steps of rock, up which we climbed with great difficulty. At 7400 we came to another bluff-like formation, which rose above a steep scoria ridge covered with small particles of trachytic rock, pumice, tufa, and obsidian. From an altitude of a little over 5000 feet we had found no vegetation, save that represented by the two small plants previously mentioned, *Ligusticum aromaticum* and the *Gnaphalium bellidioides*, which grew side by side at an altitude of 7000 feet under the sheltering rocks of a lava ridge facing the north. At an altitude of 8400 feet towered a series of jagged rocks, which form conspicuous features in the outline of the great mountain when viewed from the plains to the east and north. All round this region the mountain was clad with snow, and festoons of icicles glittered from every rock and precipice. At 9000 feet we came to a steep incline covered with frozen snow as hard as ice. Up to this we had to crawl on our hands and knees, as the wind, sweeping around the mountain from the right, fearfully cold and with unabated force, made it impossible to stand. At an altitude of 9100 feet, after a hard struggle we gained the rounded top of the great peak. Even at this stage we were not at the summit of the mountain; for the enormous rocky crown which we had remarked from the plain below, still towered above our heads to a height of 150 feet. We now found that this singular monument was formed by a large outcrop of lava and conglomerate rock, which appeared at some remote period, when the volcanic fires were at their fiercest stage, to have oozed up above the surface of the surrounding rocks, and then congealed into a craggy mass with a symmetrical outline which assumed the form of a rounded bluff towards the east, and tapered gradually off towards the west, covered with a thick crown of frozen snow that overhung its summit like a fringe. To scale this ice-bound pinnacle was our next task. With the cold blasts coming now and again with the force of a perfect hurricane, we crawled on our hands and knees along the steep slopes of the lower end, and cut footsteps with our tomahawks in the snow and ice. In order to steady ourselves, we linked ourselves together by holding on to the flagpole, as in many places a single slip of the foot would have sent us rolling down the frozen steps. Cutting away the enormous icicles that impeded our progress, we climbed step by step up the treacherous sides, but as we neared the top the gusts of wind swept round on every side, so as to render it impossible at some points to approach the edge.

On the summit, which stretched away for nearly a mile in length, a glorious sight burst upon the view. Peak rose above peak from the dazzling expanse of snow, each towering mass of rock, tinted of a reddish hue, standing out clearly defined against the light blue sky. Immediately beneath where we stood was a steep precipice which fell perpendicularly for hundreds of feet below, and beneath this again was an enormous circle

of jagged rocks marking the outline of a gigantic crater filled to its brim with snow which was furrowed into chasms of great depth. The furthest southern peak of the mountain stood out in grand relief in the distance, its rounded cupola-shaped summit being perfect in outline, as if artificially fashioned to servo for the dome of a Mahomedan mosque.

When we had roughly mapped out, by the aid of some of the most prominent mountains, our intended northerly course through the King-Country, we set to work and built a cairn of rock of pyramidal shape about four feet high, on which we erected a flag.

As we had now successfully accomplished the ascent of the two great mountains, I determined to leave the *tapued* district as soon as possible and strike a south-easterly course across the Onetapu desert to the southern base of the Kaimanawa Mountains, in order to examine the geological formation of that region.

*The Onetapu Desert.*—The Onetapu desert, or "desert of sacred sand," as its name implies, forms one of the most curious features of this region. It stretches from the eastern slope of Ruapehu to the banks of the Upper Waikato river across the centre of the great tableland, and covers a large area of country. In summer it is parched and dried, and gives life only to a few stunted Alpine plants; and in the winter months, when the snows cover it, it is both difficult and dangerous to traverse. The desert at the surface is composed entirely of a deposit of scoria, with rounded stones and trachytic boulders above, while in some places rise enormous lava ridges. By its formations it would appear as if Ruapehu when in a state of activity had distributed its showers of ashes and lava over this wide region; and it would also appear that at the period at which this extensive deposition of scoria occurred, there must have been growing upon this very spot an extensive forest similar to that now found on the western side of the mountain; for as we rode over the dreary expanse we found the remains of enormous trees, which had been converted into charcoal as it were at the time when the fiery ashes swept over them, and which had since been exposed as the upper surface was denuded by the action of the water flowing down from the mountains.

*The Kaimanawa Mountains.*—The Kaimanawa Mountains are situated in almost the very centre of the island, with a general north-easterly and south-westerly bearing, and attain to an elevation of about 6000 feet above the level of the sea. Stretching across the great central tableland in an extent of about 80 miles, their tall serrated peaks form a grand and beautiful feature in the landscape, while the primeval forests which clothe them to their summits are among the finest in the country. It is, however, the geological formation of this extensive range, covering many hundreds of square miles, which is of special interest. Unlike the volcanic cones which form one of the most remarkable features over a large portion of this division of the country, and which belong to a more recent geological period, the rocks composing the Kaimanawa Mountains comprise the Lower Carboniferous and Upper Devonian systems.

We ascended these mountains to an altitude of over 4000 feet, and found quartz reefs *in situ*, with disintegrated quartz of a gold-bearing character on the slopes of the hills and abundant quantities in the creeks; and from these and other auriferous indications I noticed on all sides, I am firmly of opinion that this extensive range offers to the geologist and the miner a rich field for research. Natives of this district with whom we afterwards came in contact assured us of the existence of gold in these mountains, as likewise of a mineral which by the description they gave I judged to be silver.

*Second Ascent of Ruapehu: Sources of the Whangaehu and Waikato Rivers.*—Having satisfied myself as to the geological formation of the Kaimanawa Mountains, I next determined to trace up the Whangaehu and Waikato rivers to their sources in Ruapehu.

The Whangaehu river, which takes its rise in the eastern side of Ruapehu, is one of the largest streams in the Island. Bursting forth high up in the snows of the mountain, it crosses the desert in an easterly direction, and then takes a swift bend towards the south in its course to the coast, where it joins the sea at a distance of about 60 miles from its source. From the point where it issues from the mountain and for many miles as it winds through the plains, its waters are rendered perfectly white by the enormous amount of alum with which they are charged. We had been informed by the natives at Tokanu that the source of the river lay in an enormous black rock or dark bluff which forms a conspicuous feature near the eastern base of the mountain, and it was therefore towards this point we directed our course. It was, however, soon made clear that the true source of the river was a long distance up the mountain from this point. The dark rocks, which were nothing more than enormous outcrops of lava resembling solid walls of bronze, 200 feet in height, formed the portals or entrance to a deep rugged gorge that wound steeply to the snow-line of the mountain.

At 5300 feet this ravine opened out on our left, and over a flat terrace above a large waterfall fell from a height of 150 feet of a semicircular precipice into a deep rocky basin. We named this "the Horseshoe Fall," from the shape of the precipice over which it fell. From this point we mounted still higher; on our right was a sheer precipice of 400 feet and on our left rolled the Whangaehu at a depth of about 300 feet in the gorge below. At 6200 feet another waterfall, far larger and more beautiful than the one we had previously discovered, burst into view. Here the white waters of the Whangaehu rolled swiftly from the snows above, until the whole

volume concentrated into a narrow rocky channel burst over a precipice with a fall of 300 feet into the rocky gorge below. All around, the craggy rocks and icicles were white with a deposit of alum from the spray of the fall; while the water, of a milky hue, poured over the precipice in a continuous frothy stream, which appeared by its whiteness like folds of delicate lace. We named this the "Bridal Veil Fall," on account of its peculiar lace-like appearance. At 6700 feet we discovered two cascades falling over a steep bluff-like precipice, and only at a short distance apart from each other. At an altitude of 7000 feet there was only just room enough to crawl along between the wall of rock on one side and a precipice of 200 feet on the other which fell with a sheer descent into a big circular ice-bound pool into which the milky waters of the river poured in the form of foaming cascades. Here around on every side rose lofty precipices, and buttresses of black lava in the form of stupendous bluffs, supporting, as it were, the rampart-like height above, while right in front of us and towering to an altitude of over 1000 feet, was a glacier slope crowned with craggy peaks which stood out in bold relief against the sky. This rugged locality was one of the most singular of the whole mountain. The gorge wound hero in such a way that none of the surrounding country could be seen, and there was nothing but the blue heavens above to relieve the frigid glare of the ice, the cold glitter of the snows, and the dreary tints of the frowning fire-scorched rocks. Eight under the snowy glacier above us were wide yawning apertures, arched at the top, and framed as it were with ice in the form of rude portals, through which the waters of the river burst in a continuous stream. We entered the largest of these singular structures, and found ourselves in a cave of some 200 feet in circumference, whose sides of black volcanic rock were sheeted with ice and festooned with icicles. At the further end was a wide cavernous opening, so dark that the waters of the river, as they burst out of it in a foaming, eddying stream down the centre of the cave, looked doubly white in comparison with the black void out of which they came. The roof of the cave was formed of a mass of frozen snow, fashioned into oval-shaped depressions, all of one uniform size, and so beautifully and mathematically precise in outline as to resemble the quaint designs of a Moorish temple; while from the central points to which the edges of these singular designs converged, along single icicle hung down several inches in diameter at its base, perfectly round, smooth, and as clear as crystal, tapering off towards its end with a point as sharp as a needle. We had brought candles with us and we managed with some difficulty to cross the stream to explore the deep cavern beyond, but to do so we had to climb over sharp slippery rocks, which were covered with a coating of ice, as if they had been glazed with glass. We managed with considerable difficulty to get into the second cave, and to penetrate into the centre as it were of the great mountain, but just as we were winding along a kind of subterranean passage through which the river burst, our lights went out owing to water falling from above, and as we could hear nothing but rushing waters ahead, we with great difficulty beat a retreat into the first cave. Wherever the water poured over the rocks it left a white deposit, and when we tasted it it produced a marked astringent feeling upon the tongue, leaving a strong taste of alum, sulphur, and iron, with all of which ingredients, especially the two former, it appeared to be strongly impregnated.

It is an interesting geographical fact that the waters which form the source of the Upper Waikato river burst from the sides of Ruapehu within a short distance of the Whangaehu, and at almost the same altitude. Both streams run almost parallel to each other for a long distance from the source, and then as they reach the desert they gradually diverge and divide the two great watersheds of this portion of the country, the Waikato flowing to the north into Lake Taupo, and the Whangaehu to join the sea in the south.

We followed the course of the Whangaehu river through open country for about 40 miles in a south-easterly direction, and then travelled westerly across the Murimota Plains, a fine open tract of grassed country forming the southern slope of the great central tableland. From this point I determined to penetrate as far west as the valley of the Whanganui river at its junction with the Manganui a-te-Ao and reach the plains to the north of Ruapehu and Tongariro by the valley of the latter river.

*The Te Rangikaika Forest.*—Once across the Murimotu Plains we entered the Te Rangikaika Forest, which, rising almost to the snow line on the western side of Ruapehu, stretches in an unbroken course to the west coast, and covers an approximate area of some 3000 square miles. This is, without doubt, so far as the size and variety of its vegetation is concerned, the finest forest in New Zealand. When we had got well on our way we found this enormous wilderness spreading itself over a perfect network of broken rugged ranges. The soil was everywhere of the richest description, and many of the colossal trees averaged from 30 to 40 feet in circumference at the base, and towered above us to a height considerably over 100 feet. We found travelling through this wilderness of vegetation both fatiguing and difficult; there was not 100 yards of level ground, and our course lay over steep precipitous hills from 200 to 400 feet in height, which we were constantly ascending and descending. Our first day's journey brought us to two small lakes named by the natives Rangitauaiti and Pangitauanui. This spot seemed to be the home of many of the beautiful native birds of the island.

*The Manganui a-te-Ao.*—A journey of four days' incessant travelling through the forest brought us to Ruakaka, an extensive native settlement situated in the valley of the Manganui a-te-Ao, which was here sunk like a pit in the heart of the mountainous forest region. Here we found the Maoris living in the same primitive

way as in the time of Cook. When we questioned them as to their religious principles they told us "that they believed in nothing, and got fat on pork and potatoes."

I found the altitude of Ruakaka was 800 feet above the level of the sea, and it is worthy of remark, as showing the rapid fall of the country in this direction, that in order to reach this place from the great central table-land where we had at first entered the forest we had descended by the circuitous way we had come 1600 feet in about 40 miles.

These figures will give some idea of the swift current of the Manganui a-te-Ao, which, taking its rise near the north-western side of Ruapehu, cuts its way through a mountainous country in a deep, rock-bound channel, and receives the waters of innumerable tributaries along its entire course. The volume of water poured down by this impetuous stream is something prodigious, while, I believe, the rapidity of its current is unequalled by any other river in New Zealand. We found that the river was known to the natives by three names, viz. Manganui a-te-Ao, or "great river of light"; To Waitahupara, and Te Wairoahakamanamana-a-Rongowaitahanui, or "the river of ever dancing waters and steep echoing cliffs"; while the Whanganui, into which it fell, was likewise known as To Wainui-a-Tarawera, "the great waters of Tarawera." The two rivers form the principal means of communication for the natives of Ruahaka, with the outer world, as by this means they travel by canoes to the coast. They are expert canoe-men, and shoot the rapids of both rivers with wonderful dexterity.

From Ruahaka our course lay easterly up the valley of the Manganui a-te-Ao, and for 30 miles through another portion of the dense forest. We had to cross the river ten times at different points in its winding course. Although we could only lead our horses through the forest, it was necessary to ride them whenever we came to this crossing places, as at these points the water was in most places over their backs, and often nearly over their heads when they got into the big holes that everywhere dotted the rugged channel of the river. All along the course of the Manganui a-te-Ao, the scenery was of the wildest description, the steep cliffs and mountains towering above us in the grandest confusion.

After crossing the stream for the ninth time in a two days' journey, we climbed a steep ascent and gained the broad open tableland at an altitude of 2850 feet. Thus to arrive at this elevation from Ruahaka, we had travelled over hills and mountains the whole way, and yet in a distance of about thirty miles the country had risen 2000 feet from our point of departure, which stood at an altitude of 800 feet.

The rapid rise of the valley of this river may be seen by reference to the altitudes of the various crossing places as given on the table attached to the map.

Now that we had done eighty miles of forest travelling since we had left the Murimotu Plains, it is impossible to describe with what delight we hailed the grand open country before us, as a pleasant change from the endless vegetation we had passed through and which had literally rained with moisture.

The fine grassy expanse covered with a thick coating of white frost we had now entered, we afterwards found was known to the natives as Waimarino, from the name of the river running through it, which had its source in Haurangatahi, a large densely wooded mountain visible in the distance to our right. We now viewed Tongariro and Ruapehu from the north-west, an aspect from which we had not beheld them before, while the snow since last we had beheld it had crept down to their base, and mingling with the green of the vegetation, produced the most beautiful effect as the mist of morning rolled away beneath the glowing power of the sun.

We journeyed on for about fifteen miles to Ngatokorua, a Maori pah, where we were hospitably entertained for three days by Pehi Hetau Turoa, one of the principal chiefs of the Whanganui tribes; from this place we took an easterly curve across the open plains in the direction of Tongariro, with a view of tracing up the source of the Whanganui river, which we had learned from the natives rose somewhere in the northern side of the volcano, and after that I had determined to examine the Tongariro springs and the crater of Ketetahi, which were situated a short distance further to the east on the same mountain.

*Source of the Whanganui.*—On one of the principal spurs to the north of Tongariro, we found the source of the Whanganui, in a narrow rocky gorge at an altitude of 3700 feet above the level of the sea, the water evidently arising from mountain springs, and at certain times from the melting of the snows. The river from this point runs rapidly down the winding gorges of the mountain, and after receiving in its course the waters of numerous other streams, winds across the Okahakura Plains, and afterwards enters the dense forest of the Tuhua, and then taking a bold sweep to the north-west receives the waters of the Ougaruhe and numerous other streams as it flows in its long course to join the sea in the south. The Whanganui, which, after the Waikato, forms the most important river of the North Island, receives the whole of the western watershed of the great central tableland, besides that of other divisions of the country.

*Hot Springs of Tongariro.*—Leaving the source of the Whanganui, we took an easterly direction up one of the northern mountain spurs of Tongariro, and at an altitude of 4900 feet we found the hot springs roaring beneath us. We got with some difficulty down the rugged sides of a chasm, when we stood in the centre of a region where boiling springs burst from the earth, where jets of steam shrieked from innumerable fissures, where enormous boiling mudholes bubbled like heated cauldrons, and where the hot steaming soil, covered in

every direction with yellow crystals of sulphur and glistening siliceous deposits, quaked beneath our feet, clouds of steam wound overhead, and in many places fountains of hot water shot high into the air. Some of the warm springs were of a dark coffee colour, caused apparently by the admixture of iron; others were yellow with excess of sulphur; others white with alum; while not a few were of the purest blue. These springs, as the Maoris afterwards informed us, possess wonderful curative properties in all cases of chronic rheumatism and cutaneous disorders, and many natives suffering from ailments of that kind come long distances to avail themselves of the thermal waters. This portion of Tongariro, like all other parts of the mountains, is strictly *tapu* to Europeans.

A short distance beyond the springs and near to the end of the great spur, we found the small crater known to the natives as Ketetahi, formed by a circular aperture emitting vast volumes of steam.

*Western Taupo.*—Leaving the Tongariro Mountains, we took a northerly course along the To Pakaru plain, a fine open tract of country between the Kakaramea ranges and the Tuhua forest. We next reached the western watershed of Lake Taupo, the first stream flowing in that direction being the Koromanga. I determined to take this direction in order to explore the great tableland of Western Taupo, and thence penetrate to Alexandra by the country to the northward of the great central mountain chain ending in Titiraupenga.

The western tableland of Lake Taupo has an average altitude of 1700 to 2200 feet above the level of the sea; it stretches along the entire western shore of the lake, and inland to the Haurungaroa and Hurakia Mountains, which extend in a northerly direction as far as Mount Titiraupenga, and form the eastern boundary of the mountainous central portion of the King Country. These two mountain chains attain to an altitude of 2300 to 2500 feet above the level of the sea, the eastern slopes forming the principal source of the watershed of the western division of the lake; while the inland waters with those of other mountains of the same system are received mostly by the Orgaruhe river, one of the principal tributaries of the Whanganui. The whole of these ranges, which present a very broken appearance, are densely covered with luxuriant forests. The country from the eastern slopes stretches in a series of open plains to the lake, the western coast of which is bounded by steep rugged cliffs, which assume in many places the form of bold headlands, the highest of which, Mount Karangahape, attains to an altitude of about 2000 feet.

*The Northern Tableland.*—Having traversed the western tableland, we reached the head-waters of the Waihora river, which was the last stream of any importance forming the western watershed of Lake Taupo. Taking now a north-westerly course, we crossed the Te Tihoi plains, a fine tract of open country extending around the Mountains of Titiraupenga as far north as the banks of the Waikato, into which the drainage of this portion of the country fell by means of many fine streams, the largest of which were the Waikino, Waipapa, Waipari, and Upper Punui. Here the tableland began to fall perceptibly towards the north-west, and for a long distance it averaged in altitude from 1000 to 1150 feet.

*Valley of the Waipa.*—Once across the Te Toto Mountains, we soon gained the broad open valley of the Waipa. This river, which forms the principal tributary of the Waikato, has its source on the southern side of the Rangitoto Mountains. The principal tributaries are the Mangapu, Manga-o-Rewa, and Mangawhero, with the Punui as the chief. Beyond the head of the river the watershed falls towards the Mokau river, south of which the country is open for a considerable distance in the direction of the Te Taraka plains, until the great central belt of forest country is reached. The whole valley of the Waipa lies very low, its altitude near the margin of that stream being scarcely 100 feet above the level of the sea. Travelling along this valley, we reached the King's settlement at Whatiwhatihoe and crossed the *aukati* line forming the northern boundary of the King Country on the night of the 18th of May, 1883.

Previous to reading of the paper,

The PRESIDENT said that Mr. Kerry-Nicholls was not a colonist but a traveller whom a laudable curiosity had led to Australia, and then on to New Zealand, where he spent eighteen months. He had a great deal to say about a region which was almost, if not entirely, new to the members of the Society. No doubt many now present heard the interesting paper which was read by the Rev. Mr. Green last year on the Alps of the Southern Island of New Zealand. Mr. Kerry-Nicholls would not be able to give a description of the same tremendous glaciers or lofty mountains, but he would describe a district quite as interesting and as curious, different from that explored by Mr. Green, and still more different from ordinary European countries. The part of New Zealand in which Mr. Kerry-Nicholls had travelled was inhabited by the Maoris to the entire exclusion of all European settlers. He must not be understood to say that all the Maoris were collected in that district; but whilst they were distributed over considerable portions of the island, the particular part to be described in the paper—on the west of the island, was inhabited exclusively by the Maoris. After a good deal of experience of the white man, the Maoris had come to the conclusion that if they desired to maintain any portion of their country which they could call their own and inhabit in the fashion of their ancestors, they must keep out the invading white man, and he thought that no one would be prepared to say that they were wrong in that view; for the natural instinct of the white man was to spread everywhere, and wherever the white man and the coloured man came into collision, it was generally but a very short time before the coloured man disappeared. The region

was full of great interest, and was inhabited by a people admitted to be among the finest of the so-called savage races in the world.

On the conclusion of the paper,

The PRESIDENT in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Kerry-Nicholls, said that the meeting was no doubt satisfied that his opening expressions as to the novelty, strangeness, and peculiarities of the country had been fully justified. They had been carried by the lecturer into a region of extraordinary beauty and interest, and he hoped that Englishmen would not be tempted to take possession of the districts which had been retained by the native inhabitants, who seemed to be very good neighbours. He trusted that good faith would be kept with the people in spite of the temptations to possess such a beautiful region.

## ***The Free State of the Congo.* By E. DELMAR MORGAN, F.R.G.S.**

Map, p. 272.

ON the 12th of September, 1876, a movement was initiated by the King of the Belgians which has resulted in important events for Africa and great changes in the relations of European powers to the Equatorial regions of the continent. At the King's invitation, representative geographers and friends of Africa, of six European nations (besides Belgium), met at a Conference in the Royal Palace at Brussels, to discuss the question of the exploration and the civilisation of Africa and the means of opening up the interior of the continent to the commerce, industry, and scientific enterprise of the civilised world, and more particularly to consider what measures should be adopted to extinguish the terrible scourge of slavery, which, though almost stopped on the coasts, was known to continue its desolating influence over wide and populous tracts in the interior of that continent. Among English geographers who took part in these deliberations were the late Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Rutherford Alcock, Colonel Grant, and Lieutenant Cameron.

The following is a list of the members of the Conference taken chiefly from notes kindly supplied to us by Colonel J. A. Grant. For *Austria-Hungary*: Baron de Hofmann; Comte Edward Zichy; Fer. von Hochstetter; Lieutenant Lux. For *Belgium*: Baron Lambertmont; M. Banning; M. Emile de Borchgrave; M. Couvreur; M. le Comte Gobler d'Alviella; M. James; M. de Laveleye; M. Quairier; M. Sainetelette; M. Smalderl; M. Van Biervliet; M. Leon Vander Bossche; M. Jean Van Volxem. For *England*: Sir Bartle Frere; Sir Rutherford Alcock; Admiral Sir Leopold Heath; Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson; Colonel J. A. Grant; Commander Cameron; W. Mackinnon, Esq.; Sir Fowell Buxton, Bart.; Sir John Kennaway, Bart., M.P. For *France*: Admiral le Baron de la Roncière de Noury; M. Henri Duveyrier; The Marquis de Compiègne; M. D'Abbadie; M. Maunoir. For *Germany*: Baron von Richthofen; Dr. Nachtigal; Dr. Schweinfurth; Herr Gerhard Rohlf. For *Italy*: The Chevalier Cristoforo Negri. For *Russia*: M. Semenov. Sir Harry Verney, Bart., M.P., was living in Brussels during the sitting of the Conference, and took some part in it. Those named for England, France, Austria, and Germany, resided in the King's Palace.

In his opening address the King said that the subject which united them was well worthy to rank among those which occupied the friends of humanity, and that the neutral territory of Belgium appeared to him to offer peculiar facilities for initiating an international movement such as they had in view. The Conference lasted three days, and before separating the assembly passed certain resolutions and declarations setting forth the objects and defining the limits of the work to be done.

Such was the origin of the International African Association, the progress of whose work has been from time to time recorded in our pages. In pursuance of its programme National Committees were to be formed in each of the countries represented, to collect funds for the purpose of co-operating in the despatch of exploring expeditions and the founding of stations, as centres of civilising influence in the interior of the continent.

But international co-operation was of short duration. In England, after very careful discussion in the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, it was decided that African exploration would be more effectually prosecuted by England, and the necessary funds more readily obtained, through separate national enterprise than by international association. Instead of the direct co-operation invited by the King of the Belgians, the "African Exploration Fund" was established, in March 1877; and with the public subscriptions obtained the expedition of Mr. Keith Johnston and his successor Mr. Joseph Thomson was despatched to explore the direct route to Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika.

Nor was the international character of the movement long maintained in other countries where committees were established; in fact, the movement, as we all know, degenerated rapidly into selfish national annexation of territory. The objects which had been set forth at the Brussels Conference could never have been attained had it not been for the persevering and generous efforts of the King of the Belgians, and the liberal expenditure of his private means. The Central Committee at Brussels, over which he presided,

The Members of the Committee were as follow:—*President*, the King of the Belgians; *Members*, Dr. Nachtigal (Germany), Mr. Sanford (United States), M. de Quatrefages (France); *General Secretary*, Colonel

Strauch; *Treasurer*, M. Galezot.

sent out in the course of eight years no fewer than seven large expeditions from the East Coast towards Lake Tanganyika, the first and most important station being that of Karéma on its eastern shore.

Stanley's discovery of the Congo as a great highway into the interior happening about this time, gave a new impulse and direction to the work. Attention was now directed to the Western Coast. The King established a preliminary committee of inquiry called the "Comité d'études du Haut-Congo," under which Stanley was engaged and sent out on the mission which has led to such important consequences. The results of this first expedition encouraged the Brussels committee to enlarge its design. The *Comité d'Études* was expanded into the "Association Internationale du Congo," with the ultimate aim of establishing a Free State of the Congo.

In 1883, owing to the development of the undertaking, it was decided to establish the Association on a firmer footing by obtaining from the Powers the recognition of its sovereign rights acquired by treaties from the native chiefs of the Congo and Niadi-Kwilu region. As a preliminary step it was necessary to define the rights thus acquired. This was discussed and decided according to international law and precedent, by the late Professor Arntz, of the University of Brussels, Sir Travers Twiss, and other eminent jurists. Among parallel cases cited were the British North Borneo Company, and Liberia. Negotiations were opened with the United States of America through Mr. Sanford, formerly U.S. Minister at Brussels, who, after retiring from the diplomatic service, had become a member of the Association. Early in 1884 he took his departure for New York, where his overtures were most favourably received. The American press, especially the *New York Herald*, published important articles on the work of the Association. The President, in his annual message, made a declaration of an exceedingly friendly character, and the proposed recognition by the United States of the sovereignty of the Association was finally submitted to the Senate.

The following extracts from Senator Morgan's report from the Committee on Foreign Relations may be found interesting:—

*"The President in his annual message to this Congress, expresses the sentiment of the people of the United States on the subject of our future relations with the valley of the Congo, in Africa.*

*"Our attitude towards that country is exceptional, and our interest in its people is greatly enhanced by the fact that more than one-tenth of our population is descended from the negro races in Africa.*

*"The people of the United States, with but little assistance from the Government, have established a free republic in Liberia, with a constitution modelled after our own, and under the control of the negro race. Its area is 14,300 square miles; its population is about 1,200,000 souls; its commerce is valuable; its government is successful, and its people are prosperous.*

*"The necessity for a negro colony in Liberia was suggested by the fact that slaves found in vessels captured for violations of the slave-trade laws and treaties were required to be returned to Africa when that was practicable, and it was impossible, and it would have been useless and cruel, to send them back to the localities where they were first enslaved. Humanity prompted certain private citizens of the United States to organise the American Colonisation Society in aid of the return of captured slaves to Africa, and to find a congenial asylum and home for negroes who were emancipated in the United States. Henry Clay was, for many years, President of this Association, and assisted it with the influence of his great name and broad philanthropy.*

*"The success of the Liberian colony has demonstrated the usefulness of that system of dealing with a social question which is, to the people of the United States, of the highest importance. It has also established a recognised precedent in favour of the right of untitled individuals to found States in the interests of civilisation in barbarous countries, through the consent of the local authorities, and it has given confidence to those who look to the justice of the nations for a restoration of the emancipated Africans to their own country, if they choose to return to it.*

*"This great duty has, so far, been left entirely to the efforts of citizens of the United States, and it has been supported almost exclusively by their personal contributions. The governments of the world have been slow even to recognise the State thus founded by the courage and means of private citizens, but it is now firmly established in the family of nations, and is everywhere recognised as a free and independent nation.*

*"This pleasing history of progress, attended with peace and prosperity in Liberia, has given rise to a feeling of earnest interest amongst the people of the United States in the questions which arise from the recent discovery by their countryman, H. M. Stanley, of the great river which drains Equatorial Africa. They rejoice in the revelation that this natural highway affords navigation for steamers extending more than half the distance across the continent, and opens to civilisation the valley of the Congo, with its 900,000 square miles of fertile territory, and its 50,000,000 of people, who are soon to become most useful factors in the increase of the productions of the earth and in swelling the volume of commerce.*

*"The movements of the International African Association which, with a statement of its purposes, are referred to in the letter of the Secretary of State, appended to this report, are in the direction of the civilisation of the negro population of Africa by opening up their country to free commercial relations with foreign*

*countries. As a necessary incident of this praiseworthy work, which is intended, in the broadest sense, for the equal advantage of all foreign nations seeking trade and commerce in the Congo country, the African International Association has acquired, by purchase from the native chiefs, the right of occupancy of several places for their stations and depots. The property so acquired is claimed only for the Association, which is composed of persons from various countries, and it could not, therefore, be placed under the shelter of any single foreign flag.*

*"The African International Association established its stations, and opened roads leading from one to another around the falls of the Congo in the same way that the older factories had been established, with the additional fact in their favour that their settlements were always preceded by an open agreement with the local government in the form of a treaty. A flag was as necessary for the purposes of their settlement, and as an indication of their right, and to designate the places under their control, as it was to the slave traders, whose only advantage is that they have been in possession a long time for the purposes of nefarious traffic in slaves, while the Association has been in possession only a short time for the benign purposes of introducing civilisation into that country.*

*"Having no foreign flag that they could justly claim, they adopted a flag and displayed it—a golden star in a field of blue—the symbol of hope to a strong but ignorant people, and of prosperity through peace. The native people instinctively regarded that as the first banner they had seen that promised them goodwill and security, and they readily yielded to it their confidence.*

*"The golden star of the banner of the International Association represents hospitality to the people and commerce of all nations in the Free States of the Congo; civilisation, order, peace, and security to the persons and property of those who visit the Congo country, as well as to its inhabitants; and if, in the promotion of these good purposes, it lawfully represents powers ceded or delegated to the Association by the local governments necessary to make them effectual, it does not thereby offend against humanity, nor unlawfully usurp authority in derogation of the rights of any nation upon the earth."*

The discussion in the Senate lasted several days, resulting in a vote favourable to the Association; the President was authorised to recognise its flag as that of a friendly Government, and declarations were shortly afterwards exchanged between the Government of the United States and the Agent of the Association. About the same time a convention was made with France, which was a virtual recognition by that Power of its sovereign rights.

Soon afterwards a Conference on West African affairs was convened at Berlin, the scope of its deliberations comprising freedom of commerce in the basin of the Congo, free navigation on the Congo and Niger rivers, and the establishment of regulations for future acquisitions of territory in Africa.

It would be impossible to enter fully into the several provisions of the *Acte Générale* passed by this Conference; it will suffice to give briefly their general import with their bearing on political geography, referring the reader to the accompanying map.

The principle of Free Commerce in its widest sense was established in the immense basin of the Congo, a maritime belt of 360 miles along the Atlantic was placed on the same footing, and its future extension to the East Coast made probable on a still vaster scale. In this immense territory no import duties will be levied for twenty years to come, nor will such dues ever be exacted in the possessions of the International Association, which constitute by far the largest part. Natives and white men are placed on the same footing, and have similar rights guaranteed to them. All religions are tolerated, whilst the protection of the natives and the proscription of the slave-trade are to be the fundamental principles of public law in the States and Colonies of Central Africa.

It was further enacted that special measures are to be adopted both by land and sea against the slave-trade, which continues to be the great scourge of Central Africa, and one of the principal obstacles to civilisation.

It was provided that States constituted in the basin of the Congo, and Powers founding colonies there, will have the right of neutralising their possessions either perpetually or temporarily.

One of the dispositions adopted by the Conference tends to prevent European wars from extending to Africa, and in the event of disagreements arising in Africa itself between the Powers of the basin of the Congo, recourse will be had to mediation, if not arbitration.

The free navigation of the Congo and its affluents was proclaimed, comprising an extent of about 5000 kiloms. (3106 miles) open to flags of all nations, and what applies to the river will, according to a somewhat original idea, apply also to railway, canal, or road, supplying the place of and obstructed part of the river. The transit dues must only be such as will compensate the cost of works executed in the bed of the river or commercial establishments erected on its banks.

An International Commission, to which each of the contracting Powers has the right to appoint a delegate, is specially charged to see that all nations benefit on an equal footing from the freedom of navigation and transit. It will at the same time have to provide, in concert with the riverine powers, for the improvement or maintenance of the *regime fluviale*, the security of navigators, and the carrying out of necessary improvements.

All works and establishments are neutralised in time of war, and lastly, the Act passed declares that the navigation of the Congo shall remain open in time of war for ships of all nations, both belligerent as well as neutral, and that private property will be respected, even though under an enemy's flag, on all the waters governed by the Act.

These dispositions constitute a remarkable progress in international law, and confirm those principles adopted by Belgium, and to which she owes the emancipation of her principal river. They moreover embody the spirit of all the treaties concluded by the Association, and set forth the objects it has pursued.

While the Conference was sitting at Berlin the Association concluded treaties with England, Denmark, Italy, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Russia, Spain, and the United Kingdom of Sweden and Norway; whereby all these Powers agreed to recognise its flag as that of a friendly State, the Association engaging on its side to accord to the subjects of these Powers full rights.

A further important negotiation was concluded, during the meeting of the Conference, in reference to the territorial limits of the new Free State and those of the French and Portuguese possessions in the same region—much disputed matters, which were not settled until after long and interrupted negotiation. A final arrangement was, however, happily arrived at, and a treaty was signed at Paris, and on the 14th February an analogous one was concluded with Portugal.

By those treaties the question of the ancient claims of Portugal to the mouths of the Congo was definitely decided. Had not it been thus disposed of, serious complications might have arisen in the future, and the whole work of the Association been marred. Instead of this a definite agreement, sanctioned by all the Powers, has been made, and a new region opened to the commerce and industry of the civilised world.

The frontiers of the three Powers will be best studied on the map illustrating the present paper; but I may mention that by the convention with Portugal this Power gets the south or left bank of the Congo, from its mouth to Nokki, a distance of 90 miles, where there is a Portuguese and a French factory, the Association retaining the right bank with 23 miles of coast extending from Banana to a point south of Kabinda Bay. Here Portuguese territory again begins, so as to inclose the district round Kabinda, Molembo, Landana, and Massabé where the Association has long been established. This Portuguese *enclave*, as it is called, extends inland for 30 or 40 miles, as far east as the Lucullu, a left tributary of the Chiloango. From Nokki the Portuguese frontier runs east to the Kwango, a left tributary of the Congo, and then turns south. By the convention with France the Association yields up to this Power the whole of the valley of the Kwilu, called on its upper reaches the Niadi, where it was in possession of large tracts of country, and had established no less than eighteen stations. In exchange for this concession it retains the left bank of Stanley Pool which France had claimed through an act of annexation of De Brazza's lieutenant, Serjeant Malamine. Above Manyanga and up the Congo to a point beyond the river Likona, this river forms the boundary between African France and the Free State. Beyond this again the territory of the latter widens considerably, comprising a wide unexplored belt on either side of the river to Lakes Tanganyika and Bangweolo.

We have endeavoured to show the origin of the International Association, and have briefly traced the events which led to the formation of the Free State of the Congo; let us say a few words on the present position of its affairs and its immediate prospects.

The constitution of the New African State is not before us. Its administration will, no doubt, be guided by the same wisdom and foresight as have directed the work of the International Association. But some preliminary difficulties have to be met. Hitherto the porters employed on the Congo have mostly been men from the East Coast, natives of Zanzibar and its district, a lighter coloured race, probably owing to infusion of Arab blood, than the negro of Central Africa. These Zanzibaris have been of great use as intermediaries between the Europeans and the natives, whose language, a dialect of the Bantu, sufficiently resembles the Swahili to allow of their understanding one another. Being farther advanced in civilisation and Mohammedans by religion, they have held themselves above the natives, for whose fetishism they have a contempt. These men, whose term of service is now expired or in course of expiration, prefer returning to Zanzibar rather than remaining on the Congo, and it is reported no more will be engaged. In future the Association must depend entirely on native porters to supply their places. Of these some 1200 were, by last accounts, carrying loads to Stanley Pool, of whom from 500 to 600 were transporting the steamer *Stanley* to the Pool. A regular supply of native porters under present conditions is of great moment, as until a railway is made, communication between Vivi and Isanghila, and between Manyanga and Leopoldville, must be kept open by them. Another trouble is the necessity of providing an armed force to protect the stations in the event of attack, and give a semblance, if not a reality, of strength to the establishment. The experiment of recruiting Houssas from the Niger districts has been tried, and failed. These blacks have warlike instincts and a soldierly bearing. They are organised into a police force at Lagos, and took part as auxiliaries in the Ashanti campaign. On the Congo, however, they have not been a success, and appear to have been troublesome and shown insubordination. In future, therefore, they will no longer be employed, but it will be difficult to find efficient substitutes. A local militia might be

organised, but that would take time, and it is doubtful whether natives can be trusted at present with rifles, and how far they may be relied upon in an emergency.

It is pleasant to turn from these clouds in the Congo Free State and record its triumphs. From the last number of the 'Mouvement Géographique' published at Brussels, we learn that Mr. Tisdell, United States representative, has arrived at Vivi, and was proceeding thence to Stanley Pool. His Government was the first to recognise the sovereignty of the Free State, and they have also been the first to accredit their representative to it. It is also reported that the *Stanley*, the new stern-wheel steamer for the navigation of the Upper Congo, was approaching her destination, whither she is being transported in sections, and by this time she will probably have arrived at Leopoldville. The *Stanley* will make the sixth steamer launched on the Upper Congo, the other five being the *En Avant*, *Association Internationale*, *Royal*, and *Eclairneur* belonging to the Association, and the *Peace* belonging to the Baptist Mission.

## ***The Kara-kum, or Desert of Turkomania.***

By M. PAUL LESSAR.

Translated from the Russian 'Ivestiya Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obsch.' vol. xx.

THE region bounded by the Ust Urt, Khiva, Bokhara, Afghan Turkistan, Attok, and Akhal bears the general name of Kara-kum, though it is far from sandy throughout, and a considerable part consists of *kyrs*, *takirs*, and *shors*, to be described further on.

*Aspects of the Country.*—The Kara-kum sands, represented on maps by one conventional sign, are in reality very varied. They are divisible into three principal kinds. In the first kind the soil is clayey, largely mixed with sand; its surface is formed into hillocks, rarely more than seven feet high, and usually thickly overgrown with brushwood. In this kind of desert there is no difficulty in travelling, whether on horseback or in carts, in good or bad weather. To this kind belong all the sands between Merv and Attok, as well as those between Sarakhs and Chacha.

The second kind consists of real sands, not, however of a drifting nature, but everywhere knit together by bushes 10 to 15 feet high. It is only at the summits of the hillocks, which are higher than those of the first kind, that there is a little drift-sand, which is carried from place to place. Now and then, too, it may be met with along the road in ridges 70 to 100 feet wide, rarely more. Generally there are no high elevations in the Kara-kum wilderness, and the levels differ only 140 feet, rarely as much as 200 feet between the extremes, whilst only very few points are sheltered from the wind. Once exposed to the wind two things may happen. (1) In those sandy tracts which are wholly free from bushes, *barkhans*, described below, are formed. (2) With the gradual hardening of the mass of sand the lighter particles do not remain in the hollows; they are either caught by the roots of the bushes or carried to higher ground, where they are sheltered from some winds by the ridge of the hillock. The wind then carries them over the hillock, but is incapable of laying them in the hollow behind. A wind blowing from an opposite direction may in like manner drift the particles to the reverse side of the eminence, but no farther. This explains the small quantity of drift-sand met with on the roads, and its rapid disappearance.

In sands of the second kind carts move with great difficulty, whilst horses and camels, particularly the latter, go freely. This includes all the sands met with along the roads between Khiva, Akhal, Attok, and Merv, between Mikhail of Bay and Mulla Kari, as well as those on the peninsula of Dardja, though these latter are of a looser consistency, and supply a connecting link with the third kind. Between Merv and Sarakhs they also occur, but only for a distance of about three miles, where the road crosses them at a place known as Kutche-kum. The sands between Annau and Gawars occupy an intermediate place between the first and second kinds.

In the sands just mentioned no storm is to be dreaded; the quantity of drift-sand being so small cannot become dangerous, though it causes many discomforts to the traveller, covering his things and filling his eyes, &c.

This, however, is not the case with sands of the third kind, the so-called *barkhans*. Here neither tree, nor bush, nor grass-blade is to be seen; the sand is wholly of a drifting nature; the slightest puff of wind effaces the fresh tracks of a caravan; and it is not without reason that the name Adam Krilgan—man's destruction—has been given to a place in the Khanat of Bokhara where whole caravans have been buried.

Between the Oxus and the Caspian such drift-sands occur but very rarely, and usually in distinct ridges or hillocks. They only occur in the south-eastern angle of the desert, and here only near the river; the farther from Chardjui in a northerly direction and the deeper in the steppe, the rarer are these drift-sands. Along the road from Merv to Kavakla the sands are similar in character for a short distance, covered with a little vegetation, though this only consists of a few isolated trees of saksaul, and the form of the hillocks is distinct from those along the road between Merv and Boyun-uzun, which are bare. Wherever there is vegetation the position of the

sands depends not only on the wind, but on the bushes as well, and the coincidence of these two causes produces great variety in the shapes of the hillocks. In the barchans on the road from Merv to Boyun-uzun this is not the case; here, as in all slightly undulating ground, there is no distant prospect, and when the sands cover the bushes growing on them the horizon is bounded on all sides by low, greyish-yellow hillocks, formed by the wind alone, which produces a similar effect on the whole mass of sand, moulding the hillocks according to one pattern; the side exposed to the wind (northern) presents a gradually raised cone, the reverse a sharp curve, whilst a section might be accurately figured by a rib. The axis of the barchans runs north-east and south-west, and forms an angle of 20° with the meridian.

The passage of these sands is very difficult; horses sink and are hardly able to extricate their feet. It is necessary to proceed with the utmost caution in order not to lose one's way; there is nothing to serve as sign-posts, nothing to fasten camels' bones to except occasional sticks placed by passing caravans; the wind blows them down, the sand covers them. Each successive caravan replaces them in the most convenient spot. These sticks have to be followed on the march, for when there is the least wind only the most skilful and experienced guides can trace the direction of the road.

The barchans shift from place to place; plain evidence of their drifting nature is before the eyes of every traveller between Merv and Bokhara. On the road to Kavakla, the roots of trees are exposed to a depth of two to three feet, which should represent the thickness of the sand stratum removed, because the roots of these trees begin almost at the surface. I have never seen more than 3 ½ feet of roots denuded, and hardly ever prostrate trees. This is explained by the circumstance that the sand removed by one storm is replaced by another, the tree being supported in the interval by its deeper roots. I saw another instance of the transition of barchans at a *shor* between Adil Well and Boyun-uzun. At the time of my journey the barchan crossed a well-beaten track which formerly served as the road; to avoid it a second track had already been beaten. This removal of an entire barchan across a wide *shor* in one mass without undergoing any alteration in shape is a most interesting fact; particularly striking is the slowness of the movement; thus a second track had been beaten before that first occupied had been cleared.

Besides the three kinds of sands described above there are of course many intermediate, but the distinction already drawn is amply sufficient to illustrate the character of the Kara-kum; the more so because, in reviewing the subject of communications, their classification in one or other of these kinds fully determines the degree of facility with which they may be traversed.

As we have stated, there are besides the sands in the Kara-kum *kyrs*, *takirs*, and *shors*.

Firm, clayey (mixed with sand) surfaces, only occasionally covered with sand-hillocks, hardened by vegetation, are known to the natives by the word *kyr*. Far from being flat they usually consist of a row of valleys, alternating with eminences not exceeding 140 to 210 feet in height. The soil is very favourable to locomotion in any weather.

The *takir* is a very hard surface devoid of vegetation, surrounded on all sides by sands almost horizontal, and if sloping at all but very slightly. Externally they present the following distinctions from the *kyrs*. While the latter occupy large expanses of the steppe, particularly north of the Unguz, where they are bounded by a line almost parallel with it, at a distance of 20 versts (13 miles); the *takirs*, on the contrary, extend over limited areas in the midst of sands—never where there are *kyrs*. The soil of the *takirs* is clay, wholly impervious to water, forming during the rains a slippery surface, impeding progress, though they are not usually so sodden with moisture as is supposed, and I have never seen horses' hoof-marks deeper than 2 ½-3 inches. The importance of *kyrs* and *takirs*, in relation to the question of water supply, will be mentioned hereafter.

*Shors* are distinguishable from *takirs* by the quality of the soil: like them they are devoid of vegetation and bare of sand, presenting a similar appearance; their soil, however, is not clay, but ferruginous sand, and in many places gypsum protruding on the surface. *Shors* are sometimes dry, sometimes boggy, and in any case not difficult of passage. Lying as they do in the lowest parts of the desert, water is always to be found in them at a depth of to 2 feet, but invariably brackish.

This description of the Kara-kum would be incomplete were we to omit mention of the so-called dry channels met with in various directions, two of which—the Uzboi and the Unguz—are well known.

The Uzboi has for several years been the subject of special investigation by an expedition appointed for that purpose. Its labours are for the present concluded, and, considering the enormous means at its disposal, it is to be hoped that the results will completely settle the question. In the course of my labours in the Trans-Caspian regions I only came upon the Uzboi in places. Partly from data so obtained, partly from the meagre information which has been derived from other sources, I judge the most probable explanation of its presence to be as follows:—

We know that Aibughir Gulf has been dried up, so to speak, before our very eyes; it is, moreover, highly probable that the Aral Sea reached in comparatively recent times to Charishli and beyond to Bala-ishem by a gulf such as Aibughir (Charishli is 224 feet above the Caspian level, Bala-ishem about 210 feet, or a little

below the level of the Aral). Between Sari-kamysh and Bala-ishem there is no kind of channel, but only inequalities in the ground having the appearance of lake-beds; of course, too, after the desiccation of the gulf of the Aral, as the delta of the Amu-daria moved northwards, watercourses were formed between it and Sari-kamysh.

Only from Bala-ishem to Igdi is there a channel bearing unmistakable traces of having been a river-bed along which the superfluous water of the Aral in years of exceptional floods may have had an outlet to the Caspian. Levellings will show how far this stream may have gone; but already near Aidin a level is reached below that of the Caspian, and there can be no doubt that all this part of the Uzboi forms the bed of a gulf of that sea, the drying up of which may probably be explained by the alternations in its level and the influence of atmospheric causes on the shallow gulf.

But whatever scientific results may be obtained from the labours of the expedition,

It is much to be desired that the results may be published *in extenso*, and not in the form of an abstract merely, or of any project for turning the Amu-daria into the Caspian Sea. Persons appointed for the special purpose of elaborating a project to unite the two seas may naturally be carried away by the grandeur of the idea and not weigh impartially favourable and unfavourable circumstances. Considering the importance of this question it should be considered from every point of view; the facts ascertained should, therefore, be accessible to all interested in the work, and not merely to those engaged in it, for however disappointing the results may prove in a practical sense, the surveys would be invaluable in connection with those made in the Kara-kum, and which have yet to be completed. Lastly, let the cost of publication be what it may the amount would be quite insignificant by the side of the enormous expenditure of surveying.

there is no longer any doubt of the impracticability of adapting the Uzboi to connect the Aral with the Caspian. It must be understood we are here speaking of effecting such a connection by merely turning the river; in many places there is absolutely no channel for hundreds of versts; in others gigantic works would be requisite for the passage of water; by wasting many tens of millions an artificial river-way might be created, but its adaptability for practical purposes would be out of the question. Supposing that trade were to develop, or that its probable development depended on the construction of elaborate means of communication, even then the choice would lie between a canal and a railroad, and either one or the other would cost immeasurably less than an artificial river.

Of the Unguz, or so-called Charjui channel, I shall speak more fully. Up to the spring of the present year (1883) information concerning it and the larger part of the Kara-kum was almost all from hearsay, though closely affecting the question of communications between Akhal, Khiva, and Bokhara; only part of the desert west of Sheikh had been surveyed and mapped by the topographers of the expedition to examine the old channel of the Amu-daria, and 20 versts of the Unguz had been described by Lieut. Kalitin.

Proc. R.G.S., vol. iv., New Monthly Series, No. 4 contains a translation of Lieutenant Kalitin's paper

In the month of March, this year (1883), therefore, by order of the commander-in-chief of the trans-Caspian region, I formed an expedition to examine the Unguz and several routes in the Kara-kum. For an escort and for carrying out the manual labour, ten horsemen of the Tokkeh militia with an interpreter were assigned, and ten camels with three drivers to carry baggage and provisions.

The following was the programme of the commander-in-chief:

A. Survey and description (1) of the Unguz from Bala-ishem on the Uzboi to the Amu; (2) of the road from Kizil-arvat via Sansys and Bestem Shah to Kurtysh on the Uzboi; (3) of the road from Khiva to the Tedjend and Askabad. These surveys were executed by me as proposed; they were effected with Stephan's compass mounted on a tripod; men on horseback served for sights; distances were measured with an odometer fixed to the front part of an ammunition waggon taken specially for this purpose; not being heavy it was drawn without difficulty by a laden camel even through drift-sands.

B. Barometrical levellings along all the routes with corresponding aneroid readings taken simultaneously. For this purpose we advanced in two parties of five men each at a distance of four to five versts apart (one hour's ride) and at stated times wrote down the aneroid readings: to mark the place where an observation had been made by the leading aneroid, a signal flag was left, near which the second observer halted, and when he went away removed it. The first aneroid readings were taken by me, the second by my coadjutor Lieutenant Khabaloff. Levellings were made along the road from Kizil-arvat to Kurtysh and along the Unguz. On returning from Khiva to Askabad the heat and want of water prevented us from travelling all together. M. Khabaloff proceeded from Khiva via Bala-ishem to Akhal, when he described that part of the road from Sansys to Bami for the first time. I returned as intended via Mirza-chileh and Tedjend, so that by this line single barometrical observations only were taken.

We proceeded to the Kara-kum from Kizil-arvat; the route hence via Sansys to Kurtysh and Bala-ishem will be described below with other roads leading from Akhal to Khiva;

This route is omitted in this abridged translation.

I will at once speak of that belt of the Kara-kum through which passes the Unguz, and will quote extracts of my journal relating to this part of the desert.

"On the 12th April I started from Bala-ishem; there were 500 versts (330 miles) to be crossed to the Amu-daria, the whole distance without roads. The most difficult part was on the first day, viz. between Bala-ishem and Islam-kui, the sand-ridges here being for the most part loose, with steep gradients on either side. Having gone 22 versts (15 miles) we extricated ourselves from them and descended to the Unguz, proceeding along the lake-beds, which after the irregular sands traversed produced the impression of a channel covered with drift-sand. This illusion, however, was speedily dispelled, for on looking to the right and left precisely similar hollows met our view. Between Bala-ishem and Laila, said our guide, 'there are five Unguzes,' and in fact there are more, judging from what we saw. The whole surface is broken into hollows; a row of them surveyed and reduced on a small scale map produces the appearance of a channel. The sides of these declivities are 100 feet high, composed of marly clay with layers of sandstone; the bottom is ferruginous sand with frequent outcrops of gypsum both along the sides and bottom. These hollows are separated by high banks and are also encumbered with smaller ridges extending like dams across them and occasionally meeting from opposite sides. After about an hour's progress through them we halted for the night at Islam-kui. Here there are seven wells; formerly there were many more, but the rest are now choked up. Water is obtained 38 feet below the surface and is about 14 inches deep with a brackish taste, becoming nearly sweet, however, after heavy rains. It is eagerly drunk by sheep and camels, and its temperature is 11.5° Réaum. (58° Fahr.). From Islam-kui a road leads to Laila and Kurtysh.

Thirty-five versts (23 miles) to the east of Islam-kui, the surface of the country is again broken by a row of lake-beds; their bottom very rarely forming a takir. Shors on the other hand are frequent, and occasional *kaki* or rain-trenches, conspicuous in the distance by the dense vegetation surrounding them, may be seen, while between the hollows are very considerable expanses of kyrs. Farther on, the channel entirely changed in appearance and the lake hollows discontinued. To the north of our road passed a line of steep cliffs, seamed by transverse valleys running nearly from north to south. On the south of us were sands, the intervening space between these and the cliffs becoming greater as we proceeded, the latter receding far to the north, while the sands on the south disappeared from view. We marched over kyrs from which there rose occasional cone-shaped hillocks, consisting, like the cliffs along the whole of the Unguz, of marly clays stratified with limestone. These hillocks are particularly numerous near the wells of Sheikh and have even given a name to the locality—Kyrk-gulbeh, i. e. the forty hillocks. Several of them contain in the limestone formation large quantities of sulphur, such for instance are those occurring 12 miles to the north of Sheikh (on the road to Laila), known throughout the country as the hillocks of Dervaz-kyr, whence all the Turkoman tribes and the Khivans have long since obtained sulphur for the manufacture of gunpowder, and which have been extensively worked. The nearer the wells of Sheikh, the less frequent are the kyrs, which are here replaced by sand .occasionally interrupted by takirs. These wells, framed with saksaul wood, are with the exception of one choked up; water is obtained 21 feet below the surface, with a depth of feet, abundant in quantity and good in quality. They are situated on an extensive takir, having a north-westerly direction and forming the continuation of a row of lake-beds and generally uneven ground, having nothing in common, however, with a river-channel.

Half-way between Sheikh and Damla we passed through sands and occasional takirs, the sand-hillocks having a height of 56 to 70 feet above the surrounding country.

We here descended again to a row of shors, bounded on the north by cliffs 150 to 200 feet high like those we had passed, and on the south by sands. The shors consisting of iron sand were most diversified in colour—yellow, red, violet, &c. Everywhere gypsum protruded, in some places crystalline, in others amorphous and disintegrated, so that our horses sank three or four inches. The crystalline gypsum forms in many places a very thick layer on the surface, with thin scales resembling the leaves of a half-open book, and appearing in others as large crystals, or scattered over the surface in small sparkling grains.

Some of these shors, covered with sand, stretch continuously for versts; they are mostly swampy, but some are dry, brackish water being obtained at a depth of 1 ½ to 2 feet. North of the cliffs for a considerable distance are kyrs, for the most part seamed by deep ravines, where we left the Unguz, and took a northerly direction, for instance at Mirza-chileh, Dashadji, Edi-kulateh and other places. In general, here and farther on, the Unguz presents the appearance of anything but a river- channel. It may rather be compared with the foot of some cliff such as the chink or scarp of the Ust Urt, with which it also bears comparison in height, both being about 200 feet above the surrounding country. The cliffs of Unguz are seamed and decomposed by atmospheric causes, and their debris helps to form the sands lying to the south.

But the fact of the loosest sands being found near the Amu-daria leads to the inference that they are partly deposited by the river floods.

The position of shors in the lowest points at the foot of the cliffs probably depends on the cause mentioned above, applicable to all low-lying ground in the midst of sands; when exposed to all winds the sand having

nothing to hold to, drifts to the summits; thus in open low-lying tracts along the Unguz there remains a belt of bare surface. Here the moisture caused by rainfall accumulates and forms swampy shores, whilst in many other places sheltered from some winds the sands approach the very cliffs.

These two formations, kyrs and sand, alternate along the whole extent of the escarpment to Chalganak, while the farther east the more decomposed is this Chink, till at length it is broken into a row of detached hillocks some 70 to 100 feet high, hardly connected by a ridge less than 20 feet, with headlands ever becoming narrower and valleys widening. Almost immediately beyond Chalganak the cliffs recede, at first in a due northerly direction and afterwards run parallel with the Amu.

The sands as far as Chalganak are of the second, and occasionally of the first order; it is only between these wells and the river for a tract of eight miles, that barkhans entirely composed of drift-sand are situated. It is very remarkable that all the roads leading from Merv to the Amu-daria cross such barkhans, and it is highly probable that they belong to a continuous belt lying parallel with the Amu-daria, and formed by the deposits of its floods. These are drifted into barkhans and gradually harden as they move towards the west.

After all that has been said, it is hardly worth while speaking of the practical importance of the Unguz, i. e. its adaptability for being utilised as a river-way for the Amu to the Caspian sea. There is hardly one section of it resembling a river-channel or suitable for a watercourse without enormous labour; while the unevenness of the ground and the large tracts of sand offer obstacles to the digging of a canal which must be considered as practically insurmountable.

## Geographical Notes.

Our New Librarian.—The Council have appointed to the post vacated by the lamented death of Mr. E. C. Eye, Mr. J. Scott Keltie, the Editor of the 'Statesman's Year-Book,' who is just now completing the special work on which he has been engaged for some months, as the Society's Inspector of Geographical Education.

Mr. H. E. O'Neill, the successful explorer of the region between the Mozambique coast and Lake Shirwa, arrived in England on the 24th of March, on a short leave of absence from his post as Consul at Mozambique. It is expected that he will give an account of his most recent journey, viz. from Blantyre to Quillimane, by a new route overland, at our evening meeting of April 27th.

German Annexations in East Africa.—We are able to give a few facts concerning the territory in East Africa which has been recently brought under the protection of Germany. This has been accomplished through the medium of the Society for German Colonisation in East Africa, which sent out a party for the purpose last autumn. The Society's chief envoy, Dr. Peters, has concluded treaties, in which no flaw can be found, with "ten independent sultans," representing Useguha, Nguru, Usagara, and Ukami. The area of this region is represented in the Berlin journals as about 60,000 English square miles, but we have the best authority for stating that it does not exceed 2500 square miles. It embraces only small portions of the above-named countries, situated on their common frontier. The commercial importance of this region is great; through it passes the central trade route between the coast and Lake Tanganyika. After the 50 to 80 miles of unhealthy coast region, there are large areas in these territories with picturesque tree-clad mountain ranges surrounded by fertile plains stated to be well adapted for European residents. The valleys are fertile, and abound in valuable woods; the country as a whole is well watered, the people intelligent and docile, and capable under a humane civilised tutelage of great development. The Wa-nguru, Wa-sagara, and Wa-seguha all speak nearly the same dialect. It has been generally considered, it should be stated, that the authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar extends inland for 450 miles.—While the Germans have been making these annexations in East Africa, the King of the Belgians has resolved to abandon all the stations of the Association east of Lake Tanganyika. The chief of them is Karema on the east coast of the lake; but those who remember Mr. Joseph Thomson's account of the place will think that the Association is well rid of it.

Trade of East Africa.—In the Journal of the Society of Arts for March 13th is a paper by Mr. F. Holmwood, H.B.M. Consul at Zanzibar, on the trade between India and the East Coast of Africa, which deserves the attention of geographers. Mr. Holmwood, after touching but very briefly on the trade of Natal and the Portuguese possessions, dwells at length on that of the territory under the Sultan of Zanzibar. This extends from Tongy Bay, in S. lat. 10° 40', to Warsheikh, in N. lat. 2° 20'. Moreover, Mr. Holmwood points out that the Sultan's authority is recognised along the trade routes at least for 700 miles in the interior, and many chiefs away from these routes acknowledge the Sultan's suzerainty. The Sultan owns 1050 miles of coast, besides islands. The island of Pemba Mr. Holmwood describes as one vast clove plantation. There are several excellent harbours along the coast. Mr. Holmwood speaks well of the Government of the Sultan, autocratic as it is, and points out that English influence is absolutely ascendant. Of the foreign residents in Zanzibar in 1884, 6619 were British subjects (89 British born), 39 French, 13 German, 8 American, 5 Belgian, 2 Italian. Since the abolition of slavery in 1873, after a year or two of depression, the trade has doubled. The total trade with India

alone has increased, from 428,800*l.* in 1879 to 755,858*l.* in 1883. Mr. Holmwood insists on the great importance of Zanzibar to England, and the immense variety and commercial value of the products of the country. He suggests that in the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886 there should be a special Zanzibar section, with specimens of the various types of people. The suggestion deserves consideration. Mr. Holmwood briefly referred to the immense possibilities of development of the inland regions, now almost depopulated through the slave trade, and made special mention of the Kilimanjaro region, both as a sanatorium and as a field for industrial exertion.

M. Giraud.—M. Giraud, whose return to the coast at Inhambane, from the scene of his adventurous attempt to reach the Upper Congo from Lake Tanganyika, we have already recorded, has arrived in his native country, and has been deservedly welcomed with acclamations. Landing at Marseilles, he lost no time in giving the Geographical Society of that city an account of his adventures and discoveries. We have at various times during the past year recorded the progress of the young explorer, and must wait for his detailed narrative before we can give any additions of importance. We may only remind the reader that he has added greatly to our knowledge of Lake Bangweolo, much of whose surface he navigated in his steel canoe. He found that the Luapula leaves the south-west corner of the lake, as found on Mr. Ravenstein's map, and not the north-west, as given by Livingstone, and flows 150 miles south-west before turning to the north. M. Giraud sailed down the river for three days until stopped by cataracts and an army of hostile natives. After his escape he proceeded to Cazembe and Karema, intending to strike north-west to Stanley Pool, which idea, however, he was compelled to renounce, and return to the coast.

Dr. Lenz's Proposed Expedition to the Region between the Congo and the Nile.—We can only refer at present to the proposed expedition under Dr. Lenz to complete the exploration of the interesting and scarcely known region between the Congo and the Nile, and, if possible, render assistance to Emin Bey and Lupton Bey, as well as Dr. Junker and Signor Cassati. The expedition will be supported partly by the Austrian Government, partly by the Vienna Geographical Society, and partly by private subscription. It is expected that the Geographical Societies of Berlin and Munich will join the Vienna Society in the expedition.

Captain Chaddock's Visit to the Limpopo River.—The February number of the 'Mercantile Marine Service Association Reporter' contains an article by Captain G. A. Chaddock, descriptive of his recent visit to the Limpopo river (native names, Inhampura, Inhapallala, Inguenia, Oori, or more generally Meti or Metê). The party sailed from Liverpool on the 25th of September, 1883, in the steamer *Maud*, and after a stay of nearly two months in Natal, they arrived off the mouth of the river on the 14th of April, 1884. Entering by the southern channel, Captain Chaddock succeeded in crossing the bar, the current running out at about four knots per hour. The channel was found to be very narrow, with a depth of no less than 4 ½ fathoms of water. A long sand-spit runs for a distance of three miles in a line with the coast, and forms a natural breakwater, with an opening of about three-quarters of a mile to the other shore forming the river-mouth, the water at which is perfectly fresh and drinkable. The land about here is composed of high sandhills, slightly covered with short undergrowth; one of these hills at a distance appears to be of an intense reddish colour, and forms a good guide for indicating the mouth of the river, being clearly distinguished from eight to ten miles off. The river is described as being narrow and deep, the surrounding country low and level, very thickly populated, and as far as they went the land appeared to be well adapted for agricultural or sugar-raising purposes. The country, except at the mouth of the river, which for a distance of about twelve miles is thickly fringed with mango trees, is almost devoid of any material suitable for fuel. A few miles from the highest point reached (Manjoba's kraal) the land becomes high and is well wooded, and it was reported that this high land continued inland, and the country perfectly healthy. Captain Chaddock is of opinion that this river is navigable, and, unlike most African rivers, free from falls or any obstruction as far as the Transvaal. On the 19th of April the party started from "Manjoba's kraal" on the return journey, reaching the mouth of the river on the 22nd. The *Maud* is believed to be the first craft to enter and navigate the Limpopo river.

The Origin of the Malagasy.—In a note in the 'Antananarivo Annual,' No. viii., the Rev. J. Sibree states that in the month of September last, a number of small pieces of pumice were sent up to the capital from Tamatave, where they had been washed ashore not very long before that date. The pieces are rounded by the action of water, and are supposed to have come across the Indian Ocean from the Straits of Sunda, where they were probably ejected during the tremendous eruption of Krakatau. If this supposition is correct, it supplies not only an interesting illustration of the distance to which volcanic products may be carried by ocean currents, but also, Mr. Sibree thinks, throws a light upon what is still rather an obscure question, viz. How did the Malayo-Polynesian ancestors of the Malagasy come across the 3000 miles of sea which separate Malaysia from Madagascar? It is evident from the fact of pumice having come across this great distance, Mr. Sibree states, that there is a prevalent "set" of oceanic current in this direction; and it is therefore a confirmation of what has been thought by several writers, viz. that in prehistoric times, single *prahus*, or even a small fleet of them, have occasionally been driven westward by a hurricane, and that the westerly current has then brought them on still

further, until at length these vessels have been stranded on some part of the coast of Madagascar, stretching north and south, as it does, for nearly a thousand miles.

Corea.—We have two recent papers on Corea before us. One, in the February and March numbers of the Austrian 'Monatschrift für den Orient,' by "a high functionary," dated from Shanghai, the object of which is to give a complete account of the recently opened country in all its aspects. The other will be found in No. 3, 1884, of the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society. It is an account by Mr. S. B. Bernerston, of the U.S. Navy, of a trip from Söul to Peng Yang, apparently in July 1884. Peng Yang is the capital of the Northeast Province, Puing-an-do, and the second city of importance in Corea. The distance between the two cities is over 200 miles, and Mr. Bernerston gives many notes by the way. Song-to, three days' march from Söul, has walls probably as great as those of the capital, yet the town inside has so dwindled away that a large area is occupied by cultivated land. At Peng Yang Mr. Bernerston was well treated. It is more a commercial than a manufacturing centre, is built on a range of hills on the north bank of the Ta Tong, and has seven gates. The two principal streets run at right angles to each other. Between the city and the sea a stretch of about 60 miles of river remains unsurveyed, and should this prove navigable, the establishment of a treaty port at the mouth would cause a brisk trade to spring up at a rich and very important commercial centre.

The Chinese Province Sze-Chuen.—A further official Report

*Vide Proc. R. G. S., February No., p. 120.*

of Mr. Hosie (China, No. 2, 1885) has been published, containing his journey through Central Sze-chuen in June and July last year. Mr. Hosie started from his Consular Station at Ch'ungk'ing, on the central course of the Yang-tse, his main object being to collect information on the subject of insect white wax for Sir Joseph Hooker. Mr. Hosie's bright and readable narrative abounds with topographical details as to towns, rivers, and the general features of the country, with valuable notes as to products and industries. He and his reluctant companions did a small feat of mountaineering in climbing the lofty mountain O-mei, near the city and river of that name, in company with crowds of pilgrims who visit the shrine of Buddha on the summit. In an appendix is given a detailed account of the insect white wax (the insect-tree, the insects, the wax tree, the wax) which is both of scientific and industrial value. Another appendix is occupied with a tabulated itinerary, giving distances from Ch'ungk'ing, mean of observed temperatures, and remarks on each place touched at.

Flora of Ceylon.—At the meeting of the Ceylon branch of the Asiatic Society on February 20th, Dr. Trimen read a paper on the Composition, Geographical Affinities, and Origin of the Ceylon Flora. The Systematic Catalogue of Ceylon Plants which Dr. Trimen presented to the Society includes about 3250 species, of which the odd 250 may be reckoned to be Ferns and the 3000 Flowering Plants or Phanerogams. Of these 3000 he first called attention to those among them, 285 in all, which, though more or less wild plants, were not native; but aliens, colonists, denizens, or casual waifs and strays. There are numerous foreign fruit-trees and many tropical weeds. A comparison with some other areas of the globe, temperate and tropical, was made, and the conclusion arrived at, that, though less so than was formerly supposed, the Ceylon flora was a rich one for its position, and probably more so than in any equal area in India.—The remarkably large proportion of *endemic* species, i.e. species peculiar to the island, viz. 786 (or 29 per cent.), was remarked as probably larger than that of any other continental island except Madagascar. Comparisons were made in this respect with other countries, from the British Isles with over 1400 species and probably none endemic, to New Zealand with 72 per cent, peculiar, and the richness of true oceanic islands in this respect alluded to. Ceylon, Dr. Trimen showed, has derived the bulk of its flora from continental peninsular India, only about 130 species (besides the endemic ones) not occurring there. The separation of the northernmost part of the island from the mainland was shown to be geologically recent. Of endemic *genera* Ceylon only possesses 20, and these contain 48 species. Of the endemic species, all but about 73 are members of genera also represented in peninsular India. But there are also in Ceylon species of genera, not met with in peninsular India, identical with those of other countries. In all, no less than 100 genera of flowering plants are represented in Ceylon which are not found in the peninsula. Nearly the whole of these are natives of the hot wet districts of South-western Ceylon; a very few are mountain types, but these are not endemic though of interest as not occurring in the Nilgiris. The affinity of these non-peninsular genera was shown to be in the great majority of cases *Malayan* (as opposed to Indian), including in the term not the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, but the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the northward extension into East Bengal through Burma.—The question of how this flora reached South-western India and Ceylon was next considered. Mr. Wallace's view of the elevation of the northern part of the Bay of Bengal in Miocene and Pliocene times, when the Indian peninsula was an island, was considered. The remarkable affinities of some genera of plants rather with Borneo and Java, than with the Eastern Bengal flora led to the expectation that the former means of transit was rather at a lower latitude, at or near the equator, but there is no evidence of this available.—Dr. Trimen called attention to the Indo-Ceylonese region of zoologists characterised by a few endemic genera in the fauna. He pointed out that apart from the Malayan type the flora did not give very clear evidence of any other element peculiar to those districts, but mentioned some endemic

genera in both which were not especially Malayan in character. As for the other parts of Ceylon, at least four-fifths of the island, all north-east and northwest, present almost precisely the floral characteristics of the Carnatic, the endemic species being closely allied to those of that district of Southern India. With regard to the flora of the mountains of Ceylon and the Nilgiris, it is simply a southward extension of the Himalayan; there were no endemic genera though such a vast number of endemic species, and every genus is also Himalayan; there appears to be no Malayan admixture.—The few Mascarene and tropical African affinities in the flora were discussed, and their existence held to show the probability of the passage across the Indian Ocean in past times by the aid of the former large islands marked by the banks and coral reefs of the Carcados, Chagos, and Maldives. The latter land must have approached very near to Ceylon and played doubtless an important part in the history of the formation of its flora.

German New Guinea.—It may be well to record the names which the Germans have introduced into their recent acquisitions in New Guinea. The whole German protectorate will be called König Wilhelm's Land. A newly discovered harbour north-west of Port Constantine, in Astrolabe Bay, is named Friedrich Wilhelm's Hafen, after the Crown Prince, and a bay near it (not Astrolabe Bay, we hope) Prinz Heinrich's Hafen, after the Crown Prince's sailor son.

Geographical Enterprise in Canada.—From the Annual Report of the Geographical Society of Quebec, we learn that the Society is devoting much of its attention towards the opening up of the northern territory of the Dominion. A survey of Hudson Bay is already in operation; seven winter stations having been posted to report on the nature and movements of the ice in that inland sea. This survey is expected to return within the year.—We have received a notice respecting the organisation of a "combined scientific, sporting, and health expedition" to visit, during the coming summer, Great Lake Mistassini. The proposed expedition is to start on the 10th of Juno from Quebec, and will proceed by steamers of the St. Lawrence Navigation Company, up the Saguenay river; next by carriage to Lake St. John; thence by bark canoes by way of the Chamouchouan and Nikoubau rivers and Perch, Narrow Ridge, Whitefish, Abitagamou and Chibagamou Lakes—sheets of water between 15 and 30 miles long—to Abatagoush Bay on Mistassini. The expedition will return by a different route, crossing Little Mistassini Lake (over 100 miles long), catching distant views of the Otishe Mountains of Labrador, which rise 3700 feet above the sea-level, and ascending the Rupert river to Lake Themiscamé, thence across the Height of Land and by a chain of lakes around the head-waters of the Mistassini and Hay rivers to the Chipshaw and Peribonca rivers and back to Lake St. John and Quebec. The length of time occupied by this expedition will be between 80 and 90 days, and it will return to Quebec about the beginning of September.

Danish Exploration of Greenland: Programme for 1885.—The tenth expedition which the Danish Government has sent out since 1876 for the purpose of exploring Greenland left Copenhagen on March 24th in the *Thorvaldsen*, Captain Amdsen. The expedition is commanded by Lieutenant Jensen of the Danish Navy, who has already been on four Greenland expeditions. The purpose of this expedition is to examine the hitherto little known tracts of land between the coast and the inland ice, and to survey the coast between Sukkertoppen and Godthaab,  $65\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ - $64^{\circ}$  N. lat. If Lieutenant Jensen succeeds in finishing the work this year, the west coast of Greenland from  $72\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to  $61\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N. lat. will have been surveyed since 1876, besides the greater part of the Julianehaab district, the southernmost part of Greenland— $61^{\circ}$  to  $60^{\circ}$  N. lat. Considering the many difficulties in the way of exploring a country like Greenland, a great deal has been accomplished by the Danish Government, and much information published on the orography, geology, and botany, as well as concerning the monuments of the early Danish colonists. The other members of the present expedition are Lieutenant Ryder, of the Danish Navy, a promising young officer, who has been in Greenland with Lieutenant Jensen before, and Dr. Hansen, who will undertake the natural history collections and anthropological observations on the Eskimo. The expedition which was sent from Denmark in the spring of 1883, under the command of Lieutenant G. Holm, to examine the east coast, has wintered on that coast, and is expected to return next autumn, after an absence of two years and a half. Lieutenant Holm is accompanied by Lieutenant Garde, who makes meteorological and magnetic observations, besides a mineralogist, Mr. Knutsen, and a botanist, Mr. Eberlin.

Grinnell Land.—Tho American journal *Science* for February 27th, contains two articles on the Greely Arctic expedition; one by Lieutenant Greely himself describes the geographical work of the expedition, and the other, by Dr. Francis Boaz, on the configuration of Grinnell Land, is based on information obtained by the writer from natives who are familiar with the region. The conclusions come to by the two writers are essentially the same. Lieutenant Greely believes that future voyages will confirm the indications growing out of his discoveries that Arthur Land is separated from Grinnell Land by a fiord or channel connecting the Western Polar Ocean with Hayes Sound. He also thinks that the northern coast-lines of the Parry Archipelago will be found trending gradually in a northerly direction, and terminating in Arthur Land. He hopes to dwell on these points, and on the remarkably fertile belt of iceless country found in the interior of Grinnell Land, in a forthcoming narrative. Accompanying these papers is a reproduction of an important map of the U.S. Hydrographic Office, showing the region from Baffin's Bay to Lincoln Sea, based on the discoveries of the

*Polaris*, Nares, and Greely expeditions. Much of this is of course new, not only the outline and configuration of Grinnell Land, but the Greenland coast to the north-east of Robeson Channel.

Alaska.—Several expeditions will be sent from the United States to Alaska during the coming season. General Miles intends to explore the region between the head of Cook's Inlet and the Tavanah watershed, and probably obtain some more accurate knowledge of the Tavanah itself than we at present possess. It is hoped that Lieutenant Ray may command the expedition. A party started on January 30th for the Copper or Atna river, to ascend the river as soon as the ice breaks up, cross, if possible, the divide from the Upper Atna, and descend by one of the Yukon tributaries to the mouth of the latter river. Lieutenant Stoney is reported to have a new expedition newly organised to continue his investigations of the Kowak river. Dr. Everest, who crossed the Yukon Portage last summer, reports from Fort Reliance, Yukon river, his safe arrival there July 22nd, 1884. He intended to ascend the White river last autumn, and, if possible, to cross to the Copper river this spring, and descend to its mouth. The country seemed to him to resemble northern Idaho, with rolling hills densely wooded with larch and poplar, and willows along the river-banks, and luxuriant herbage.

Mount Roraima.—Pending the arrival of Mr. Everard Im Thurn's detailed account of his ascent of the previously unascended Roraima, a few further notes in addition to those given in previous numbers may be of interest. In his letter of December 6th, for example, he mentions a curious result of unguided missionary effort among the Indians in the Savannah about the Ireng and Cotinga. Each village has built itself a church, and in these buildings, men, women, and children spend six hours a day for six days out of the week, and eight hours on the seventh day in repeating the Creed, the Lord's prayer and the Ten Commandments, evidently with no comprehension of their significance. Mr. Im Thurn mentions other curious features of the crude Christianity of these people, which, when his full narrative is published, will interest ethnologists. One result is that every one neglects the ordinary duties of life, and food is scarcely to be had.—A later account, in the *Argosy* of February 7th, states that Mr. Im Thurn and his companions returned to Demerara on the previous Saturday, after having successfully accomplished the ascent of Roraima. Mr. Im Thurn had suffered much from fever, but at the above date was fairly on the way to recovery. On December 7th he and his companions ascended half-way up the mountain and built four huts. From the foot of the incline up to about 5500 feet above the sea-level is a grassy undulating slope, broken only by occasional groups of trees and broad bands of boulders. It was at this height the huts were built, beside an open grassy swamp, and so far had Schomburgk and previous travellers ascended. Just beyond that swamp the slope becomes much steeper, and is densely covered with low trees, principally palms, of the genus *Geonoma*. The forest-covered slope runs right up to the base of the cliff, where it is crossed by a broad belt of bramble very closely resembling the British blackberry, *Rubus Schomburgkii*, mixed with a large bracken, also very closely resembling the English species. A plant of the genus *Befaria*, which, though really not a heath, close resembles ordinary English heather, is found in great profusion; the result being that that particular place reminds one vividly of an English common. Above the bramble belt the perpendicular cliff rises to a height of 2000 feet, except at one point, where a ledge runs diagonally up the face of the cliff. The first two-thirds of the ledge is covered by immense boulders, bound together by a very extraordinarily dense network of trees. Then a stream is met with falling from the top of the cliff on to the ledge, in which it has worn a deep ravine, whence it descends in a series of further falls to the foot. The chief difficulty of the ascent consists in getting under this fall. Above this point the upward slope begins again, and is covered with a lower vegetation, consisting principally of tall coarse grass, and of the agave-like plant which forms the chief vegetation of the Kaieteur savannah. But among this are large numbers of low-growing very beautiful flowering plants. Above the fall the path is quite easy.—The ascent was made on December 18th. Starting at 7 A.M. the top was reached by 11. The scenery on the top, Mr. Im Thurn states, was of the most marvellous description. The plateau was covered with groups of rocks of the most extraordinary shapes, piled upon each other in heaps. The highest of these piles was about 80 feet. Between the piles of rock were a few stretches of low vegetation entirely filled with plants of a character distinct from those seen elsewhere in Guiana. The clouds, which are nearly always resting on the mountain, constantly deposit their moisture, saturating the rocks and such soil as there is with water. Everything is dripping with water, and this water accumulates in tiny basins, and flows from these basins in shallow streamlets to the edge of the cliff, where they fall over, forming the numerous falls which have been so frequently observed on the face of the mountain. The foot of the slope was reached by nightfall. The only animal life on the top were a few small butterflies of a common type. Many of the plants collected are of species hitherto, unknown. From the top many mountains were seen of exactly similar character, stretching away as far as the eye could reach. There is one of very peculiar character, with a brown flat top and very narrow base. Mr. Im Thurn has only told enough to whet the appetite for more.

Ascent of the Highest Peak of the Australian Alps.—Dr. E. von Lendenfeld, in a letter to Prof. Cayley, dated Sydney, 24th January, 1885, gives an account of his recent ascent of the highest peak of the Australian Alps. He was sent by the Geological Survey Department of New South Wales to make a scientific investigation of the central part of this range of mountains. Dr. von Lendenfeld found that the peak hitherto considered as the

highest, named Mount Kosciusko (measured at 7176, 7175, and by Dr. von Lendenfeld at 7171 feet) is not the highest, and made the first ascent of the highest peak some distance further south. The height of this peak was calculated at 7256 feet, and named by him Mount Clarke. Indications of pre-historic glaciers were discovered at about 5800 feet, and in the glacial period a large valley was filled by a glacier extending 500 feet up its sides. The upper limit of trees lies at a height of 5900 feet. Patches of snow (névés) are found all the year round attached to the lee side of the main range above 6500 feet, another proof of the lower temperature and greater amount of moisture south of the Equator.

The German Geographical Congress.—The Fifth General Meeting of German geographers will be held this year in Hamburg on April 9-11. The exhibition is expected to be of special interest on account of the importance of Hamburg as a commercial centre. Besides the usual maps, atlases, &c., ethnography, natural history, and the literature of geographical discovery will be largely represented. Among the subjects to be brought before the meeting are Antarctic Exploration by Dr. Neumayer, Dr. Batzel, and Dr. Penck; African Exploration—its next problems and their solution, by Herr Friederichsen, Dr. W. Erman, Dr. Pechuel-Lösche, Dr. Fischer (Zanzibar), Dr. V. Danckelman, and Herr Westendorp; the Panama Canal, its commercial importance, by Herr C. Eggert and others. Other subjects, on which papers will be read, are,—The Basis of a Geographical Bibliography, by Prof. Theod. Fischer; the Climatic Conditions of Africa with reference to the disposal of the surplus population of Germany, by Dr. G. A. Fischer of Zanzibar; the Surface Configuration of Herero Land, by Dr. Pechuel-Lösche; besides a considerable number of minor papers in various departments of geography.

Meteorology of Devonshire.—We have received the Meteorological Observations for the year 1884, made at Rousdon Observatory, Devon, under the superintendence of Mr. Cuthbert E. Peek. The latitude of this observatory is 50° 42# 12# N., long. 3° 0# 15# W. It is situated a short distance within the eastern boundary of Devonshire, midway between Lyme Regis and Seaton. It is near the cliff, at an elevation of 524 feet above mean sea-level, with an uninterrupted horizon over the splendid bay between Start Point and Portland Bill. In this and other respects the situation is decidedly favourable for meteorological observations. The observatory has been well supplied by Mr. Peek with the most trustworthy instruments, and under the care of his assistant, Mr. Grover, regular observations are taken daily of the various phenomena which go to make up the climate of a country. Under each month the general results are classified in the report, and thus in time a valuable accumulation of data will be obtained with reference to the climate of a fairly representative region of England. Appended to the report is an interesting record of the value of the forecasts issued by the Meteorological Office in 1884. From a daily record kept by Mr. Peck it was found that 61.1 per cent, of the wind forecasts, and 73.1 of the weather forecasts, were reliable; 21.8 of the former, and 17.9 of the latter doubtful; leaving only 16.6 of the former, and 9.0 of the latter unreliable. The special importance of these records lies in the fact that the comparison was made on the arrival of the predictions at the end of the daily periods to which they referred.

Forests and Climate.—To part iii., 1885, of Petermann's 'Mittheilungen' Dr. A. Woeikoff contributes a careful paper on the influence of forests upon climate. It has been generally admitted in a vague way that forests have a distinct influence on climate, but hitherto exact scientific data have been wanting to enable us to say exactly what that influence is. Dr. Woeikoff finds such data in the observations of the Bavarian Forest Meteorological Stations. As general conclusions, it is found that in the warmer months in forests, as compared with the neighbouring treeless districts, (1) the temperature of air and ground is lower; (2) its fluctuations smaller; and (3) the relative moisture greater. The marked lower evaporation in woods as compared with the open, Dr. Woeikoff attributes mainly to the shelter afforded by the trees from the wind. The observations moreover show, as must have been expected, a very considerable influence of forests in increasing the rainfall. But the modifying influences of forests extend considerably beyond their immediate neighbourhood, Dr. Woeikoff shows, and he formulates the general conclusion, that in the western part of the old continent the forest areas seriously modify the temperature of neighbouring districts, and that thus the normal rate of increase of the temperature from the Atlantic Ocean to the interior is not only interrupted, but districts lying further in the interior have a cooler summer than those nearer the sea.

## Obituary.

Major-General Karl von Sonklar.—General von Sonklar, for many years an Honorary Corresponding Member of the Royal Geographical Society, died at Innsbruck on the 10th of January last, in his 69th year. Born at Weisskirchen in the Banat, he was brought up in a military school, and entered the Austrian Army in 1839. He first showed his literary power in pamphlets on military subjects. In 1845 his regiment was transferred from Graz to Innsbruck. There he found opportunities for exercising his natural taste for mountain exploration and description. In 1848 Count Coronini, the tutor of the present Emperor, took command of Von Sonklar's

regiment and soon formed so high an opinion of his Ober-lieutenant's special acquirements, that he obtained for him a post as one of the instructors of the Archduke Ludwig Victor. This position he held until in 1857 he succeeded to the Professorship of Geography in the Military Academy of Wiener-Neustadt, which he occupied for many years.

Von Sonklar may be considered as having been one of the fortunate few whose lives are so ordered that their natural tastes and professional duties coincide. He had a passion for topography in its widest sense and including the consideration of the causes which produce it. He spent his vacations in the Alps of Tyrol, where his name was very familiar to the Englishmen who frequented that region twenty years ago as the author of a series of works and maps which first gave any exact information as to the glaciers and structure of the Tauern chain. For the Government surveys of Austria had left all above the snow-line in complete uncertainty, and it was reserved for private enterprise, for Yon Sonklar and Payer, to give us any accurate knowledge of the higher Tyrolese Alps. In 1855 Yon Sonklar opened the list of his Alpine works by a paper on the Gross Glockner, read before the Viennese Academy. In 1859 he published his monograph on the Hochschwab, in 1861 his map and work on the Oetzthaler Ferner, in 1866 his important book on the Tauern, in 1872 his monograph on the Zellerthaler Ferner.

Von Sonklar was not content to be merely a monographer—an accurate collector of local facts; his topographical works represented his holidays. His professorial duties led him to the production of several geographical schoolbooks which are extensively used in the military and private schools of his country. Observation and generalisation were united in the most important work of his life, the 'Allgemeine Orographic,' published in 1873, a book which has excited much notice and criticism. In 1879 Von Sonklar wrote for the series of the 'Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Alpenreisen,' published by the German Alpine Club, a volume on 'Orography, Topography, Hydrography and Glacial Action.' He was besides a frequent contributor to scientific magazines.

## Report of the Evening Meetings, Session 1884-5.

### ***Seventh Meeting, 23rd February, 1885.—The Right Hon. Lord ABERDARE, President, in the Chair.***

ELECTIONS.—*William. Ireland Buckley, Esq.; General Elphinstone Dalrymple, C.B.; John Hay, Esq.; D. O'Donovan, Esq.; Brig.-General Charles E. Oldershaw, R.A., C.B.; Captain Boss Thompson.*

The following paper was read by the author:—

"A Recent Exploration of the King Country, New Zealand." By J. H. Kerry-Nicholls, Esq. (published in the present number, *ante*, p. 201).

### ***Eighth Meeting, 9th March, 1885.—The Right Hon. Lord ABERDARE, President, in the Chair.***

ELECTIONS.—*W. A. Bailward, Esq.; W. A. Beddoe, Esq.; Alex. St. Clair Bowen Carnegy, Esq.; John Cleric, Esq., Q.C.; Frellc. St. John Gore, Esq.; Captain Patrick M. Lawe, 4th Batt. Boyal Fusiliers; W. J. Kelson Millard, Esq., M.D.; Geo. Edw. James Moody, Esq.; Arthur Nelson Pidcock, Esq.; Joseph Pollard, Esq., M.A.; J. Brinsley Richards, Esq.; Richard Stevens Sly, Esq.*

After some introductory remarks by the President, Mr. Robert Gordon, C.E., read a paper entitled "The Irawadi River," in which he expounded his views in favour of the conclusion that the Irawadi was the continuation of the Sanpo river of Tibet,

## Proceedings of Foreign Societies.

Geographical Society of Paris.—January 9th, 1885: M. BOUQUET DE LA GRYE, of the Institute, in the Chair.—The ambassador from Timbuctu, Abd el Kader Ould Baker, El Hadj, whose reception by the Society had been announced to take place, made his entrance into the hall accompanied by his interpreter. He was received by the Bureau, and invited to take a seat on the platform. The Chairman then addressed a speech to

him in French, which M. Henri Duveyrier translated for him into Arabic. The address recalled the fact that it was a Frenchman who was the first European to visit Timbuctu fifty-seven years ago, and that the ambassador himself was the first inhabitant of Timbuctu who had as yet come to Europe and to Paris. "We know," said M. Bouquet de la Grye, in concluding his speech, "that you are a man of intelligence, that you possess influence in your town, and the fact of your coming to visit a European country is a proof of your courageous spirit and mental superiority. Welcome, therefore, among us, and be pleased to accept this book of your faith, the Koran, as a present from the Geographical Society, and an evidence to you that Frenchmen are not enemies of the Mahometan religion, and that they are pleased to welcome Mahometans who pay them a friendly visit." The Chairman at the same time presented the ambassador with a magnificent copy of the Koran, which the latter accepted and acknowledged in a few words expressing his grateful recognition of the reception he had met with at the hands of the Geographical Society. He thereupon shook hands with the Chairman, and requested him to proceed with the business of the meeting. M. Bouquet de la Grye then announced that the Commission of Prizes had just drawn up the list of the Society's awards for 1885:—(1) Gold Medal to M. de Foucauld for his journey in the south of Morocco, and his investigations on the eastern extremity of the Atlas range. (2) Gold Medal to Dr. Neis, naval surgeon, in consideration of his four journeys in Indo-China and the unexplored parts of Laos. (3) The Roquette Prize to the Danish work 'Medelelser om Groenland,' published by the Commission of geological and geographical researches in Greenland. (4) The Jomard Prize to M. Leroux, publisher, for the work entitled 'Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIe, publié sous la direction de MM. Scheffer, de l'Institut, et H. Cordier.' (5) The Erhard Prize to M. Dumas-Vorzet for his interesting cartographical works. These prizes the Chairman said would be presented at the first General Meeting of the present year.—A naval lieutenant, attached to the squadron now operating in the East, transmitted a map of the northern part of the island of Formosa, about which so little is really known; the map was stated to have been executed on board ship, and autographed at the arsenal of Saigon. At the same time there arrived a coloured map, sent from Tong-king by Colonel Guerrier, which indicated the surveys made in the delta by the topographical brigade of the expeditionary corps. This map was accompanied by a short account of the reconnaissances made in the country by the same brigade. Among the presentations of maps was one of the region of Lake Kelbiah and the environs of Kairuan, which was presented by Dr. Rouire, who, it was said, had indicated therein the limits (approximately) of the Sea of Triton. Accompanying the map was a treatise on the geography of Ptolemy, from which, according to Dr. Rouire, we are able to recognise "that the Greek geographer had well designated under the name of Triton the river recently discovered in Central Tunis."—The Secretary then stated that news had at last been received from M. Giraud, naval lieutenant, and read a letter dated 15th of October 1884, from Quilimane at the mouth of the Zambesi. The young traveller announced his intended return to France during the month of January. From the Belgian station of Mpala, on the coast of the Marungu, M. Giraud set out to prosecute his journey to the west, when he was abandoned by his porters. He was then compelled to renounce his project, and to commence his return to the east coast. At the head of a small caravan, formed at a place to the south of Tanganyika, he managed to reach the north end of Lake Nyassa, whence a small English vessel carried him to the Shire, which he descended, but not without considerable danger consequent upon the strife raging between the Portuguese and the natives. At last he arrived at the Zambesi, and then at Quilimane. M. Giraud appended to his letter a sketch of his itinerary.—In his despatch of the 20th of November 1884, M. Ledoux, French Consul at Zanzibar, mentioned the foundation by the missionaries of the Holy Ghost of a new French station in the interior of the continent, viz. at Kunzagira on the left bank of the Kingani. The country, he said, was fertile, well-wooded, and abundantly watered. The climate was salubrious, and the inhabitants well-disposed towards foreigners. At Zanzibar the Consul had had an interview with the English traveller, Mr. H. H. Johnston, who had returned from his expedition to Kilima-njaro, where he had attained an elevation of 14,000 feet, and established several observations at different altitudes.—M. Francois Deloncle forwarded an account of the geographical results of the last exploration (Feb. to June 1884) made by him across the Isthmus of Malacca. Having penetrated the Malay Peninsula as far as Singora (7° 14# N. lat.; the expedition pushing forward into the interior along broad and deep channels, arrived at an inland sea, which no European had before visited. This sea presented the most strange configuration, being dotted over with islands of firm hard limestone, which were covered with swallows' nests. The lake was called Tale-Sab, and was about 20 feet deep (6 metres), 45 miles long, and 12 broad at its widest part. The water was fresh during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon, and salt during that from the south-west. The expedition then proceeded to Penang, obtaining the hydrography, unknown up to the present time, of all the coast. The engineers who formed part of the expedition had obtained geological sections of the whole region traversed, as well as specimens, the analysis of which had revealed the existence of numerous bearings of auriferous quartz, tin, and iron in this *terra incognita*.—Persia formed the subject of some communications forwarded by one of the Shah's ministers, his Excellency Mohamed Assan Khan Saniedouleh, a member of the Society, who presented several of his works. Among others was the first

volume of an account of a journey in Khorassan (the following volumes were stated to be in the press). The correspondent promised to send some notes on several provinces of the Empire, across which he accompanied his Majesty the Shah in the course of a recent excursion.—A letter was read from M. Edmond Cotteau, dated 9th November last on board the *Vire* (lat. 27° S., long. 162° 43# W.), who stated that he was proceeding from New Caledonia to Tahiti. During his stay in the first-named of these colonies he had been able to make a journey to the New Hebrides. The most beautiful island in that archipelago was that of Vaté or Sandwich, a magnificent island, well watered, extraordinarily fertile, on which a dozen Europeans were living. The cultivation of coffee was attended in the island with marvellous success, but unfortunately there was a lack of labour, the natives of the isle, like those in New Caledonia, being disinclined to work in a regular way. From Port Vila M. Cotteau proceeded to Port Havannah (on the north-west of the same island), the situation of which was in no way inferior to the first-named port. He then set sail for the island of Api (about 62 miles to the north of Sandwich), which was rarely visited by Europeans. His letter stated that the luxuriant nature of this island surpassed, if possible, in beauty that of the island he had just left.—Communications were received from Saigon bringing information regarding the journeys of Captain Aymonier in Indo-China, from October 1883, to April 1884. All the northern part of Laos and the basin of the Mun had been traversed by him. During his travels he had collected many valuable epigraphical documents and numerous notes on the geography of the country. A *resume* of these explorations would appear in the work entitled 'Excursions et Reconnaissances en Cochinchine.' On the 10th December last M. Aymonier was to start from Saigon on a journey to the province of Bin-Thuan, in order to study the monuments which the Chams might possibly have left there.—M. Michel Venukoff communicated several items of geographical information on Russia. He announced that M. Conchine had just formulated the definite results of his researches with reference to the bed of the Amu-daria. According to him, this river never was a direct affluent of the Caspian Sea, but it was probable that indirect communication between two masses of water, one fresh and the other salt, did exist at one period by means of the Sary-Kamysh and the Uzboi. M. Venukoff also stated that the account of Professor Sorokine's journey in the central Thian-Shan mountains had just been published. Dr. Régel was stated to have completed his travels in Karateghin and Hissar, and had returned with his collections to Tashkend.—Information was received from Prince Roland Bonaparte regarding the expedition of M. D. Veth, the famous explorer of Sumatra, who started last summer from the Netherlands for South Africa, intending to cross the continent from west to east. Before arriving at his destination, M. Veth intended to touch at various points on the west coast of Africa and to visit the French colony of Gabon and make a long stay at Banana at the mouth of the Congo. MM. Van der Kellen and Goddefroy, who formed part of his expedition, had preceded him. One of them had already ascended a long way up the course of the great African river. M. Van der Kellen had got together a large geological collection. The Prince, who published in the quarterly *Bulletin* of the Society (4th part, 1884), a work on New Guinea containing information on the journey of the Resident, M. Van Braam Morris, along the north coast of this island between Humboldt Bay and the mouths of the river Amberno, said that in the month of July last M. Morris had ascended the great Papuan river as far as 2° 20# lat. S., which represented according to Swaan's large map, a journey of approximately one degree of latitude. The Dutch, added the Prince, did not enforce in a platonic way their indisputable rights over the western half of New Guinea, they explored this island with the greatest ardour and zeal.—M. Denis de Rivoyre, presenting a new work ('Les Vrais Arabes et leur pays,' Paris, Librairie Plon) of which he is the author, said that this book was a sequel to that presented by him last year entitled 'Obock.' He then gave some information on the present state of the last-named colony. The harbour works were making good progress, buildings were being erected, and the inhabitants, confident henceforth of being well protected, were grouping round the French flag. The taking of Tajura and the neighbouring places had had much to do with this result. The Sultan of Aussa, through whose dominions passed the best and shortest route from Obock to Shoa, was in friendly alliance with France. M. de Rivoyre, however, expressed his regret that the action of France was not extended higher up along the shore of the Red Sea. Speaking of the country of the Bogos, he said that that people were by no means inclined to ratify the treaty which the English had concluded with Negus of Ethiopia, authorising that prince to re-establish in the country the suzerainty which his predecessors had imposed on it, the Egyptians having become masters of the country since 1870.—M. Gorceix, director of the mines of Ouro Preto (Brazil), presented various publications having reference to his own speciality and also a map of the Brazilian Empire on the scale 1: 5,000,000, which he said was a sufficiently large scale for a country whose superficial area was nearly equal to that of Europe, or nearly 3,475,000 square miles (9 million square kilometres). This map had been prepared under the direction of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. M. Gorceix endeavoured to destroy the legend which he said was current in Europe and especially in France, according to which the virgin forests covering the Brazilian soil rendered the country difficult of access. These forests were on the contrary quite an exception in most of the provinces, and had been greatly encroached upon in consequence of the cultivation of maize, coffee, &c.—The Chairman then announced that the second series of scientific lectures organised under the auspices of the

Society would commence on the Monday following (January 13th). M. Jansen, of the Institute, would open the course with a paper on the Universal Meridian. M. Janssen was the chief of the French delegates to the Washington Conference. The Chairman, in conclusion, called upon M. Paul Fauque to read an account of his journey in Sumatra. Charged with a mission to that island, M. Fauque had studied the character and customs of the natives inhabiting the country of the Siaks and the kingdom of Atchin. Having spoken at some length on their habits of life, the lecturer passed on to the geography, natural history, and mineralogy of this great island of Malaisia. The collections he has brought home have already been distributed among the various museums. In the course of his travels M. Fauque has collected very valuable information with reference to the causes and incidents of the murder of MM. Wallon and Guillaume, French explorers who were assassinated in the year 1880 by the natives of the banks of the Tenom river.

———January 23rd, 1885: M. ALPH. MILNE-EDWARDS, of the Institute, in the Chair.—Having taken his seat as Chairman, M. Milne-Edwards read the names of the Members of the Bureau, which had just been constituted for the present year by the Central Commission. The following had been elected:—President, M. Alph. Milne-Edwards; Vice-Presidents, MM. Germain and Rey; General Secretary, M. Ch. Maunoir; and Assistant Secretary, M. Jules Girard. The Chairman then announced the death of Commander Roudaire, the originator of the well-known project for introducing the waters of the Mediterranean into the vast depression situated to the south of Algeria and Tunis, in order to create an inland sea there. By this channel, easy means of communication would be established with the most remote of the French possessions in Africa, and barren and unhealthy flats would be transformed into fertile plains. He then briefly reviewed the career of the deceased, who since the years 1872 and 1873, when he was charged with geodesical works in the south of Algeria, had not ceased in his strenuous endeavours to crown this scheme with success. It was, he said, M. Roudaire's conviction that the basins of the Chotts were below the level of the sea, and that the sea at one time penetrated there, consequently it could be again introduced into the interior. M. Ferdinand de Lesseps then stated that he endorsed to the fullest extent the words which the Chairman had just spoken in praise of the achievements and persevering energy of Commander Roudaire. M. de Lesseps was well assured that the work of the latter would not perish, and, as he had supported the originator of the scheme, so he would encourage and assist the man who had offered to continue the work of M. Roudaire, viz. Commander Landas, a friend of the deceased, and Professor of Topography at the Military School of St. Cyr. M. Landas, who was present, was then introduced to the meeting by M. de Lesseps. At the time of his death M. Roudaire was getting ready to return to Africa, with the view of pursuing his investigations in connection with the choice of the most suitable position in the Gulf of Gabes for the construction of a harbour for introducing the waters of the proposed inland sea. These operations M. Landas was about to continue. The Minister of War has placed this officer at the disposition of M. de Lesseps.—M. J. Jackson then laid upon the table his annual report upon the condition of the library and collections of the Society for the year 1884. During the last session 1260 new works, comprising 1537 volumes, had been added to the library, together with 287 maps and 18 atlases. There were now about 35,000 works in the library, including 3300 maps, but excluding the maps of the French Navy, numbering 4000. Periodical papers numbered 642. The societies, institutions, and journals with which exchanges were made by the Society had increased to 345. The Society possessed 103 collections of photographs and views of different countries, besides 1550 portraits of travellers and geographers. Finally, the report stated that during the year just ended no less than 296 persons outside the Society had availed themselves of the privilege, accorded to any one introduced by a member of the Society, of consulting the books and maps of the library. While engaged in going through the collections for the purpose of drawing up the report just analysed, M. Jackson had, it was stated, discovered an ancient description of the coasts and ports of the Mediterranean, the date of which was effaced, but it would appear to belong to the sixteenth century. The author was Jean Oliva, and it was a document of great value. M. G. Marcel, of the map department of the National Library, promised to make a careful examination of this work, and after comparing it with the marine descriptions which that department possessed in large number, to send a report upon it to the Society.—At the last meeting of the Society M. Hansen-Blangsted, who contributed the Scandinavian part of the 'Dictionnaire Géographique' of Vivien de St. Martin, had raised a discussion on the question of the origin and formation of the fiords of Norway. The Chairman on that occasion thought it was a subject connected with geology rather than with geography. The discussion was maintained by M. Bouquet de la Grye, M. H. Blangsted, and Dr. de Broch, former Minister of Naval Affairs in Norway. On the present occasion M. J. Gamier, an engineer, who besides having traversed the greater part of Norway, has travelled in the Alps investigating the mines of nickel found there (he having previously studied and described those of New Caledonia), again brought forward the subject of the fiords of Norway. According to him they are ancient valleys, which in consequence of a subsidence of the soil have become submarine depths. Instituting a comparison, he asked what would happen if the peak of Mont Blanc were suddenly to sink several hundred yards. The valley of the Rhone would then become, he said, an admirable fiord, and the same would take place in the case of the Sesia and Aosta valleys. M. Willm. Huber

stated that in his opinion the formation of the fiords was not due to a subsidence of the soil nor to a glacial erosion. He attributed their formation rather to the preservation of the primitive relief of the soil by glaciers. The coasts in Europe presenting the character of fiords were those exposed to the west, such as the western coasts of Galicia, Corsica, Sardinia, and farther north that of Brittany and the west coasts of Ireland, Scotland, and Norway. Those on the east were much less indented in the form of fiords. The same phenomenon might be observed on the coasts of Asia Minor.—An officer attached to the French expeditionary corps in Tongking forwarded a series of extracts from the work of a Spanish missionary, Father Fuentes, who it appears has traversed the country and possesses a good knowledge of it. Unfortunately, however, we are not in possession of the title of this work, which would be very valuable under existing circumstances, nor do we know whether the work (comprising two volumes) is still in manuscript, or has been published. The following, however, are some extracts, together with remarks by the correspondent:—The distance from Bac-Ninh to Lang-son is estimated at six days' march for a man walking on the average seven hours a day, and it takes nine days to reach Cao-bang from Lang-son under the same conditions. On the route from Bac-Ninh to Lang-son a number of streams are passed every day of the march, on an average four or five a day, but on the last day as many as ten. When shallow, these streams can be forded. Along the road from Lang-son to Cao-bang the same feature is noticed. The stream flowing to the north of Lang-son does not empty itself into the sea as indicated on the map of M. Dutreuil du Rhins, but flows, on the contrary, by the side of Thât-ké. The latter is a place of considerable importance, inhabited principally by Chinese and mountaineers of peaceful disposition. When Father Fuentes visited the locality there were only two Annamite families in the town. From commercial and military points of view, and also in consequence of its sanitary condition, the position of Thât-ké is decidedly superior to that of Lang-son, and is undoubtedly the place at which foreigners should establish themselves. At Cao-bang also very few Annamites are to be found, the inhabitants being of the same class as at Thât-ké. The town is of some importance, and possesses a fort, which is, however, simply under ground. The place is not larger than Quang-gen; the iron and gold (?) mines formerly worked there have been abandoned. M. Gouin's map places Cao-bang on the river Thai-nguyen, but judging of its position from the information given in the extracts from Father Fuentes' work, it would appear that M. Gouin is mistaken. The map of M. Dutreuil du Rhins, on the contrary, seems to be more exact as regards the course of this river, which is represented as only a small narrow stream incapable of floating boats. The respective positions of towns on the map of M. du Rhins are more accurate than on that of M. Gouin, where Cao-bang is placed much too near the Thai-nguyen. At Cao-bang the country is very poorly cultivated. The inhabitants do not eat rice, but consume a great quantity of maize. The forests are broken by rushes and tall grasses. The country abounds in buffaloes, oxen, pigs, ducks, and fowls. The water is bad, the abnormal development of the stomach together with the bloated appearance of the face noticeable in the inhabitants of the district being attributed to their use of this unwholesome water, which for drinking purposes should be carefully boiled or mixed with tea. At Thât-ké, on the contrary, the water is good and the climate reported healthy. The inhabitants have a healthy appearance, and live much longer than those dwelling in the district between Thât-ké and Bac-ninh. Lang-son is also regarded as unhealthy.—It was stated that the Academy of Science had recently appointed a commission charged to proceed to Spain for the purpose of investigating the cause of the earthquakes which had recently taken place in that country. The chief of the commission was M. Fouque, geologist, and a member of the Academy. At the invitation of the Chairman, M. Fouque, who was present at the meeting, gave some details regarding the programme of the proposed investigations of the commission, and also upon the object to be pursued in Spain.—M. A. Thouar announced that he was preparing to start again for a fourth journey in South America. Having ascended the Paraguay and studied the delta of the Pilcomayo river, it was his intention to cross Northern Chaco with the view of establishing a commercial route between Bolivia and Uruguay. He would then pursue his investigations on an almost unknown affluent of the Amazons, the Madre de Dios, and endeavour to find a new route between the provinces north of Bolivia, those of the Peruvian Cuzco, and Europe by means of the Amazons.—After M. Capus had read a part of the diary kept by him during his journey in Central Asia, the General Secretary, speaking of M. Prejevalsky and his present expedition, announced that the indefatigable Russian traveller had just achieved the distinction of being the first among Europeans to visit the sources of the river Yang-tsze-kiang.—In conclusion, Dr. Hamy, head of the Ethnographical Museum of the Trocadero, made a communication on the part taken by French science in American studies, more especially as regards Mexico.

## New Books.

(By J. SCOTT KELTIE, *Librarian.*)

### Europe.

Europäische Gradmessung.—Das Schweizerische Dreiecknetz herausgegeben von der Schweizerischen geodätischen Commission. Zweiter Band. Commission von S. Hübr, 1885.

The various items included in the present volume are:—1. A connection established between the new triangulation and the former base lines of Aarberg (Bern), Weinfelden (Zurich), and Bellinzona (Ticino). 2. A valuation of errors and their limits in the mensuration of the angles and the sides of triangles. 3. The connection of the new network of triangles with the points determined by independent observations, namely, Geneva, Neuchâtel, Bern, Zurich, the Weissenstein above Soleure, the stations on the Rigi, the Gæbris, and the Simplon. 4. The connection with the outward signals on foreign territory, the Feldberg in the Black Forest, the castle of Hohentwiel in Swabia, the Hersberg beyond the Lake of Constance, the Pfänder in the Vorarlberg, the Trélod in Savoy and the Colombier in the French Jura.

The primary triangles are 41 in number, and the primary stations 29, besides minor ones in the neighbourhood of the astronomical observatories.

The heights of some of them are as follows:—The Simplon, 6565 feet; Grieserhorn, 9022; Wasenhorn, 10,722; Schienhorn, 8662; Faulhorn, 9000; Mattwaldhorn, 10,729; Zurich Observatory, 1611; Neuchâtel Observatory, 1608; Berne Observatory, 1860, on 5° 6' 9" long. E. of Paris; Hasenberg, 2575; Baldenburg, 2667; Geneva Observatory, 1342; the Voirons, 4866; the Piton of Salève, south of Geneva, 4524, on 3° 48' 2" long. E. of Paris.

Those stations are not always chosen on account of their absolute height, but for peculiar accidents of direction for the pointing of instruments. Besides a general map of the primary triangulation, there are 31 maps giving the details of the site of some of the stations.—[Paul Chaix.]

Neumann, [Dr.] C., and Partsch, [Dr.] J.—*Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland.*, mit besondere Rücksicht auf das Alterthum. Breslau, W. Köln: 1885, 8vo. and pp. xii. 476.

This is one of those special geographical works that are only possible in a country in which geography is recognised, encouraged, and endowed in the schools and universities as a branch of research on a footing of equality with other branches of science. Dr. Neumann formerly held the chair of geography in Breslau, which is now ably filled by Dr. Partsch. Those familiar with recent German geographical literature will be able to recall not a few works of a class similar to the present. In this country there is no encouragement to the production of such works.

The present work is based on the idea, hitherto very inadequately worked out, that the natural characteristics of a country are an important factor in the development of its civilisation. This, the authors think, was especially the case with those lands which were the scene of what is usually known as ancient history. In earlier antiquity the trade relations of the various peoples were so meagre that the physical conditions of their dwelling-place were predominant. Greece, the authors seek to show in their introduction, possessed the leading conditions for the rapid and many-sided development of a young civilisation:—the necessity and possibility of effort on the part of men to improve their surroundings; multiplicity of forms in surrounding nature; opportunity for active commercial intercourse. The authors then proceed to describe in detail the climate of Greece, pointing out that in antiquity the position of a country was of less importance for its development than at the present day. The heat, moisture, atmospheric pressure and movements in various parts of Greece are considered, and tables given. Chapter II. deals with the leading conditions of land and sea, and Chapter III. enters into details as to the relief of the land in the various divisions of ancient Greece. In Chapter IV. the geology of the country is treated with considerable minuteness; while Chapter V. deals with the vegetation on much the same scale.

## Asia.

Bird, Isabella L.—*Unbeaten Tracks in Japan. An account of Travels in the Interior, including visits to the Aborigines of Yezo, and the Shrine of Nikkô.* New edition, abridged. London, John Murray: 1885, cr. 8vo., pp. xxiv. and 336, illustrations. Price 7s. 6d.

A new and popular edition of Miss Bird's former work, published in 1880, and noticed in the 'Proceedings' for the same year at p. 780.

## Africa.

Ellis, A. B.—*West African Islands.* London, Chapman & Hall: 1885, 8vo., pp. viii. and 352. Price 14s.

Compiled from notes taken, during visits to the principal islands lying off the West Coast of Africa, between the years 1871 and 1882. The islands separately treated of are:—St. Helena, Ascension, Fernando Po, the Isles de Los, St. Vincent, San Antonio, Goree, Grand Canary, Teneriffe, and Madeira. The Bissagos Islands, Ilha do Principe, S. Thome, and Annobon are not referred to.

Thomson, Joseph.—Through Masai Land: a Journey of Exploration among the Snow-clad Volcanic Mountains and Strange Tribes of Eastern Equatorial Africa. Being the Narrative of the Royal Geographical Society's Expedition, to Mount Kenia and Lake Victoria Nyanza, 1883-84. By Joseph Thomson, F.R.G.S., Leader of the Expedition. Illustrations and maps. London, Sampson Low & Co.: 1885, pp. xii. and 583. Price 21s.

Those of our readers who were fortunate enough to listen to Mr. Thomson's well-told story at the opening meeting of the Society last November, and those who have only been able to read it in the pages of the 'Proceedings,' will have had their appetites whetted for the abundant and varied feast provided in the handsome volume before us. With regard to the interest and scientific value of the work, we can only echo the chorus of praise with which it has been received by the Press. Mr. Thomson's bright and attractive style is well known to the readers of his previous narrative; his unflinching good-humour, buoyant spirits, keen appreciation of the ludicrous, graphic and glowing descriptions of scenery, and sympathetic portraiture of people, are qualities which in our estimation adorn the solid scientific groundwork of his narrative. The Society intrusted Mr. Thomson with the accomplishment of a briefly but clearly defined mission:—"The ascertaining of a practicable direct route for European travellers west through the Masai country from any of the East African ports to Victoria Nyanza, and to examine Mount Kenia; to gather data for constructing as complete a map as possible in a preliminary survey; and to make all practicable observations regarding the meteorology, geology, natural history, and ethnology of the regions traversed." How conscientiously and completely Mr. Thomson has carried out his mission is known to our readers, and is evident in every page of the volume before us. His trials and sufferings were many and severe. His own men were as bad a lot as ever left the coast; but he brought them back physically and morally regenerated. One less brave or less humane and patient than he might have been tempted over and over again either to flight or violence in the face of the stalwart, warlike, ever irritating Masai. Putrid meat was his food for weeks, and so dysentery laid him low for a couple of months, and nothing but his indomitable spirit and his strong sense of the ludicrous even with death staring him in the face, prevented him from succumbing entirely. Nothing whatever could provoke Mr. Thomson to risk his success in doing what he undertook to do for the Society, which has every reason to be satisfied with its young pioneer.

It is unnecessary here to go over the ground again with which the readers of these pages must be familiar. It would probably be hard to say whether Mr. Thomson has established that a practicable direct route exists from the east coast to Victoria Nyanza through the Masai country. He certainly succeeded, by infinite tact and long-suffering, in making it practicable for himself and his men; but we suspect it will take some time before the Masai can be persuaded to permit a regular route to be opened through their country. Doubtless it will be easier for Mr. Thomson's successors than it was for himself, if they are endowed with a fair share of his tact. So far as is known he is the first white man that has succeeded in penetrating Masai-land. Rebmann, Krapf, New, Wakefield, and Yon der Decken succeeded in reaching the border of the region which Mr. Thomson has explored, and Kilima-njaro, even before Mr. Johnston's visit, had been ascended to the snow-line. Krapf, we know, got as far north as Ketui, and even reached the Tana, but that was far east of Mr. Thomson's route, and out of the country of the Masai altogether. It was then he got a glimpse of snowy Kenia, though Mr. Thomson shows that he made a curious mistake as to its direction and configuration. Wakefield indeed, as will be seen from Ravenstein's map, collected much information as to routes and features from native travellers, and some of this information Mr. Thomson has proved to be wonderfully correct. But it was always recognised as dangerous by caravans to traverse the Masai country, and these never returned without leaving not a few of their numbers behind them. Dr. Fischer, just previous to Mr. Thomson, had to beat a precipitate retreat when only halfway between Kilima-njaro and Lake Baringo. The country is likely to be sought after by hunters of big game, for probably no region on the continent, Mr. Thomson shows, is richer in this respect. Some parts of the route were certainly desert and waterless enough. There are two such stretches between the coast and Kilima-njaro, and at least one great waterless desert between Kilima-njaro and Lake Naivasha. Much of the region, however, especially in the north, about the Aberdare range, is rich in rivers, beautiful and romantic in aspect, bracing and healthy, and abounding in splendid pasture. Events are moving so rapidly in Africa that ere very long we may expect to find this magnificent country—guarded north and south by its alpine peaks, with some of the finest features of its explorer's native land between, becoming the sanatorium and tourist resort of the budding states of Central Africa.

From the geographical point of view, Mr. Thomson's chief task was to gather data for constructing as complete a map as possible in a preliminary survey. How very thoroughly, under the most trying circumstances, he carried out the duty is evident both from his book and his map. Compare the latter with the section of Mr. Ravenstein's map which includes this region, and it will at once be seen how materially the Society's latest expedition has contributed to a knowledge of African geography. At the same time it will become evident that the data collected by Wakefield and others from the native traders who had ventured into those parts, are fairly accurate. But when Mr. Ravenstein revises the sheet he will have much work to do to bring it up to date. True,

with Mr. Thomson as with other pioneer explorers, only the general features along his route and for a little distance on each side could be roughly mapped; still his map is wonderfully precise. Of course we are here on the central tableland, but in this particular region that tableland is strongly accentuated. On the north especially, we have some fine ranges of mountains, marked by the loveliest valleys and glens. Broken groups of hills, rising into many peaks, are found along the whole route. On the west a steep escarpment runs nearly the whole distance, and in the further north a few peaks that almost rival Kilima-njaro and Kenia themselves. Great forest regions and grassy plains, beautiful lakes, fine waterfalls, rapid rivers, gleaming lakelets, are some of the features which render this remarkable region attractive. But Mr. Thomson is more than a topographer. As we know, geology is his speciality, and he knows how to observe intelligently both in zoology and botany. To the geologist the country is one of the highest interest. Much of it is evidently in the last stage of volcanic activity. The centre of the region, it may be said, belongs either to the earlier or later volcanic series, and is marked by a great plain of depression. Both Kilima-njaro and Kenia belong to the later volcanic series, and both show that in no very remote period they must have been the scenes of stupendous activity. Indeed Kenia does not seem quite cooled down yet, and the people of Chaga have a tradition that the crater lake of Chaga occupies the site of a former town. Broad belts of metamorphic rocks flank the central area on each side, while on the east, between the metamorphic and the lowest tertiaries is a wide strip of carboniferous. Of course these indications must be regarded as of the most general character, and to a large extent conjectural; at the same time it should be remembered that Mr. Thomson knows how to read the rocks. In some respects the zoology and botany are as wonderful as the scenery.

No region in Africa, probably, so abounds in game; and Mr. Thomson's sporting adventures add excitement to his narrative, and are sure to draw mighty hunters to this region. In some respects the botany is very remarkable; at one time recalling the vegetation of the Cape and at another reminding Mr. Thomson of the pine forests and heath-clad mountains of bonny Scotland. But what interested the explorer most were the Masai themselves. Magnificent savages they seem to be from his account, unlike any African people he has seen or heard of. That they have close affinities with the Gallas there seems little doubt; their own traditions indicate that they are migrants from Galla-land into their present home, where they have had much hard fighting to maintain their place. Still they are evidently mixed to some extent with other tribes of different types from the Gallas; for here we are at the meeting-place of the three great stocks into which the bulk of the natives of Africa are divided. For the many interesting details as to the fine physique, fighting qualities, curious social organisation, customs, dress, and occupations of the Masai we must refer the reader to the book itself. They are in brief cattle-stealers and cattle-rearers, the unmarried men as a rule taking the former role and the Benedicks the latter. Mr. Thomson frequently (perhaps too often) alludes to the strange part which expectoration plays in Masai intercourse. Mr. Thomson's powers in this respect were often greatly tried when he wanted to be particularly gracious, and he was occasionally compelled to resort to the custom which prevails in some parts of New Guinea. There, a recent Dutch traveller tells us, it is the custom to welcome a friendly stranger by squirting upon him a shower of water from the mouth. Is it not also the custom in certain parts of Africa for courtiers to preserve the salival discharge from the chiefs mouth? No doubt the Masai custom is a survival from a custom which had some sort of rational origin and which it would be of some interest to trace.

It will be evident from these few notes that Mr. Thomson has a completely satisfactory account to render of the manner in which he has performed the mission intrusted to him by the Society—more than was expected of him—and will doubtless be honoured as he deserves. Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory condition of his health, as a result of his Masai-land exploration, he has accepted and is actually employed on a mission of great commercial as well as geographical importance in West Africa; and we trust that in the future his exceptional faculty for successful work in Africa will find satisfactory occupation. We ought to say that his book abounds in instructive, attractive, and well-executed illustrations.

## America.

Weise, Arthur James.—The Discoveries of America to the year 1525. London, Richard Bentley and Son: 1884, 8vo., pp. xii. and 380, plates and maps. Price 15s.

This work contains a summary of the various statements of historical writers concerning the voyages of the persons whom they believed to have been the discoverers of certain parts of the coast of America between Baffin's Bay and Tierra del Fuego, numerous extracts from old and rare books being given either in the language of the writers, or in faithful translations, so that the intended significance of the information can be perceived, and impartial conclusions formed. The bulk of the volume is marked by laborious research and discriminating criticism, but the first chapter, which deals with pre-historic times, including the early voyages of the Northmen, is likely to find scant favour with classical scholars, as the author boldly propounds, as an accepted truth, the theory that the circumstantial account of Atlantis given by Plato in his "Critias" was founded

on genuine historical tradition. He gives a literal translation of a large part of the "Critias," which he seems to find no difficulty in accepting as history, and he is evidently disposed to see in the account of the peopling of the continent by the descendants of Cleito and Poseidon, an actual tradition of the unions between the sons of God and the daughters of men as related in Genesis. Considering the startling apparent confirmation which Plato's description of the lost Atlantic island received from the discoveries of the Spaniards, and from the wonderful vestiges of an antique American civilisation which yet remain, it is not surprising that some persons should have been led to the conclusion that the philosopher actually had the authority of Egyptian tradition for his remarkable statements. Such speculations, however, are rather out of place in the work of a sober-minded historian. With regard to the Sagas, Mr. Weise is not so easily satisfied, and he considers that no geographical information contained in them verifies the assertion that the Northmen discovered America, and explored the coast of a part of the present territory of the United States. He agrees with Mr. Haliburton

See 'A Search in British North America for Lost Colonies of Northmen and Portuguese,' *ante*, pp. 25-32. that the site of Vinland the Good is nearer Greenland than Rhode Island, and is of opinion that "as there is no reliable information to indicate that the Northmen of the tenth century had any instruments by which they could accurately measure the changing spaces of day and night, or that their observations of the sun gave them the knowledge of astronomical time, an attempt to elucidate the exact duration of the shortest day in Vinland from the vague signification of the words *eyktar-stad* and *dagmála-stad* would consequently be futile and unsatisfactory."

The second chapter embraces the period between 1295 and 1487, including an outline of the story of Marco Polo, and a sketch of the life of Prince Henry of Portugal, and the remainder of the volume is devoted to the achievements of Columbus, and the numerous voyages of discovery to which they gave rise; but as this is all more or less solid ground, it is only necessary to add that Mr. Weise has succeeded in bringing together a large amount of useful information, some of it not easily accessible elsewhere, and as it is enriched by copious footnotes, the whole may be regarded either as a valuable work of reference, or an introduction to more extended study.

Besides "a representation of the astrolabe found in 1867 in the county of North Renfrew, province of Ontario, Canada, supposed to have been lost by Champlain on his way to Ottawa in 1613," and two small charts showing the field of voyages to America, the text is illustrated by the following twelve copies of rare maps, viz.—I. Delineation of the Hyperborean Regions by Sigurd Stephanius in 1570. II. A part of the map of the New World contained in the edition of Ptolemy's Geography printed in Strasburg in 1513. III. A part of the Cabot-map of 1544 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. IV. Map of the New World contained in Peter Martyr's "Legatio Babylonica," printed in 1511. V. A tracing representing the limits of the discoveries of Juan Ponce de Leon and Francisco de Garay, 1521. VI. A part of the map of the fourth part of the world contained in the *Cosmographie Universelle* by André Thevet, printed in Paris in 1575. VII. Map of Terre de la Franciscane in the *Cosmography* of Jean Alphonse and Raulin Secalart, 1545. VIII. Map of a part of North America made by Giacomo de Gastaldi in 1553. IX. A part of the map of the world made by Gerard Mercator in Duisburg in 1569. X. A part of the map of the world made by Juan de la Cosa in 1500 (cover-pocket). XI. A part of the map of the world made by Johann Ruysch, contained in the edition of Ptolemy's Geography printed in Rome in 1508 (cover-pocket). XII. A part of the map of the world made by Visconte de Maiollo in 1527 (cover-pocket).

## Arctic.

Melville, George W.—In the Lena Delta. A Narrative of the Search for Lieut.-Commander De Long and his companions, followed by an Account of the Greely Relief Expedition, and a proposed method of reaching the North Pole. Edited by Melville Philips. London, Longmans, Green, & Co.: 1885, 8vo., pp. xiii. and 497, maps and illustrations. Price 14s.

The first four chapters of this book are devoted to the voyage and drift of the *Jeannette*, and the retreat of her crew, up to the separation of the three boats in the fatal gale of September 12, 1881, and the next twenty-four contain a popular account of the landing of the whaleboat and the subsequent searches for the crews of the first and second cutters, the official account of which was noticed in our 'Proceedings' for April 1883, p. 241. The present work, therefore, calls for no special mention, beyond observing that the detailed account given of the exploits in the Lena Delta in which Chief-Engineer Melville was the prime mover and central figure, enable us to realise more fully than ever the nature of his heroic efforts, and clearly shows that he did all that a brave and steadfast man could do to find and rescue his missing shipmates.

Undaunted by his previous Arctic experiences, Mr. Melville sailed again last May in the *Thetis* to the relief of Lieutenant Greely, and a brief sketch of the object and results of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition, and of the measures which led to the rescue of the leader and five members of his party, is given as forming "an appropriate epilogue to the tragic tale of the *Jeannette*." The details which have already appeared in American

newspapers regarding this expedition, as well as the paper read by Lieutenant Greely himself at the Montreal meeting of the British Association, have also been noticed in our 'Proceedings,' vol. vi., pp. 465, 537, 679, &c., and as the official account may be shortly expected, it would be superfluous to discuss the particulars now given by Mr. Melville.

The concluding chapter of the volume contains the author's proposed method for reaching the North Pole by the Franz-Josef Land route, which he is anxious to test personally; and the Appendix includes a description of the Melville sledge, and some notes on the equipment and provisioning of Arctic expeditions, with illustrations.

The book is illustrated by a portrait of the author, and numerous wood engravings, and a chart of the Lena Delta shows all the localities mentioned in the text, as well as the routes taken by De Long and Melville after landing, and the routes of the search parties. There is also a map showing the course and drift of the *Jeannette* from the *Vega's* winter quarters to the position where she went down, and the subsequent route of her crew over the ice; also a map of the channels north of Baffin's Bay showing the line of Lieutenant Greely's retreat from Lady Franklin Bay, the *Neptune's* highest point in 1882, &c., and a circumpolar map showing Mr. Melville's proposed route to the Pole, the probable drift of the *Jeannette* if she had not sunk, and the highest points reached by different navigators.

Nordenskjöld, Adolf Erik [Freiherr von].—Studien und Forschungen veranlasst durch meine Reisen im hohen Norden. Herausgegeben von Adolf Erik Freiherrn von Nordenskjöld. Ein populär-wissenschaftliches Supplement zu Die Umseglung Asiens und Europas auf der Vega. Autorisirte Deutsche Ausgabe. Mit über 200 Abbildungen, 8 Tafeln und Karten. Leipzig, Brockhaus; London, Dulau: 1885, 8vo., pp. ix. and 521.

The seven memoirs which make up this volume were originally intended to form part of Baron Nordenskjöld's account of his circumnavigation of Europe and Asia in the *Vega*. It will be remembered that in that work the Baron introduced several special chapters of much scientific value, on the progress of exploration in the seas north of Europe and Asia, on the Arctic fauna, and other subjects; and he has been well-advised to publish the present volume as a separate work, though supplementary to the previous one. We believe that several of these papers have, at least in part, appeared in the Transactions of the Swedish Academy, and been abstracted in English scientific journals. The first of the memoirs will probably be already familiar to our readers; it is by Baron Nordenskjöld himself, dealing with the voyages of the brothers Zeni, and was noticed in its original Swedish form in the 'Proceedings,' 1883, p. 372. The second paper, by Professor Wittrock, is on Snow and Ice Flora, with special reference to the Arctic regions, with an appendix on Snow and Ice Fauna. The third paper, by Baron Nordenskjöld himself, deals in considerable detail with his hypothesis, which has been so much criticised, as to the fall of cosmical matter on the earth, with special reference to the Kant-Laplace theory. The Baron aims to prove, from the results of his own observations and those of other geologists, from a comparison of the mineralogical and chemical composition of rocks, and other data, that besides the myriads of meteors that have fallen upon the surface of our globe, a continuous dust-cloud is depositing its contents to an appreciable thickness annually. Hence, he contends that at least a large part of the volume of the earth is of meteoric origin. Whatever may be thought of the value of the theory, the wealth of data adduced by the writer, and the interesting maps and illustrations form a valuable contribution to geological and geographical science. The next paper is by Dr. Nathorst, and points out in detail the contributions made by Arctic exploration to a knowledge of the botanical geography of early geological times. Dr. Hans Hildebrand devotes nearly 100 pages to a memoir of much ethnological interest on the knowledge of art possessed by uncivilised peoples. Here the researches of the *Vega* staff among the Chukches during their year's detention on the Siberian coast, prove of great service. Some of the artistic efforts of this interesting people have already been given in the 'Voyage of the Vega.' Next Dr. Christopher Aurivillius devotes about fifty pages to the Insect Life of Arctic lands; while the concluding paper, of about eighty pages, by Dr. Kjellman, deals in the same way with Arctic Plant Life. The many woodcuts, coloured plates and maps, add greatly to the scientific value of this varied volume.

## Australasia.

[Australia.]—The Australian Handbook (incorporating New Zealand, Fiji, and New Guinea) and Shippers' and Importers' Directory for 1885. London, Gordon & Gotch; 8vo., pp. 728. Price 10s. 6d.

This useful publication reaches its sixteenth annual issue with the present volume. It contains a vast amount of information, up to date, relative to the Australasian Colonies, including the Discovery, Settlement, Geography, Climate, Products and Resources, and Statistics of each. It also contains an account of the Colony of Fiji and of New Guinea; as also a Gazetteer of the principal towns in Australia and New Zealand, &c. The work is profusely illustrated with maps which have been enlarged and prepared from the best sources.

## General.

[Challenger.]—Report on the Scientific Results of the Voyage of H.M.S. *Challenger* during the years 1873-76, under the command of Captain George S. Nares, R.N., F.B.S., and Captain Frank Tourle Thomson, R.N. Prepared under the superintendence of the late Sir C. Wyville Thomson, Knt., F.R.S., &c., and now of John Murray. Zoology, vols. x. and xi. London, Longmans & Co., &c.: 1884, 4to., pp. (vol. x.) viii., 154, 82, 47, 130, xxiv., and 216, chart and plates; (vol. xi.) viii., 88, x., 442, and 85, plates. Price respectively, 50s.

The previous volumes of the series are noticed in the preceding volume of the 'Proceedings' at pp. 485 and 610.

Vol. x. contains:—i. Report on the Nudibranchiata collected by H.M.S. *Challenger* during the years 1873-76, by Dr. Rudolph Bergh. ii. Report on the Myzostomida collected during the same period, by Dr. L. von Graff. iii. Report on the Cirripedia collected by H.M.S. *Challenger*, ditto; anatomical part by Dr. P. P. C. Hoek. iv. Report on the Human Skeletons collected during ditto. The Crania, by William Turner, M.B., &c. v. Report on the Polyzoa collected by H.M.S. *Challenger*, during ditto. The Cheilostomata. By George Busk, F.R.S., &c.

Vol. xi. contains:—i. Report on the Keratosa collected by H.M.S. *Challenger*, during ditto, by N. Poléjaeff, M.A. ii. Report on the Crinoidea collected during ditto. The Stalked Crinoids. By P. Herbert Carpenter, D.Sc. iii. Report on the Isopoda collected by H.M.S. *Challenger*, ditto. The Genus Serolis. By Frank Evers Beddard, M.A., &c.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine. Edinburgh, Macnamara & Wallace; London, Philip & Son.

We welcome the first number of the organ of the Scottish Geographical Society. It covers a period of three months, and as its purview embraces to some extent the past year, it is exceedingly full and varied. The number begins, of course, with Mr. Stanley's opening address on Central Africa and the Congo Basin. Then follow two papers with a distinctly local flavour: one on Scotland and geographical work, showing what Scotchmen have done in the various departments of our branch of knowledge; the other is a paper of original value by Professor James Geikie on the Physical Features of Scotland; both the paper and the accompanying map deserve the attention of geographers and geologists. We have then short notices of the first honorary members of the Society, the King of the Belgians, Lord Aberdare, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. Joseph Thomson. The most useful feature of the magazine is the Geographical Notes, which are of the most varied kind; they occupy fifteen pages. Five pages are devoted to the geographical literature of 1884, and about twelve pages to new books and new maps. Besides the map of Scotland, there is a map of Africa, both by Bartholomew.

Wagner, Hermann.—Geographisches Jahrbuch. X. Band, 1884. Erste Hälfte. Unter Mitwirkung von O. Drude, G. Gerland, J. Hann, Th. V. Oppolzer, L. K. Schmarida, K. Zöppritz, herausgegeben von Hermann Wagner. Gotha, Justus Perthes: 1885. Price, two parts, 12s.

Since the last issue of this invaluable publication, its founder and joint editor, Dr. Behm, has died. With the present volume the work enters on a new phase. This is really only a half-volume, the other half being promised in the course of the present year. Henceforth it will be issued annually, the first and second parts in alternate years. In the present part we have the special division, which includes reports of progress in the various departments of science which bear on geography. Professor Zöppitz deals with Geophysics, Dr. Hann with Meteorology, Dr. Oppolzer with European Survey Operations, Dr. O. Drude with Botanical Geography, Dr. Schmarida with the Geographical Distribution of Animals, and Dr. Gerland with Ethnological Research.

## New Maps.

(By J. COLES, *MAP CURATOR* R.G.S.)

### Europe.

France.—Carte de——, dressée par le Service Vicinal par ordre de M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur. Scale 1:100,000 or 1.3 geographical miles to an inch. Paris, 3884. Sheets:—IX. 25. Ile d'Oléron. XIII. 10. Yvetot. XIII. 12. Bernay. XIV. 9. Dieppe. XIV. 13. Conches. XV. 16. Bonneval. XVI. 18. La Ferté St. Aubin. XXI. 15. Brienne. XXI. 17. Châtillon-sur-Seine. XXIII. 18. Champlitte. XXV. 15. Mirecourt. XXIV. 16. Darney. XXIV. 18. Vesoul. XXV. 13. Château-Salins. XXV. 15. Baccarat. XXV. 18. Montbéliard. XXV. 19. Baume-les-Dames. XXVI. 15. St. Dié. XXVI. 18. Belfort. Price of each sheet 7d. (*Dulau.*)

—Carte de—— en quatre-vingt-six départements indiquant les chemins de fer, les routes avec les distances en kilomètres, les nouvelles divisions militaires, &c., par Berthe. Paris, Garnier Frères. (*Dulau.*)

London.—Philips' Redistribution Map of——. Showing all the New Boroughs, with the number of their Representatives, as proposed by the Seats Bill, 1884; Statistics of Population in 1871 and 1881, Acreage and Inhabited Houses in each Borough. Scale 1:125,000 or 1.7 geographical miles to an inch. George Philip & Son, London. Price, mounted on cloth and in case, 6s.

Schlesien und der Grafsch. Glatz.—Special-Karte von——. Scale 1:300,000 or 4.1 geographical miles to an inch. Neue Ausgabe von Dr. Sadebeck. Breslau, Korn. 4 sheets. Price 11s. (*Dulau.*)

Schweiz.—Dritte Karte der——, von J. M. Ziegler. Scale 1:380,000 or 5.2 geographical miles to an inch. Wurster & Co., Zurich, Edition of 1885. Price 10s. (*Dulau.*)

Surrey.—Philips' New Map of——, from the Ordnance Survey. By J Bartholomew, F.R.G.S. Scale 1:63,360 or 0.86 geographical miles to an inch. George Philip & Son, London and Liverpool. Price 15s., mounted, and folded in case.

## Asia.

Russo-Afghan Boundary Question.—W. & A. K. Johnston's Special Map to elucidate the——. Scale 1:3,550,000 or 48.6 geographical miles to an inch. With an inset map showing the encroachments of Russia from the accession of Peter the Great in 1689 to the present time. W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London, 1885.

At the present time, when the Anglo-Russian Commission are about to survey a mutual boundary line, this map is likely to be of great use in following the movements on the Afghan frontier. A glance at the inset map will show the continued advance of Russia towards India during the past four centuries, and the extension of the railway system in the same direction, which at the present time has reached Orenburg in the north, and beyond Kizil Arvat, in Turkistan, in the south. A small inset map is also given, showing British possessions in Asia, Africa, and Australasia, with the distances between them.

## Africa.

Africa.—General Map of——. Scale 1:8,420,000 or 115.2 geographical miles to an inch. Constructed from the most recent coast surveys, and embodying the results of all explorations to the present time, by Keith Johnston, F.R.G.S. Corrected to January 1885. W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London. 4 sheets. Price in sheets 15s.

Algérie.—Carte de 1#——, d'après les documents publiés par le Ministre de la Guerre et des travaux inédits par Niox. Scale 1:1,600,000 or 21.9 geographical miles to an inch. Paris, 1885. (*Dulau.*)

Assab.—Carta Originale del Possedimento Italiano di——del Sultanato di Aussa e regioni limitrofe dall' Abissinia e Scioa a Berbera e Aden. Con speciali cartine di Assab e Dintorni, dei Paesi dei Danakil, della Baia di Zula e del Mar Rosso, secondo le pubblicazioni più recenti cost, e dis. G. E. Fritzsche. Scale 1:1,500,000 or 20.4 geographical miles to an inch. Istituto Cartografico Italiano, Roma, 1885. (*Dulau.*)

Congo.—Carte du Bassin du Congo dressé par le Dr. Richard Kiepert. Scale 1:4,000,000 or 55.5 geographical miles to an inch. Avec la limite de la zone de commerce libre, établie par la conférence de Berlin, les possessions de puissances Européennes et les itinéraires principaux de voyageurs. Dietrich Reimer, 1885. Price 2s. (*Williams & Norgate.*)

On this map is shown the extent of the region of Free Trade as fixed by the Conference of Berlin. This includes, as far as the southern boundary is concerned, more than the basin of the Congo, inasmuch as the boundary line starts from Ambriz on the coast, and follows the river Loge to its source. In the north it starts from Sette Cama in a general easterly direction, touching the parallel of 2° south close to the source of the river Loutéte; here it turns to the south-east for a distance of 90 geographical miles and then abruptly to the north; it thus includes the basin of the Niari river. The boundaries of European possessions and native states, as well as the routes of the celebrated travellers of all nations, are laid down.

Egypt and the Basin of the Nile, constructed by W. & A. K. Johnston. Edinburgh and London. Scale 1: 3,294,720 or 45.1 geographical miles to an inch. 2 sheets. 1885.

——and the Soudan,—Philips' Map of——, including the Valley of the Nile, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, Arabia, &c. Scale 1: 5,600,000 or 76.7 geographical miles to an inch. George Philip & Son, London and Liverpool. Price 1s.

Gordon, General C. G., R.E.—Facsimile of a map drawn by General C. G. Gordon, R.E., at Khartum, March 17th, 1874, of his route from Suakin to Berber and Khartum. Scale 1: 1,325,000 or 18.2 geographical miles to an inch (approx.). Reproduced in facsimile, and published by Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross, London, S.W. February 17th, 1885.

This map is not only interesting as a souvenir of the late General C. G. Gordon, R.E., but also contains information as to the distances between stations on the road between Suakin and Berber, expressed in hours, and other notes of great interest at the present time. The reproduction from the original has been very well executed.

Soudan.—Large Scale War Map of the Eastern——, embracing Dongola, Suakim, Berber, Khartoum, and

Kassala. Scale 1: 1,140,000 or 14.2 geographical miles to an inch. With view and plan of Khartum and Suakin. W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London, 1885. Price 1s.

South African Republic.—Map of the South-Western Frontier of the——, including the adjacent portions of Bechuanaland, Griqualand West, and the Orange Free State, 1884. Scale 1: 633,600 or 8.6 geographical miles to an inch. Compiled and lithographed at the Intelligence Branch, War Office, under the direction of Major W. R. Fox, R.A., D.A.Q.M.G., November 1884. Revised March 1885.

Suakim a Berber.—Da——. Scala 1: 1,000,000 or 13.6 geographical miles to an inch. Costr. e autogr. G. E. Fritzsche. Istituto Cartografico Italiano, Roma, 1885. (*Dulau.*)

Sudan Egiziano.—Carta Generale del——, colle Coste del Mar Rosso da Suakin fino ad Assab. Sulla base dei nuovi dati geodetici dello Stato Maggiore Egiziano: e coll'indicazione degli itinerari dei principali viaggiatori fino a G. Bianchi 1884. Costr. e dis. G. E. Fritzsche. Scale 1: 2,500,000 or 34.4 geographical miles to an inch. Istituto Cartografico Italiano, Roma, 1885. (*Dulau.*)

Zulu-Land.—Kartenskizze von——und den Goldfeldern der Südafrikanischen Republik. Nach C. Mauch, F. Jeppe, Sir G. Colley, Rev. Berthoud, Capt. Riedel, H. Rissik, R. Loveday, Major Machado &c. sowie nach eigenen Aufnahmen gezeichnet von II. Haevernick. Pretoria, 1884. Scale 1:1,850,000 or 25.3 geographical miles to an inch. Petermann's 'Geographische Mitteilungen,' Jahrgang 1885, Tafel 6. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1885. (*Dulau.*)

## America.

Florida.—Rand, M'Nally & Co.'s New Sectional Map of——. Scale 1: 633,600 or 8.6 geographical miles to an inch. Rand, M'Nally & Co., Chicago, 1885. (*Dulau.*)

This is one of Rand, M'Nally & Co.'s useful series of maps.

Nord Amerikas.—Übersichtskarte über die Endmoräne der Zweiten Glacial-epoche——. Nach T. C. Chamberlin, 1882. Scale 1: 15,000,000 or 205.4 geographical miles to an inch. Petermann's 'Geographische Mitteilungen Jahrgang 1885, Tafel 5. Justus Perthes, Gotha, (*Dulau.*)

## Charts.

Admiralty.—Charts and Plans published by the Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, in November and December 1884, and January and February 1885,

No. inches. 2675 a b c m = 0.18 English channel, 3 sheets. Price 3s. each. 2045 m = 1.35 England, south coast:—Owers to Christchurch, with Spithead and the isle of Wight. Price 4s. 6d. 606 m = 3.0 Shetland isles:—Ronas Voe. Quendale bay. Vaila sound. Uyea and Skuda sounds. Ura firth or Hillswick. Blue Mull sound. Leven and Sand Wicks. Price 1s. 6d. 1130 m = 2.9 Mediterranean, Sicily:—Cagliari bay. Price 1s. 6d. 236 m = 0.21 Mediterranean, Turkey in Asia:—Rhodes island to Kara Burnu. (Plans, Castelorizo. Kakava roadstead and entrance into Kakava roadstead. Yali bay. Port Genovese. Tekrova. Adalia. Laara. Eski Adalia.) Price 2s. 6d. 237 m = 0.21 Mediterranean, Turkey in Asia:—Kara Burnu to Kara-dash Burnu. (Plans, Ptolemais. Alaya. Hamaxia. Silinti. Cape Anamur. Port Melania. Port Chelindreh. Papadula islands. Cavalaière. Provençal or Manaval island. Aghaliman ports. Korghos-Kalaler. Ayash. Mezetlu.) Price 2s. 6d. 238 47 m = 2.0 India, west coast:—Bet harbour. Price 1s. 6d. 239 2621 m = 2.0 India, west coast Bombay harbour. Price 3s. 240 655 m = 5.0 India, west coast:—Port of Bombay. Price 1s 241 869 m = 4.7 Tasmania, east coast:—Spring bay and adjacent anchorages. Price 1s.6d. 242 2306 Plan added. Approaches to Kristiansund. 243 2647 Plan added. St. Gilles sur Vie. 244 1335 Plan added. Lobos de Afuera. 245 2536 Plan added. Berberch. 911 Plan added. Kaibobo road. Nalahia bay. Tehoru anchorage. Kisalaut bay. Inner harbour. 210 New plan. Odzuchi harbour. 2432 New plan. Anchorages of the west coast of Kazakavitch island. 2532 Plan added. Waikouaiti bay. 1114 Plans added. Hanfield inlet. Camp cove. (J. D. Potter, agent.)

## Charts Cancelled.

## Charts that have Received Important Corrections.

No. 557. South America:—Harbours and anchorages in Magellan strait. 134. South Pacific Ocean:—Harbours and anchorages in New Hebrides islands. 190. Mediterranean, Sicily:—Girgenti, Catania. 2421. South Pacific Ocean:—Tonga or Friendly islands. 30. England, south coast:—Plymouth sound and Hamoaze. 253a. Africa, north-east coast:—Jibul Jarne to Sayara. 357. Japan:—Harbours in Kü channel. 875. China:—Ports and anchorages in Tong King gulf. 1626. England, east coast:—Blyth. 8c. Red sea:—sheet 3. 1862. Africa, west coast:—Jaboo to Forcados river. 1908. North America, west coast:—Plans on west coast of

Lower California. 1753. Ireland, east coast:—Belfast lough. 2361. Sweden, east coast:—Oland to Landsort. 1875. North sea:—Elbe, Weser, and .Tade rivers. 780. Pacific Ocean:—S.W. sheet. 8*d*. Red sea:—Sheet 4. 977. Pacific, Caroline islands:—Harbours and anchorages in Ualan Islands. 1719. Mediterranean:—Ports and anchorages on the west coast of Italy. 81. Red sea:—Mersa Durúr to Trinkitat. 2062. China:—Tong King gulf. 298. Newfoundland:—St. John's harbour. 358. Japan:—Western coasts of Kiusiu and Nipon. 941*a*. Eastern archipelago:—Western portion. 942*a*. Eastern archipelago:—Eastern portion. 641. Africa, south coast:—Port Elizabeth. 1630. England, east coast:—Orfordness to Cromer. 2149. Eastern archipelago:—Gaspar and Banka straits. 2041. Malay peninsula:—Singapore to Timoan island. 2263. Baltic sea:—Riga gulf entrance. 125, North sea:—Ostende roads. 2247. Baltic sea:—Hogland to Seskar, north shore. 2842*a*. Baltic sea:—Western sheet. 1189. Mediterranean:—Bonifacio strait. 161*a, b*. Sardinia island, 2 sheets. 2207. Black sea:—Mouths of Danube river. 2505. Black sea:—Danube river:—St. George's mouth. 274. North Polar chart:—Atlantic side. 278. North Polar chart:—Pacific side. 2563. North America, east coast:—Delaware river, sheet 1. 2039. South America, east coast:—Parana and Uruguay rivers. 821. Bay of Bengal:—Elephant point to Cheduba strait. 842, Bay of Bengal:—Sayer island and adjacent coast to Lankawi island. 1845. Bay of Bengal:—Entrance to Maulmain river. 793*a*. Malacca strait:—Pulo Penang to Parcelor hill. 2597. Eastern Archipelago:—Banka strait. 2757. Eastern archipelago:—Banka strait to Singapore. 1262. China: Hong Kong to gulf of Lian-tung. 2347. Japan:—Nipon, Kiusiu, and Sikok islands. 2672. Japan:—Hakodate harbour. 475.

Australia:—North-west coast of Australia between the parallels of 10° 8' and 21° south. 2354. Australia, east coast:—Cape Grenville to Booby island. 1750. Australia, south coast:—Port Adelaide. 1896. New Zealand:—Auckland harbour entrances. 1970. New Zealand, north island:—Auckland harbour. 2126. New Guinea:—Port Moresby and Fairfax harbour. 936*a*. New Caledonia:—Northwest part. (*J. D. Potter, agent.*)

Dépôt des Cartes et Plans de la Marine.—No. 3985. Carte Particulière des Côtes de France. Embouchure de la Seine. 1884.—No. 3939. Côte Occidentale de France. Cours de la Loire de l'Île Massereau à Nantes. 1882. (Feuille I.)—No. 3940. Côte Occidentale de France. Cours de la Loire de Paimbœuf à l'Île Massereau. 1883. (Feuille II.)—No. 3941. Côte Occidentale de France. Cours de la Loire de St. Nazaire à Paimbœuf. 1883. (Feuille III.)—No. 3979. Mer de Chine. Golfe du Tonquin. Cheneaux Intérieurs entre Pak-ha-Moun et Thieng-Moun. 1883.—No. 3993. Mer de Chine. Golfe du Tonquin. Cheneaux et Mouillages entre la Cac-Ba et la Baie de Ha-Long. 1884.—No. 4007. Golfe du Tonkin. Passe de l'Aspic donnant accès dans la Grande Baie de Fai-Tsi-Long. 1884.—No. 3971. Tunisie. Lac de Bizerte. Partie Sud. 1883.—No. 4006. Côte Ouest d'Afrique. Guinée. Anse du Petit Beribi ou Half Beriby. 1884.—No. 3903. Terre Neuve. Côte Est. Partie Sud de Belle-Île. 1883.—No. 4003. Canaux Latéraux de la Patagonie. Golfe de Peñas. Île Wager. Port Ballenas. 1884.—No. 4002. Nouvelle Calédonie. Îles Pott et Art. 1884.—No. 3990. Océan Pacifique. Tahiti. Côte Sud de la presqu'île de Tairapu de la Rivière Vavü . à la Pointe Arupa. 1884.—No. 3997. Océan Pacifique. Îles Marquises. Îles Hiva-Oa, Tahuata et Motane. 1884.—No. 3980. Océan Pacifique Sud. Nouvelles Hébrides. Île Espiritu Sancto. Baie St. Philippe. Croquis du Mouillage de Talomaco. Croquis du. Mouillage de la Table. 1884.—No. 3983. Océan Pacifique Sud. Nouvelles Hébrides. Île Espiritu Sancto. Côte Est. Croquis de la Baie de Léké. Croquis de la Baie des Requins. 1884.—No. 3995. Océan Pacifique Sud. Nouvelles Hébrides. Croquis de l'Île Ambrym. 1884.—No. 3996. Océan Pacifique Sud. Nouvelles Hébrides. Croquis de l'Île Api. 1884.—No. 3974. Océan Pacifique Sud. Croquis des Îles Souwaroff. Croquis de l'Entrée du Lagon et du Mouillage des Îles Souwaroff. 1883.—No. 3988. Océan Pacifique Sud. Nouvelles Hébrides. Île Malicolo; Croquis du Port Sandwich. 1884.—Dépôt des Cartes et Plans de la Marine, Paris.

Norwegian Charts.—Generalkart over den Norske Kyst fra Kinn til Trondhjem-sleden, udgivet af den geografiske Opmaaling, Kristiania, 1884. Scale: 1,350,000 or 4.7 geographical miles to an inch.

Generalkart A 3.

Spezialkart over den Norske Kyst fra Rundö til Ona, udgivet af den geografiske Opmaaling, Kristiania, 1883. Scale 1:100,000, or 1.3 geographical miles to an inch, Spezialkart A 14.

Spezialkart over den Norske Kyst fra Tyrhaug til Terningen, udgivet af den geografiske Opmaaling, Kristiania, 1883. Scale 1:50,000 or 1.4 inches to a geographical mile. Spezialkart B 38. (*Dulau.*)

United States Charts.—Pilot Chart of the North Atlantic Ocean. Nos. 2 and 3. Feb. and March 1885. U.S. Hydrographic Office, Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, Washington DC.

## Atlases.

Cosmographic Atlas.—The———of Political, Historical, Classical, Physical and Scriptural Geography and Astronomy, with Indices and Descriptive letterpress. W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London, 1884. Price 1*l.* 1*s.*

This atlas is divided into six different sections, containing 66 maps, arranged in the following manner:—The first 40 are Political maps; from 40 to 49 Historical, from 50 to 52 Classical, from 53 to 56

Physical, from 57 to 60 Scriptural, and from 61 to 66 Astronomical Plates. There is a copious Index to the Political maps, arranged on the principle usually adopted by this firm of publishers, viz., squares indicated by capital and small letters, instead of giving the latitudes and longitudes of the several places; it contains the positions of nearly 60,000 places. Each Historical map has its explanatory letterpress, and there is a separate index for this section. The same remark applies to Classical, Physical and Scriptural maps.

The Astronomical diagrams and the explanation of the plates are remarkably good; indeed this atlas, for the purpose of general reference or instruction, is far in advance of any, of the same class, that have lately been published in England.

France.—Atlas Historique de la——, depuis César jusqu'à nos jours, par Auguste Longnon. Première Livraison. Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1885. Price 9s. each part. (*Dulau.*)

Each issue of this atlas is to be accompanied by a pamphlet containing explanatory notes in which the authorities on which the maps are based are quoted, and a list of the Roman and modern names of all places shown on the maps.

The following are the maps contained in the first part of this atlas:—

Pl. I. La Gaule à l'arrivée de César, 58 ans avant l'ère chrétienne. Une petite carte annexe représente la division de la Gaule au temps d'Auguste (an 10 avant l'ère chrétienne).

Pl. II. La Gaule sous la domination romaine, vers l'an 400 de notre ère. Une carte annexe indique la répartition des cités de la Gaule selon les tribus romaines.

Pl. III. et IV. La Gaule et les pays voisins du VI<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Dix-huit cartes représentant la division ecclésiastique de la Gaule sous les Mérovingiens et l'état politique du même pays en 506, 523, 545, 561, 567, 573, 583, 585, 587 (traité d'Andelot), 594, 600, 622, 625, 628, 638, 714 et 768.'

Pl. V. L'Empire de Charlemagne, 806.

Historischer Wand-Atlas, v. Spruner-Bretschneider. 10 Karten zur Geschichte Europas im Mittelalter bis auf die neuere Zeit. Scale 1:4,000,000 or 55.5 geographical miles to an inch. Dritte Auflage. Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1884 Price 3l. 3s. (*G. Philip & Sou.*)

This Atlas contains the following maps:—I. Europa um 350 nach Christo. II. Europa im Anfange des VI. Jahrhunderts. III. Europa zur Zeit Karls des Grossen. IV. Europa in der zweiten Hälfte des X. Jahrhunderts. V. Europa zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge. VI. Europa zur Zeit des XIV. Jahrhunderts. VII. Europa zur Zeit der Reformation. VIII. Europa zur Zeit des 30 jährigen Krieges und bis 1700. IX. Europa im XVIII. Jahrhundert von 1700 bis 1789. X. Europa im Zeitalter Napoleons I. 1789 bis 1815.

Nederlandsche Bezittingen.—Atlas van de——in Oost-Indië, door Dr. J. Pijnappel Gz., Hoogleeraar te Leiden. Derde op Nieuw Bewerkte Uitgave. Amsterdam, P. N. Van Kampen & Zoon, 1884. Price 12s. (*Stanford.*)

Oesterreich-Ungarn.—Physikalisch-Statistischer Hand-Atlas von——, in 24 Karten mit erläuterndem Text unter Mitwirkung von Vincenz v. Haardt, Prof. Dr. Anton Kerner Ritter v. Marilaun, Franz Ritter v. Le Monnier, General-Major Carl Sonklar v. Innstätten, Prof. Dr. Franz Toula, herausgegeben von Dr. Josef Chavanne und ausgeführt in Eduard Hülzel's Geographischem Institute, Wien 1884. VI. Lieferung, containing the following maps:—No. 12. Karte der Verbreitung nutzbarer Mineralien. No. 21. Karte der Zu- und Abnahme der Bevölkerung. No. 24. Karte der Geschlechts-Verhältnisse der Bevölkerung (Letztere Karte tritt an die Stelle der früher im Programm festgesetzten Karte des Creditwesens). Price 7s. (*Dulau.*)

Philip, G. & Son.—Handy General Atlas of the World, a comprehensive series of maps illustrating general and commercial geography; by John Bartholomew, F.R.G.S. With complete Index of 40,000 names. New and enlarged edition. G. Philip & Son, London, 1885. Price 2l. 2s.

This edition exhibits a considerable improvement on those that have been previously published. Care has been taken to bring the maps up to date, and the general index has been considerably enlarged. The maps are well drawn, and show the physical features clearly; they are not overcrowded with names. This atlas is well suited for the purpose of general reference, or for the use of students.

———Popular Atlas of the World; a series of Maps showing the present state of Political, Physical, and General Geography; by John Bartholomew, F.R.G.S. With consulting Index. New and revised edition. G. Philip & Son, London, 1885. Price 1l. 11s. 6d.

This is a cheaper edition of Philip's 'Handy General Atlas,' the principal difference being that only thirty-seven maps are given, instead of fifty-five: but the maps given are identical with those contained in the more expensive atlas.

## Educational.

Alpengebietes.—Uebersichtskarte des——, für Schüler bearbeitet von R. Petoug. Scale 1:506,000 or 6.9 geographical miles to an inch. Elberfeld, Fassbender. 10 sheets. Price 6s. (*Dulau.*)

Ancient World, Twelve Maps of the——(Atlas Antiquus) for schools and colleges, by Dr. Henry Kiepert. Eighth Edition: improved, corrected and enlarged. D. Reimer, Berlin, 1885. (*Dulau.*)

This Atlas contains the following maps:—1. Orbis terrarum antiquis notus. 2. Imperia Persarum et Macedonum. 3. Aegyptus.—Phoenice et Palaestina. 4. Asia citerior. 5. Graecia cum insulis et oris maris Aegaei. 6. Graecia ampliore modulo descripta. 7. Italia. 8. Italiae pars media. 9. Roma urbs. 10. Hispania, Mauretania et Africa. 11. Gallia, Britannia, Germania. 12 Imperium Romanum.

Asien.—Politische Schul-Wandkarte von——, von Dr. Heinrich Kiepert. Scale 1:8,000,000 or 109.5 geographical miles to an inch. 9 sheets. New Edition. D. Reimer, Berlin, 1884. Price 12s. (*Dulau.*)

Australien und Polynesian.—Schul-Wandkarte von——nach dem Entwurfe und unter der Leitung des Vinzenz v. Haardt. Scale 1:16,000,000 or 119 geographical miles to an inch. Edward Hölzel, Wien, 1885. (*Dulau.*)

Berghaus, Dr. Hermann.—Stielers Schul-Atlas. Vollständig neu bearbeitet von Dr. Hermann Berghaus. 64. Auflage. 33 Maps. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1885. Price 5s. (*Dulau.*)

Europa's, Richard Kiepert's Schul-Wand-Atlas der Länder——.

Zehnte Lieferung: Politische Wandkarte von Deutschland. 6 sheets. Scale 1:1,000,000 or 13.6 geographical miles to an inch.

Siebente Lieferung: Stumme Physikalische Wandkarte der Balkan-Halbinsel. 6 sheets. Scale 1:1,000,000 or 13.6 geographical miles to an inch.

Zwölfte Lieferung: Politische Wandkarte von Oesterreich-Ungarn. 6 sheets.

Scale 1:1,000,000 or 13.6 geographical miles to an inch. D. Reimer, Berlin, 1884. Price 7s. 6d. each. (*Dulau.*)

These maps form part of the series of School Wall Maps which is at present being brought out by Dr. Richard Kiepert. They are executed in a bold style, the colours are well chosen, and they are worthy companions of the other maps of this series which have already been issued.

France.—Atlas pour servir à l'étude de la géographie de la——, par A. Vuillemin. Édition avec le tracé des chemins de fer. Delalain, Paris. Price 6s. 6d. (*Dulau.*)

Haardt, V. V.—Physikalisch-statischer Schul-Atlas von——. (Als Supplement zu B. Kozenn's geographischem Atlas für Mittelschulen). Edward Hölzel, Wien, 1884. Price 4s. (*Dulau.*)

——Geographischer Atlas für die höheren Classen der Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich. Approbirt mit Erlass des k. k. Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht vom 26 Juli 1881, Zahl 11,206. Eduard Holz, Wien, 1884. Price 3s. (*Dulau.*)

Historical Atlas.—The Public Schools Historical Atlas. Edited by C. Colbeck, M.A. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1885.

This is an excellent little atlas, and shows great thought in the manner in which it has been produced. Advantage has been taken in the compilation of the maps of Spruner's Historical Atlas, Professor Freeman's Historical Geography of Europe and other standard works. The introduction of the plans of celebrated battles is a new feature in an historical atlas of this size, and it is furnished with a copious descriptive index.

Holy Land.—The——. To illustrate the Old Testament. Scale 1:380,000 or 5.2 geographical miles to an inch. With an inset plan of Jerusalem, on twice the scale of general map. Constructed and engraved by W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London.

——The——. To illustrate the New Testament. Scale 1:380,000 or 5.2 geographical miles to an inch. With an inset plan of Ancient Jerusalem. Constructed and engraved by W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London.

Kampen, Alb. van.—Orbis Terrarum Antiquus in Scholarum usum descriptus ab Alb. van Kampen. Insunt Tabulae; XVI. cum XXVII. Tabellis. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1884. Price 2s. (*Dulau.*)

Letts, Son & Co.—School Atlas of Modern Geography. 30 maps and Index. Letts, Son & Co., Limited, London, 1884.

——Classical Atlas, compiled from the most recent authorities. 23 maps and index. Letts, Son & Co., Limited, London, 1884.

Mathematischen Geographie.—Wandkarte für den Unterricht in der——, in 9 Blättern mit erläuterndem Text. Entworfen und bearbeitet von Eduard Wetzels. Vierte verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, 1884. (*Dulau.*)

Oesterreich-Ungarn.—Schul-Wandkarte von——(Politische Ausgabe), nach dem Entwurfe und unter der Leitung des Vinzenz v. Haardt. Scale 1:1,100,000 or 15 geographical miles to an inch. Eduard Hölzel, Wien, 1885. (*Dulau.*)

## Map of King Country and Neighbouring Districts in New

# Zealand

Afghánistán as a Theatre of Operations and as a Defence to India.

"Qui veut la fin doit vouloir les moyens.

This paper was written to be offered to the Council of the Royal United Service Institution, London. Acting on the advice of Major-General Sir Charles MacGregor, K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E. I resolved to make it less public and to issue it only to those who have studied or who are concerned with the problem of the defence of India and of the Empire, in the hope that the opinions put forward may be criticised and the requirements of an imperial military policy arrived at. In order not to lengthen the paper too greatly, many important points have been but touched upon; it is proposed shortly to elucidate them further by notes on Imperial Strategical Communications.

UNITED SERVICE CLUB; M.S.B.

SIMLA.

## Preface.

THIS paper presupposes the reader to be fairly acquainted with the topography of Afghanistan and the character and distribution of its inhabitants.

The plan adopted in its preparation has been to state the accepted principles guiding warfare in a mountainous country, and on them to found possible strategical structures, which are at the same time considered in their relations to the inhabitants of the country.

Thinking it easy to say, "I think so and so," but not so easy to show good reason for the thought, endeavour has been made to determine both the value and danger to India of her outwork, Afghanistan, by a consideration of facts and of those military principles which, having been deduced from the experiences of war by those who have been its greatest masters, are equivalent to facts, and from teachings drawn from history, facts also, for history repeats itself.

Under the impression, also, that it is a poor thing to allow personal views and notions of present ease and peace to have any weight whatever in the solution of a strategical question of the greatest importance to posterity, and which must be solved now to *their* best advantage, and not *our own*, if we desire that they should inherit our birthright, and if we are not desirous of bartering away our inheritance for the vainly imagined advantages of living in the most dangerous fascination of a Pools' Paradise of Peace, there are put forward here the necessities conceived to be required for the security of the Indian Empire against Russian encroachments for all time.

These conceived necessities resulting from a study of the topographical features of Afghanistan, its inhabitants, and its neighbours, are given:—the principles upon which they are founded being granted to be true, they, as deductions from them, must stand to be as true as anything drawn from principles can be true, and to be as near to a right mathematical demonstration of the problem as possible.

The situation calls for activity, and not for a hand-folded policy waiting on the course of events, unless our minds are made up to be controlled by, and not to control them.

We are a mighty and wealthy nation entitled to pride of place", and to secure for our posterity what we have ourselves inherited.

THE defence of Afghanistan is the defence of India. This paper considers the conditions of its defence imposed by the geographical features of the country.

## CONDITIONS IMPOSED BY MOUNTAINS ON WARFARE.

Mountains

By 'mountains' are meant mountainous districts in which troops cannot manœuvre in masses and where the march is restricted to few and difficult roads.

are barriers with certain points of passage only, and these difficult and open to the attacks of irregular troops.

A mountainous region as a theatre of war.

They impose caution on the attacker, and place time to the credit of the defender. Small bodies can offer a comparatively formidable resistance. They favour minor combats; each portion of the army is stronger, and on this account they are the true battle-ground of a people in arms and when it is not meant to accept a great battle.

The above are defensive advantages.

The following are offensive advantages.

They limit view, and lead to a war of small posts—the worst of all defensive ware. Although a mountainous country introduces into action a retarding principle on account of the difficulty of marching through it, of transport and supply, yet it favours the offensive, mobility being on the side of the attack, and immobility on that of the defence; and it is unfavourable to the defensive in a decisive battle, for although each portion of the army is stronger, the whole is weaker.

Should the hill posts defending defiles be so situated that they cannot be turned, and yet allow the field army to pivot on them and to change its tactics to meet advantageously those of the attack—or, in other words, if the army and the natural difficulties of the ground can make common cause, then the last-named offensive advantage ceases to exist, and the defence gains correspondingly.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that a mountainous district, both tactically and strategically, is unfavourable to a decisive defensive: mountains limit view, hamper movements, and lead to inaction and a war of cordons. Hills are not preferred for offensive battles, because of the difficulties of supporting war in them, the difficulty of routes, the uncertainty as to the enemy's plans, &c. As regards minor operations, they are an element of increased strength. They are a place of refuge for the weak; they favour the attack in a general action, except in the ease where the pivots upon which the army operates make common cause with the neighbouring country in facilitating the movements of the defensive mobile force, and in obstructing those of the attack; and are unfavourable to it in secondary combats.

The accompanying Map of Afghánistán shows what country is favourable to a war of minor operations, such as may be carried out by irregular troops officered by British officers, and what is favourable to regular troops and general engagements. The former warfare is complicated and requires, to perfect it, resource and expedient as well as extreme mobility and activity, and irregular troops badly officered would be quite incapable of carrying it on, although eminently fit for it in other ways, Hills increase the independent action of units and prevent individual control; they increase the influence of intelligence.

To defend a mountainous country and the plains covered by them it is necessary—

- to see beyond the hills, for without sight you cannot act decisively, but must grope blindly in the dark;
- to hold the mouths of the passes;
- to hold defensive posts within the hills barring the passes through them;
- to hold defensive positions in the plains to their rear to prevent all egress from them.

In hilly regions the valleys are held by armies, for they command the hills, and it is there that they must be defended.

It is an axiom that war must be preceded by preparation for war, and that no campaign can be carried on against a great military nation without strategical railways and well constituted lines of communications to supplement them.

Also:

The system of subsistence will in the first instance control the lines of operation. Eventually war will react upon the system and determine it.

(*N.B.*—Preparation for war is now causing the communications of Peshín to serve the purposes of war, and will also compel the system of supply to conform to their altered state. Such preparations are required throughout the whole Afghán theatre to utilize it for war to the best advantage).

## CONDITIONS REGULATING THE EMPLOYMENT OF FORTIFICATIONS FOR STRATEGICAL PURPOSES.

Again, as to the conditions imposed by the nature of the ground on the employment of fortifications for strategical purposes.

The first in order are posts confined to the important roads passable to all arms, for the blocking of defiles, to close their mouths, and to furnish information. And, in main support, fortified magazines and depôts, defended by a field army and having within the sphere of their actions entrenched positions suited to the numbers of the field army and prepared as battle-fields, *i.e.*, positions both naturally fit, suited to

defensive-offensive tactics, and such as shall require a force that may have passed through the zone defended by irregular troops to attack them. Such positions for depots and magazines depend on the permanent nature of the geography of the country and on cultivation.

The great centres of habitation and commerce have already determined these. They are Kábal, Ghazni, Kandahár, Farah, Herát.

These points are essential to hold for the organization of field armies, their administration and maintenance.

In conjunction with them it is necessary to hold those points on the lines, (1) Pesháwar, Kábal, Bamian, (2) Kábal, Ghazni, Kandahár, (8) Ghazni on Banú and Dera Ismail Khán, (4) Quetta, Kandahár, Farah, Herát, the occupation of which would influence their use for considerable distances, *i.e.*, the defiles on them or giving access to them, and points necessary to hold in case of a retreat.

On the map such depôts are represented by double circles and the mainlines of communications by double lines.

## AFGHÁNISTÁN CONSIDERED, AS A WHOLE, AS A THEATRE OF OPERATIONS.

Looking finally at the map of Afghánistán, treated as already described, it will be seen that the country, as a theatre of operations, affords an excellent example of an offensive-defensive one, its right and centre constituting the defensive, and the left the offensive, zone; the former zone covered by obstacles (mountains) and difficult to assail, the latter comparatively open and opposing no natural geographical features of country as obstacles to movements or difficulties of supply to the active operations of an army, that cannot be overcome by railroads.

The left zone is also favourably situated for the concentration of the forces of the empire, whether from Europe or the furthest points of India.

It is at the same time the most favourable line for the enemy to choose: it presents no physical difficulties, passes through fairly fertile districts, and from it subsidiary enterprises and surprises can be carried out.

A glance at the map will show that it is next to impossible to force the central zone, but that the northern zone is vulnerable at several important points which threaten its main line of communication within Indian limits, and which, however, as well, allow of forces from India threatening a very vulnerable part of Russian Turkistán, *i.e.*, the line Samárkand-Marjilán. The possibilities of invading India through this zone have often been too lightly put aside; its Indian base, Pesháwar, is now well situated for reinforcement by rail from both Karáchi and Calcutta and only requires to be placed in railway communication with Kábal to very effectually counteract them.

Although very difficult, yet the hill roads leading through the centre zone must be held, as by them surprise may be attempted. The chief *point d'appui*, Ghazni, requires to be connected by good roads with its points of support, Banú and Dera Ismail Khán.

Old map makers and travellers have so often exaggerated the difficulties of mountainous regions that doubtless when we come to make a better acquaintance with the Hindu Kush and its spurs we shall find their difficulties to have been over-estimated and such as will disappear rapidly before sapper and pioneer labour, even to the extent of becoming easy to mules at the rate of eight miles a day and passable to carts as leisure and opportunity offer.

*The following, too, would seem to rank as commonsense principles, viz.,—*

- to trust to those only who have shown themselves worthy of trust;
- to arm those only whom we are in a position to control to our service;
- not to treat as trusty allies those who have ever held aloof from our friendship;
- to mistrust the power of an undisciplined, half trained, Oriental militia, under its own worse trained and apathetic officers, to withstand a trained soldiery in a scientific warfare;
- to acknowledge that civilization cannot recede before a nomadic barbarism or be kept stationary by it.

To act contrary to the above sense but causes Oriental nations to become puffed up with a baseless idea of importance and strength, and would appear to be senseless; but rather is it good sense to first discipline those whom we desire to arm and trust, to obedience and into confidence, and then by judicious enrolment as mercenaries to give employment to the most restless and martial spirits, and turn their fighting power, thus controlled, to our own uses.

From the foregoing as guides, all received and well-established military and commonsense principles, it results that, to defend Afghánistán, and through it India, it is required that—

- the irregular Afghán troops, properly officered, should hold the mountainous region extending from the

line Girishk, Washir, Farah, north and north-east, to the line Maimana, Khulm, Khunduz, and Fyzábád, including posts in Afghán Turkistán fronting the Hindú Kush, *i.e.*, the defensive zone of the theatre, having as their reserve at Kábal, Ghazni and Kandahár, and the selected positions of which they are the centres, the regular British troops, ready to meet the enemy in a general engagement on his emerging from the passes;

- and that the main army of British troops should operate vigorously on the line, Quetta, Farah, Herát, in its offensive zone.

This plan of operations, for its efficient prosecution, requires railways

Railways to be constructed.

as below:—

- Peshawar to Kábal;
- the extension of the Quetta-Indus line *viâ* Nushki and south of the Halmand (through Baluch territory) to Sístán, with branch lines,
- to Kandahár and Kábal;
- Farah and Herát and a southern extension from Sístán through Bám or Bámpúr to the Persian Gulf;
- and perhaps, as well, a direct military line from Peshín to Kan-dahár.

On neither of the proposed southern extension routes to the Gulf are difficulties of country met with; many districts crossed grow abundance of wheat and barley; pasture and water are generally plentiful. Sístán itself, at the bend of the Halmand, is a mass of irrigated lands rich in grain and fodder.

The above lines are fortunately as commercially important as they are strategically necessary, the Sístán line forming an integral part of the overland railway eventually to traverse Mid-Persia and Mesopotamia—(*see further on*).

When the cost of 2,000 to 3,000 miles of strategical and commercial railways is weighed in the balance against the value of an empire, its effect on the scales is ridiculously insignificant, even when there is added to it the difficulties of acquiring the concessions necessary to construct the mileage running through Afghan territory.

The least that will suffice to meet the case is to carry the Indian trunk lines through Baluchistán and to the limits of India's borders, and to keep ready the material necessary for the Afghán branches. These measures will put us in the best possible position to aid the Afgháns to defend their own country short of actually constructing the lines themselves.

No time should be lost when constructing strategical railways in ensuring a perfect road to commence with; a line over which, in the first instance, one or two trains can be passed at a rate of 10 miles or under a day, will save both time and expense enormously, and be of infinitely greater value than one taking longer to construct and over which trains may be run at the rate of 20 to 30 miles an hour. The line being as rapidly laid as due considerations to safety of traffic will allow can be levelled up at leisure.

The line of railway necessary to the prosecution of military operations in the left or southern zone has been taken to the south of the Halmand, because to carry it along the foot of the Afghán hills would be to place it in continuous jeopardy of the tribes inhabiting them. Could these hills be dominated the better line would be *viâ* Kandahár, Farah, and Sístán.

The great auxiliary strength of strategic railways to the military power

Value of strategic railways.

of a State would seem not to have been grasped by the nation, or money would be more freely spent upon them and less freely on expensive wars leading to no results, and on pack-transport suited only to minor operations, short lines of communication and well supplied countries. In some cases the objects of a war can be peacefully gained by the construction of a railway. The question of ascendancy at Herát, for instance, has ever been one of railways rather than of men, and yet even in this, in what may be termed her own peculiar *forte*, prosperous, thickly populated and commercial India has been out-distanced by sparsely populated and bankrupt Russia. Every colony of the Empire has gone far beyond her in this matter.

Lord Strathnairn was of opinion that it was "better to have 10,000 men with perfect transport, which insures their efficiency, than double the number with imperfect transport and all the evils which follow in its train,—an embarrassed strategy, neglected sick, and an ill-supplied soldiery."

Full of wisdom as are these words, they have as yet borne no fruits in so far as the question of the great strategical lines of communication are concerned: whilst getting together a nucleus of minor transport, we have neglected major transport considerations.

A government is ill served by, and will have a just cause of complaint against its advisers, if, from short-sighted views of economy, they advocate the construction of commercial lines of minor importance in preference to the, perhaps, less immediately remunerative, but more important strategic lines, because necessary to security and the maintenance of peace and empire.

India's answer to the iron-enveloping band which is gradually tightening around her from the Caspian to the Oxus, Bukhára, and Samárkand, should be the construction of a counter parallel iron road reaching from Quetta to Sístán, and thence to Isfahán, Burujird and Mosul, with feeding lines running northwards and southwards towards Russia's bases and our own, "the sea."

Wherever we try to get at Russia's bases we are met by difficulties of long road communications, suited for pack transport only, 600 to 1,000 miles in length.

This condition of things requires to be altered, otherwise the great power of "menace" is lost, and the difficulties of the enterprise overcome, except perhaps in the minds of a determined few, all other considerations.

The strategic line advocated forms the secondary base, the breathing stage whence to strike at Russia's vulnerable points. By its aid and its southern feeders, the line being kept in Mid-Persia for both military and commercial reasons, such operations become possible and easy. Without it they are immeasurably more difficult.

To protect this line the important strategic areas are Sístán and South-West Persia, in both of which territories the influence of the naval power, backed by the resources of an empire, can be more easily and profitably employed than that of the northern land power.

The very great, nay immense, imperial importance of such a line, should overcome all difficulties, political as well as monetary and topographical, that may be met with in its inception and construction.

## CO-OPERATION OF BRITISH AND AFGHÁN FORCES.

The ruling idea upon which the above plan of campaign in Afghánistán for the defence of India is based is that the Afgháns are heartily willing that a British force should co-operate with them in the defence of their country.

That this idea is one that will stand the test of time many will gainsay: whether or not that a barbarous power professing a fanatical religion can stand between two civilizing agencies is against both the laws of humanity and the teachings of history.

Granting now that the idea is a baseless one, and that on the lifting of the curtain, or at all events before the end of the first act of the play, the nature of the farce being enacted becomes apparent; that the Afgháns, unaided by British officers and British troops, &c., lose ground without even offering a moderate resistance to a better trained foe, and it becomes clear that the British and Afghán powers cannot act together independently and yet harmoniously, it will then be necessary for the British Power to take such measures as shall enable its troops to push into the hills enveloping the right or northern and central zones of the theatre, and, so soon as material advantages are gained in the southern zone, or in the direction of, and beyond, Herát, to take the initiative beyond the Hindú Kush, or at least occupy the mouths of the passes and threaten the Turkistán base of the Russian forces in Central Asia, *i.e.*, the line Samarkand and Margilán.

No war with a sincerely friendly power is desirable; all that is insisted upon is based upon the instinct of self-preservation which is strong in us all, and amounts to this that, *nolens volens*, Afghánistán must be administered to both her own and our advantage, and that we must permanently do so, and also occupy certain military positions, even at the risk of having to use such pressure as shall force her to bow to our will and unwillingly to benefit herself.

To help the Amír the proposals made are necessary, and to help ourselves in spite of him they are necessary.

The possibility of this action becoming necessary becomes a certainty when we consider that this is that part of Afghánistán the inhabitants of which are least under the Afghán yoke, and who would be least inclined to allow to their hated masters free movement through their hills or to aid them by transport and supplies. The idea then that the Afgháns can carry on, in this hilly region, a desultory war against an invader must be set on one side. There remains but one alternative, we must do it ourselves.

At a time when many may be thinking only of the railway lines required cis-Indus and neglecting those trans-frontier, it is well to remark that the latter are most urgently required and that the former can wait; consequently, that before one rupee is spent on the cis-Indus lines, cores should be laid out on the imperial strategical lines trans-frontier, for without them the home Indian lines are worse than valueless employing labour and money that should be expended elsewhere and giving rise in the mind of the nation to a false security for which there is no guarantee beyond a vague and plausible, but erroneous idea that it ought to be the proper thing to fight nearer home. *See pages 21, 24.*

That the races of Afghán-Turkistán and Herát are more allied to the Russian subjects of Central Asia than to the Afgháns is an advantage and a disadvantage to Russia; an advantage, as it attracts them towards her, and

a disadvantage, as it repels the Afgháns south of the Hindu Kush and throws them into the arms of the power espousing the counter cause, and this notwithstanding that our help to the Amír must cause amongst the general Afghan population a hatred to ourselves who aid him to oppress them, it being the general opinion that he keeps the reins of power only by the aid of the sword (our money pays his army to wield it) and bloodshed.

The Hazáras, Shiáhs, alike hate and are hated by the Suni Afgháns and Turkománs, and must be enlisted on our side.

## GENERAL REMARKS ON OPERATIONS IN AFGHÁNISTÁN AND ITS VALUE AS A DEFENCE TO INDIA.

The extent to which operations should be pushed in the southern or offensive zone can be best determined by considering

Operations in the offensive zone.

what effect the restriction of its operations to any particular line and the loss of the corresponding amount of territory will involve.

If the loss of territory endangers the defence of the central and northern zones it also eventually enables the flank of the line of operations in the southern zone to be turned, and compels a retirement along its whole line.

Further on this question is considered in detail and the following conclusion drawn, *viz.*:—

That the greatest amount of Afghán territory that can be allowed to pass into Russia's hands without altogether endangering the defence of India is Afghán-Turkistán, to the foot of the skirts of the Hindú Kush and the Herát Province, to the foot of the skirts of the Paropamisus range.

If these considerations be correct, it results that the limits to which the operations in the southern zone should be pushed are the hill passes to the north of the Herát valley commanding the entrances into it, and that anything short of this will give up territory which will render it possible for an enemy so to threaten the line of communications in this theatre as to eventually cause a retirement out of it.

A campaign such as that described in Afghánistán is a move on the Imperial board which circumstances may force Great

Other offensive theatres possible and effective.

Britain to take. To remain motionless would be to give all the advantage of the initiative to the enemy and to become weighted with the necessity of ejecting him from territory to leave him in the possession of which would be most dangerous to, indeed finally fatal to the security of, the Empire.

It is not meant that it is the only move, but it is one of three, for either Turkey, Persia or Afghánistán is a shoal against which the Northern wave of advance may be made to break its force and waste its power. Each of these decaying powers must be placed under such relations to the British Empire that they shall produce good government, the strength that results from it, a firm ally, and an integrity of empire that cannot be called in question.

These relations can be engendered peacefully by the construction of the strategical and commercial line of railway, the general direction of which is shown in part on the accompanying map. Such a line forms, as already stated, and which a glance at the map will show, a secondary base to the sea or India as a primary base, for operations to be carried out in Afghánistán, Persia, and Turkey in Asia, and would be the civilizing influence necessary to enforce just government and the development of the latent resources and material strength of the countries through which it passes.

How this strategical line forms a secondary base for operations conducted from the Persian Gulf or Gulf of Sekunderun is not further considered here (*see page 24*).

The range of mountains covering India to the north-west, a continuation of the Himalayas, has been most aptly called by

The Hindú Kush, the natural and geographical frontier of Hindústán.

the ancients, apparently men wiser than ourselves and whose wisdom we are but beginning to fully appreciate, the Hindu Kush, *i.e.*, the defence of India.

Afghánistán has also been most justly called the outwork of India. Its occupation by a military power can be likened to nothing but the crowning of the glacis in front of the most vulnerable bastion of the fortress and the unmasking of the breaching batteries necessary to open the way into the *enceinte* of the main work. From the crowning of the glacis to the fall of the fortress is but a matter of time.

It will be said that we have found it impossible to hold Afghánistán, and that where we have failed Russia

is not likely to succeed.

In our case it must be remembered the impossibilities were visionary, of our own making, and due to want of policy, of determination, and of faith in our power.

Russia, in her case, has proved her power of overwhelming and pacifying Mahamadan peoples as difficult to rule as the Afghans, her determination to do so, and her faith in her power to do it.

After the occupation of the Herat province for the few years necessary to inaugurate government and develop communications and supplies, the provinces of Afghán-Turkeistán, kábal, and Kandahár must fall to her whenever she desires to occupy them, unless previously forestalled.

Similarly after the few years necessary to develop, in a like manner, these latter provinces, she will be in a position to invade

If lost the invasion of India becomes easy.

India with every chance of success by at least half a dozen routes connected by railway and roads with Transcaspia and Turkistán, and through them with the whole of the military power of Russia. Or, by intrigue with the Afghans, the invasion might take place in less time, but with less certainty of success. The first enveloping band connecting the Caspian with the Oxus is in progress; southern extensions will follow as they become necessary for the prosecution of military operations.

The action conceived to be required to prevent the thus gradual and systematic occupation by Russia of the outpost of India, drawn from the principles enumerated, has been sketched. Further details are given later on.

The development of the strategical railways advocated and of the resources of the country traversed by them will pave the

Its attainment easy by means of strategic railways and a settled policy.

way for the *personnel* of the army to do its work and enable it to apply its strength advantageously in whatever theatre, between the Mediterranean Sea and the borders of India, it may be called upon to act.

The unsatisfactory and chaotic state to which we have reduced Afghánistán by warring with her has been due to our want of policy. A settled policy tranquillizes and cuts short opposition, and such a high authority as Sir H. Rawlinson has stated that he was of opinion that had we governed Afghánistán since 1842 it would now be as orderly as the Panjáb and Scinde; and Lieutenant Broadfoot, after considerable intercourse with the people during and after the first Afghán war, stated it to be his opinion, slowly and deliberately formed, that a better taxation and a strong government would alter the country in a generation. It was at that time believed, throughout Afghánistán, to be written in the Heavens, that our sway was to extend from China to Damascus. The power of such a belief to influence a Mahamadan nation is, in itself, of such great importance, that to allow it to die was an error; to allow it to pass to the credit of another would be one of still greater magnitude.

The general consensus of opinion of officers engaged in the Afghán war of 1878-79-80 is identical with that given above.

This opinion is also borne out by the present condition of the Peshawar border tribes, who now, although not subject to us, find it more profitable to keep the peace than to raid.

And once order and government are established, what is to prevent her from becoming self-supporting, and an addition of power to the Empire and an increase of strength to our armies?

This question of expense would seem to be the chief objection to the Hindú Kush as the frontier of India.

If, however, it should be shown to be the natural frontier as well as the military frontier, it must eventually prove to be the least expensive, because it can be defended by the least number of men and with the greatest chances of success.

A project which when argued out promises the greatest amount of security possible with the expenditure of a moderate amount of means ceases to be ambitious or impracticable or an abstract project, or to be beyond the means of the State seeking security, and requires only for its realization a temporary application of extraordinary means to be hereafter paid back with interest.

To place the fighting strength of Afghánistán in Russia's power would be for us to lose a factor of great military capabilities and to array it against us.

None but a foreign power can weld together into a homogeneous whole and satisfactorily administer for the general good the discordant elements of which Afghanistan is composed. Should the efforts made to introduce a satisfactory rule be resented, a defeat, followed by a general disarming of the population, the deportation of hostages, and a proclamation of the assumption of rule, and the backbone of resistance will be broken. Partial risings may occur, several may die by the hands of fanatics, yet the great majority will be benefited and content, and be drawn to serve their rulers by self-interest and a strong and just government.

It must be remembered that but one-half of the five millions inhabitants of Afghánistán are Afghans; the other half are Hazáras, Aimákhs, Turkománs, Uzbaks, Kizilbásh, &c., with no love for their Afghán masters and ready to array themselves against them.

To show clearly the necessity of actively pushing operations along the

### Military importance of the Herat Province.

unobstructed, funnel-shaped country leading from India into the Herat Province, let its value to the invader be investigated.

The value of the Kábal and Kandahár Districts in immediately blocking the exits of the passes and roads leading through the right, centre, and southern zones of operations and in closing the mouths of the main passes penetrating the hills between Peshawar and Quetta and as bases for initiative action, is seen at a glance, but not so apparent in the very great importance of Herát.

The Herát District has been called the key of India because of its advantages to the invader.

These are:

Its fertility and great latent resources.

The supplies that could be drawn by an army occupying the Herát Province without overtaxing its resources when fairly developed may be thus estimated:—

This estimate is a very moderate one. From the neighbouring districts of Khorásán and Sístán could be drawn supplies, on a very moderate estimate, for 20 to 30,000 men.

All the materials (lead, iron, sulphur, saltpetre; willows and poplars—best wood for charcoal), necessary for the organization of such an army and the formation of its depots (supplies of grain, fodder, sheep, &c.; hardy and docile soldiers, can be drawn from the population, &c.) are to be found in the neighbourhood of Herát.

All the roads leading through the hilly Hazára country on Kábal, Ghazni and Kandahár, as well as the southern road on Kandahar and the northern road *viâ* Balkh on Kábal, threatening Afghánistán's main towns, are commanded by it.

Although the roads through the Hazára hills are easy as at present to infantry only and difficult to cavalry, they would not long remain impassable to guns were Herát in the hands of a military power; indeed, it is said that artillery has been taken *viâ* Obeh, Daulatyár, Besud, Gardan-i-diwár, and Bamian to Kábal, and by this road the Amír's post, escorted by cavalry, reaches Kábal from Herat in ten days.

The province of Herát, therefore, commands Afghánistán, and Afghánistán commanding all the passes leading into India, it is said that Herát (Province) is the key to India. Notwithstanding the ridicule with which this statement is often now met, the military reasons given above and political reasons not touched upon (dangers of intrigue, &c.), prove it to be no vain idea, but rather a very unpleasant truth.

Looking further afield, and considering the necessity of rendering Persia strong, its administration and occupation are necessary, to watch over her integrity and prevent Russia drawing supplies from Khorásán. It covers a railway connecting India with Mid-Persia.

The above considerations will suffice to show its imperial strategic importance. Sir H. Rawlinson has said that he would give up all Afghánistán rather than that Herát should be in the hands of Russia. Herát and Kandahár, he stated, were the Malakoff and Mamelon of India, the former of paramount importance to the latter.

To Russia and to Persia the value of Herát is clear, and to ignore it ourselves under the false idea that to acknowledge it would be to raise its importance in the eyes of others is impolitic and inadmissible, inasmuch as its value, both as a military position and political lever, is unfortunately only too well known already.

Objection to the Herát Provinces as a theatre of operations.

The objections that may be raised to the Herát Province as a theatre of war are, its distance and the expense of operating so far from India.

The latter objection has been met elsewhere. If it is the best theatre to operate in for the defence of India, it is also the cheapest.

As to the first objection, it is proposed to operate by railways connecting Sístán with Quetta, and if necessary with the Persian Gulf, running out branch lines to the northward to suit military requirements.

Railways annihilate both time and distance, and if not open to raids are the best of all lines of communications, multiplying both men and means. The railways best calculated to further operations in the Herát Province answer the requirements of good military lines of communications and serve at the same time commercial aims. Such a line, with northern branches, would tap the trade of Central Asia, draw it to Kábal and Herát, and develop thousands of square miles of fertile lands.

Again, reverting to the subject of expense, which is now-a-days the crucial

Necessity for having the most secure frontier,

test to which all projects, whether military or commercial, are subjected by us, a frontier fulfilling for the most part the military requirements of defence must be *de facto* less expensive to secure than one which fulfils them in part only and leaves a sufficient part to the enemy to enable him to vitiate the whole.

It is thus with the defence of Afghánistán,—no one of its provinces can be given up without endangering the defence of the whole.

No one ever dreamed of allowing the Kandahár Province to pass into Russian hands, and yet it is of no greater military importance than that of Herát or Kábal or even of equal importance.

Give up Afghan Turkistán and you give up the glacis of the fortress. This is the least dangerous to its security. Give up the Herát Province and the ravelin is gone; not an empty ravelin, but one stocked with supplies and with munitions of war. Nothing but a sally of the garrison to recover it can save the fortress. Give up Kábal, and the covered way of the fortress in front of its most vulnerable bastion is lost, and nothing can prevent its being crowned and the batteries opened, except, again, a sally of the garrison and the driving of the besieger to the very extreme slope of the glacis.

The difficulties and exertions attending such desperate sallies will be avoided, if, in the first instance, the glacis and ravelin be

and the one which is also the cheapest in the end.

strongly occupied and the first sallies be made from them. It should be here borne in mind that for the perfect defence of a fortress a perfect system of communications is necessary.

Examine now alternative plans of defence.

## I.—PASSIVE DEFENCE BEHIND THE INDUS.

***N.B.*—In each case that part of Afghánistán not considered to be occupied by the British is taken to belong to Russia, and when Afghánistán is mentioned, in it are included the border tribes to the Suleiman range and our border. With Afghánistán as a bulwark, India needs no defence, and it is the case in which it ceases to be such that is here considered, *i.e.*, when occupied by or is in alliance with Russia.**

In favour of the defensive being restricted to the line of the Indus, it is argued—

- —That it is the least costly.
- —That we require no vast preparation of transport.
- —That railways enable us to meet amidst our resources an enemy who has advanced a long distance from his.
- —With reference to the cost of the defence, it has been urged elsewhere that that defence which promises the greatest security is the cheapest: an empire cannot afford to gamble in cheap markets or to effect its chief insurances in an office of straw such as the Afghán nation most assuredly is: it must be its own insurer; and an active, self-reliant defence, history teaches to be the best.
- —Operating actively by means of railways, the transport difficulty is reduced to a minimum.
- —Pushing railways in the wake of the army will cause these advantages to apply equally to an active defence and indeed increases them, supplies being drawn to the iron-road from all sides and massed to the front. The case of an enemy operating through Afghánistán from its primary bases of Turkistán and the Caspian and its secondary base, the railroad from Kizil Arvat *viâ*. Merv to the Oxus, is not here considered; the only case considered is that in which Russia may have been permitted to acquire one or more of the provinces of Afghánistán and shall have been allowed to consolidate her power and to push railways through them, say to the foot of the Hindú Kush and to the vicinity of the Halmand, and to open roads over the Hindú Kush and through the Paropamisus range, the Kúh-i-Bábá and its now difficult branches of the Tir-band-i-Turkistán to the north, the Safíd Kúh in the centre, and the Síáh Kúh to the south and in such manner to have overcome all initial difficulties of food, transport and communications.

With communications so organized the invader will also operate amidst his own resources, increased by the acquisition of fertile valleys growing corn and barley, and rolling grassy downs, the home of nomad races, food producing for both man and beast, the sinews of war. On which side will the advantage then lie?

Its disadvantages are—

- the large front on which the enemy can perplex the defence; and
- that a reverse throws us back on India.

With reference to (i): doubt, perplexity and scattered forces behind a veil of mountains are on the side of the defence, and certainty of purpose, power to make feints and concentration of action on that of the attack; and as regards (ii), India as a theatre of war, General Jacob thus wrote in 1856:—"A war *within* our own territory might be ruinous to our reputation, and might entirely undermine our strength, although that strength might have sufficed successfully to meet a world in arms *beyond* our own boundary. The evils even of successful war are terrible, and such evils are undoubtedly most severely felt, are most intolerable in fact, in those countries the most accustomed to regular civilization and uniform, undeviating routine of civil administration.

"A severe struggle *within* our established and long settled limits with a powerful invader, although attended

with immediate success to us, might shake our power in India to its very foundation; might certainly for a time overturn all our civil arrangements, destroy our revenue and render it necessary to maintain large armies in the field in the interior of our dominions for a protracted period, in order to restore that internal tranquillity which might not be in *the least disturbed even by many battles fought beyond our frontier.*

Advocates of a defensive line behind the Indus trust much to the difficulties of the Suleiman range fronting the frontier from Peshawar to Dera Gházi Khán; these difficulties are confined to a narrow belt of hills, and to the west of them lie elevated valleys and plateaux affording good manoeuvring grounds, fair pasture land and fertile valleys, and they perhaps forget that war will alter the physical features of its selected theatre and suit it to its needs.

It is acknowledged to be impossible to occupy the crests of the passes. They will fall to the occupation of the enemy, who will see, without being seen, and behind an impenetrable screen make his preparations.

To imagine that a mountainous frontier can be defended by positions in rear of it alone, and to think that because you can see nothing that therefore you are not seen, are, it is maintained, thoughts equally vain and erroneous, and that to seriously entertain and act upon them would be to enact the height of folly and to display the utmost recklessness.

The reasons for this opinion, adverse to placing too much confidence in the powers of a series of fortresses to defend a frontier, are given in detail below under Case II.

Let all who think that a frontier line bristling with a double row of fortresses is impregnable read the history of the campaign of 1814, and ask themselves whether the numerous forts held by Napoleon's troops on the Rhine and the Moselle hindered the Capitulation of Paris or even delayed it, notwithstanding that they were backed by a field army of 70,000 men under the most able of commanders operating in a theatre which gave full scope to his superior military ability.

## II.—PASSIVE DEFENCE BEHIND THE SULEIMÁN RANGE WITH THE LEFT PUSHED FORWARD INTO PESHÍN.

This, as in the first case, supposes entrenched camps at Pesháwar, Thal or Banú, Dera Ismail Khán, Sukkur, &c., closing the mouths of the principal passes and covering the Indus bridges.

Can a war of cordons and posts ever be successful? As *points d'appui* in a first line to aid the initiative; as a final line behind which to gather strength and take breath previous to an onward movement; to secure depots, &c., &c., they are good. As a refuge in which the weaker foe may prolong his defence till a friend comes to his aid, they are also good; but from whence is the friend to come? Will not rather enemies spring up on all sides?

To trust to them as a first line of defence instead of the last refuge would be to waste energy and strength, and by the moral weakness of inaction to sap the spirit of the defence. Did the forts of Belgium or France or Germany ever prevent an enemy from over-running the soil they were designed to protect? The experience of the last Franco-German war Only need be borne in mind.

The enemy, making feints to pass at one or more main or secondary points, may pass at another, throw up works covering his debouch, and gather in strength until he can take the initiative, leaving behind him entrenched depôts of munitions and provisions. This he can do at not one but many points. As to entrenched camps, he is then on a par with the defender, and having inaugurated his lines of communication to the rear, he has no need to take the field until he is strong enough to do so.

With Russia, in possession of the rest of Afghánistán the advanced position in Peshín is untenable; outflanked, its communication with India can be cut far to the rear and at the outset of hostilities the force occupying it must retire out of it or shut itself up in an entrenched camp at Quetta, or Balózái, unless it accepts battle, with the alternative of facing either to its front or right flank. The shortness of the distances is such that concerted action might be expected from two forces operating from the north and west with good telegraphic intercommunication.

We cannot check the outflanking movement on Peshín and [*unclear*: Sind] by counter forward movements from our posts at Pesháwar and Bannú, &c., for we shall have relinquished to the enemy all the passes leading from them to Kabal and Ghazni, and it may be assumed that they will be held in such strength that it will be impossible to force them.

The projecting bastion of Peshín becomes the most vulnerable point of the line of defence unless it commands the hills to the north of its right flank as far as the line Kabal-Peshawar. So soon as these hills are occupied by an enemy it can be stormed at any time. They can only be commanded by occupation or by

preventing an enemy capable of offence from occupying them.

The possibility of these hills falling into the hands of Russia could never have been contemplated by General Jacob, the first proposer of the occupation of Peshín.

The Ghilzis, the chief occupants of them, number 500,000 or about on an average 40 souls per square mile; allowing that 10 years of settled rule, a re-clamation from a nomadic to an agricultural life, &c., &c. (*see page 11*), will have increased the productive power of the country 10 per cent., it will be capable of feeding within its limits an army of 50,000 men.

### **III.—PASSIVE DEFENCE BEHIND THE SULEIMAN RANGE WITH THE LEFT PUSHES FORWARD INTO PESHÍN, TOGETHER WITH THE POWER OF OCCUPYING THE KANDAHAR PROVINCE AT WILL.**

This plan of defence seems to be no better than the last, and equally if not more to be deprecated.

Between Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan the same objection applies to the defence of a frontier, passable at many points and fronted by no impassable hills, but instead offering points where troops can be cantoned, by works blocking the main outlets only.

The outflanking of the positions in Peshín and Kandahar is more pronounced than if Peshín alone were held. With the enemy at Kabal, Ghazni, and Parah, the passes between Peshawar and Dera Gliazi Khan in his hands, the entrenched camps at Peshawar, Banu, and Dera Ismail Khan, &c., must be held in force and their garrisons inactive; Kandahar must be equally held in force and troops sent to watch the roads to Ghazni and to the Halmand. Whilst troops were so locked up and drawn to the front and flank, what is to prevent the enemy from massing troops behind the Suleimán range about the Zarmelon plain and Hasain Ziárat and their movement either on Fort Munro or Thal and the railway at Gunderkinduff or Balózái, or on all three, and cutting the communications of the advanced force?

Again, it is supposed that the occupation of this flank position will be no hasty one, but that it would follow as a matter of course on the occupation of the Kábal Province, and that there will be a fortified depôt there with good communications to the rear (Ghazni); also that the passes will be held to the Indian border.

Here again the enemy's forces, although operating on widely separated lines, can act together towards the carrying out of one plan with the same ease as if on the same battle-field, so unassailable are their lines of intercommunication through the Hazara hills, Afghán-Turkistán, &c., &c., and secure the lines of telegraph uniting them.

### **IV.—A LINE OF WORKS BEHIND THE INDUS, COMBINED WITH THE OCCUPATION OF THE PROVINCES OF KÁBAL AND KANDAHÁR, AND THE PERFECTING OF COMMUNICATIONS BY ROAD AND RAILWAY WITH INDIA AND ALONG ITS FRONT.**

This position, together with the occupation of the Hindú Kush and Paropamisus with the power of taking the initiative beyond Herát and in Afghán Turkistán, is that which the train of reasoning adopted at the commencement of this paper pointed to as sufficient for the defence of India: the main defects of the former assumed cases disappear—no outflanking is possible to any great extent that cannot be met by a small force.

The entrenched camps are no longer threatened and need not be held in force, and whatever their eventual value may be, it will remain to them even although the advanced troops may be forced to retire upon them eventually.

The passes are held throughout.

The position is approximately that considered sufficient by Sir E. Hamley, who viewing the position "as an abstract military plan for the defence of India under present circumstances (1884), and supposing sufficient

additional troops to be forthcoming," advocated "a strong British Government at Kandahár, wielding an army whose advanced posts should be at Kábal and Herát, based on Karáchi, *with railway communication at least thence to Kandahár.*"

It differs from it in considering that Kábal and Ghazní with their advanced posts about khinján, Bamián, Lal, &c., must be held from pesháwar and the direct rear and not from kandahár, and that more extended railway communication is desirable within the northern and southern zones.

In this system of defence, Khinján, Bamian, and favourable points in the Besú-Hazára, Deh-i-Zangi Hazára and Deh-i-Kúndi Hazára districts are of great importance; for they are fertile districts, and the three latter are the granaries of Hazára, and abound in sheep, fodder and firewood; and transport (horses, mules and donkeys) is abundant. Communications with Kábal are, or can be, readily made passable to artillery; the country is hilly, but with wide and fertile valleys well populated and offering few difficulties to the movement of troops.

The preceding cases, I, II, III, IV, and former considerations, will have shown that, for military purposes of defence, Afghánistán is an outwork of India and must be defended by her best troops. To render the abstract military plan concrete, Afghánistán must be occupied; if not with the acquiescence of the Afgháns, then without it, for the Afghán troops are not good enough, nor can the nation be trusted not to make the best terms she can with the power assumed to be the stronger or whom she may fear most. If at their request, well; but if against it, it cannot be helped. The occupation of any one part of Afghánistán, such as the Kandahár Province, is as likely to array the nation against us as the occupation of the whole.

The means of hurling upon India masses of Asiatic cavalry under the banner of blood and rapine must be rendered impossible; the wealth of India and her coast line as well as that of the Persian Gulf are the irresistible lodestones which must draw the invader onwards; therefore, the power to threaten India must be made as difficult as possible.

To wait and watch, and to allow Russia to occupy Afghánistán in the hope that we shall then be in time to turn her out at the request of the conquered Afgháns tired of an oppressive yoke, and to trust to their sense of freedom and love of liberty as our greatest support against Russia, has been demonstrated to be a policy which would give to Russia an impregnable military position from which it would be impossible to oust her.

The arguments raised against the occupation of the Kábal Province are—

- the difficulties of supply and of transport;
- the division of command and the distance between the Pesháwar and Karáchi bases;
- the difficulty of traversing the long passes and the processional order in which they must be threaded;
- the danger of leaving unruly tribes in rear;
- that the front Kábal-Kandahár is defective, in that the communication between the chief points along it is along its front and not in the rear, and that consequently when attacked its defenders must retire by separate passes without intercommunication.
- The difficulties of transport and supply are reduced to a minimum by railways. The Kábal Province can feed, with proper arrangements for tapping its distant, as well as near, resources, from 50 to 60,000 troops. During temporary occupation of a province its supplies in the immediate vicinity of the army alone can be requisitioned; when permanent occupation and administration are intended, the whole district can be drawn upon.
- The right and centre are the defensive zones of the theatre, and cooperation with the force actively operating in the southern zone could be sufficiently carried on through the Hazára country and Indian lines of telegraph.
- The difficulty of threading a long pass is reduced to a minimum so long as it is held in the military sense. It is when it is defended by an enemy that the processional order of traversing it becomes dangerous.

When in occupation the troops can be concentrated in the open valleys and the route organized and provisioned to its extreme point; it is only when the passes are defended that concentration is prevented, and this fact points to the necessity of securing them by the occupation of Kábal and Ghazní; an argument in favour of the occupation of the province instead of against it.

- It would be more dangerous to leave the tribes to the front than to the rear. In what does their unruliness consist? In refusing to join us unless we promise to protect and take them under our rule for ever, and not to hand them over, when we have done with them, to the mercies of other masters to whom we may bequeath our rule.

Not to keep them in rear and in cheek is to give them the opportunity of harassing by flank attacks our lines of communication in the southern zone; to allow them to continue lawless and to occupy an impossible place amongst other peoples: that they can be tutored into submission and loyalty has been put forward elsewhere. Should we fail to do this, the anguish will be ours to know that what our fathers failed to do and what we neglected, will have fallen to the lot of another, not more powerful nation, but one with

greater determination to carry out her civilizing mission, and that she will be rewarded by a very material addition to her military power.

- The front Kábal-Kandahár cannot be attacked in any force except about Kábal and Kandahár. If driven from the former position and the Khyber pass be defended by field works thrown up to cover its entrance and at the most difficult points along its length, and with its outlet covered by works at Pesháwar, it should be impossible to force. And if driven from the vicinity of Kandahár the retirement would be orderly and back upon reserves. In either case it is necessary that the country should have been previously well occupied, communications opened, and our authority established. The same is the case with the Ghazni force; its retirement should be orderly and easily covered by the rear-guard; its flanks could not be assailed, and although one force cannot readily help the other, their safety is not compromised and junction is unnecessary on the west side of the Indus.

## FORCE REQUIRED TO DEFEND, OR TO DEPEND AND HOLD, AFGHÁNISTÁN.

The force required to operate in Afghánistán must be decided greatly by the resources of the country and the force that the enemy can bring into each zone:—It is to be borne in mind that to give a man 1 ½ lb. of bread daily for one year requires but one additional acre of average land to be sown with wheat. Sheep abound in various parts of the country. Russian soldiers need little beyond 1 ½ lb. of bread and 1 lb. of meat daily.

### RIGHT ZONE (*defensive*).

The main hill roads penetratsing this zone from Afghán-Turkistán, exclusive of those *viâ* Chitrál and Gilgit, are four in number; two of these verge into one at Bamian.

Supposing 7,500 troops to advance by each—a hazardous operation considering the want of intercommunication between them, and only to be attempted against an Asiatic foe—30,000 men is the greatest force of the first advance that need be met, if met in time, and but a proportion of these could come into the fighting line.

If the passes over the Hindú Kush are ill-defended and troops be allowed to debouch from them, they become open to the passage of successive bodies, and the number that may be concentrated at Kábal is determined only by what the country can support by its own resources and what the transport can bring up from the base, say:—

The first case only will be considered, for to allow 50,000 Russian troops to concentrate about Kábal is tantamount to giving them the province in perpetuity.

To meet the first case 30,000 troops will err on the side of safety, 15,000 being pushed forward to defend the passes and 15,000 held in reserve, in bodies of 5,000, in prepared positions to the rear, ready to aid any of the advanced parties compelled to retire and to block all egress.

To take the initiative 10,000 of this reserve could be pushed through the hills, should the satisfactory progress in the Southern Zone render it advisable.

With the Afgháns friendly, 10,000 of the 30,000 might be Afghán troops, the remaining 20,000 British, one-half European, one-half Indian.

With the Afgháns unwilling to allow us liberty of action, about 30,000 more British troops would be required in this zone.

Total number of British troops to operate in the Northern Zone:—

Supplies for the larger number can be drawn from the district with arrangement and the opening of the country to the rear.

In the first case 10,000 Afghán troops are considered to be available.

### CENTRAL ZONE (*defensive*).

Ghazni, an outpost to both Kábal and Kandahár, is situated in a well supplied district 90 miles from Kábal and 230 miles from Kandahár: it aids to block both the Kábal and Kandahár routes to India by taking them in flank; an easy communication by the Gomal, as yet unopened, connects it with Dera Ismail Khán, and another equally easy and, also as yet unopened, *viâ* the Tochi river, connects it with Banú; the latter is about 150 and the former about 290 miles long; another route, partially opened, leads into the Kuram Valley.

But these lines of communication are vulnerable unless Kábal and Kandahár are held; it results, therefore,

that it cannot stand alone.

Taking Ghazni as the *point d'appui* of this zone no roads penetrate it that have not been allowed for in considering the Northern Zone, or that do not come under the influence of the Southern Zone: it will suffice therefore to station there a reserve of 5,000 troops for convenience of supply and to meet surprises, and this number will suffice whether the Afgháns be with us or against us, for it can be readily reinforced from Kábal and *viâ* the Gomal and Tochi passes direct from India.

In the Northern Zone and still more so in the Central Zone the narrowness and difficulty of the roads limit the extent of the fighting front, but to no very great extent the power of concentrating troops, for bodies of 8 to 10,000 men with mule carriage could move along them 10 miles daily each day, the tail of the column closing upon and camping with its head. To prevent concentration the hill passes must be defended and their debouches occupied.

The barrier of mountains and the difficulties of roads in the Northern and Central Zones take the place of living defenders: give them up, and the only recourse is to substitute for them a barrier of men. Britain having now to take her place as a military nation, whose borders closely touch those of one of the greatest, most despotic, and most unscrupulous of powers, it becomes of paramount importance to enlist on her side all such physical difficulties of ground so that security may be obtained at the least cost of men, money, and defensive works.

## **SOUTHERN ZONE (*offensive*).**

The Kandahár Province will feed an army of 30,000 men including camp followers with its train of baggage animals, at present. It has been shown elsewhere that on a moderate estimate the Herát Province, when its resources are but fairly developed, can feed an army of 80 to 90,000 men, and that supplies can be drawn from Sístán and Khorásán for from 20,000 to 30,000 men in addition. Neglecting the latter source of supply and allowing that the Herát Province can at present feed only 45,000 men, and that food for 5,000 more can be drawn from the country between Girishk and Farah, 80,000 men including camp followers with their attendant train of baggage animals can be fed in this zone.

The number of troops that the Russians could bring into the zone of operations depends only upon the amount of transport that they have available and its nature and time.

With a completed system of railways to Askábád and the vicinity of Sarrakhs only, she could put into the field a less number than we can at present, for her treasury is poor, and she has only Turkistán and Transcaspia to draw upon for baggage animals, whilst our treasury is comparatively rich, and we can draw transport from the whole of India, coast of Arabia, &c. But she can reach the goal of Herát in less time. A railway to Sístán alone would save Herát; but unfortunately it does not exist.

Taking into consideration our greater transport capabilities, it may be assumed that we could concentrate at Farah troops in numbers equal to what Russia could concentrate at Herát, the Afgháns resisting her progress to the best of their feeble power.

To do this, our transport must be about double what the Russians have  
1st objective; Farah.

at their disposal, as we have nigh double the distance to traverse. Our forces would then be 160 miles apart, and we should have secured Farah and Sístán, an enormous advantage, and be in a position in which we could wait until the construction of the line of rails to Sístán should enable us to operate against Herát.

The Russians would be in an equally bad case and unable to advance south of Herát city, and must themselves wait the collection of supplies and the completion of railway communication with their base.

Upon the completion of the above important strategic line of communications, whatever number of men the Russians could

2nd objective; Herát.

bring into the field the resources of the British empire would have to meet. Concentration in sufficient numbers then becomes a possibility: without it, it is next to an impossibility. To hold the province of Kandahár with the Afgháns friendly would require a garrison between Kandahár and Girishk of 15,000 men, of which 5,000 could be pushed into the hills to block the hill road from Daulat-Yár: of these half might be Afghan troops. With the Afgháns against us 20,000 British troops would be required in addition to the Farah field army, a variable quantity depending upon the strength of the Russian forces invading the Herát Province.

To sum up for the defence of India, by operating actively in Afghánistán it is calculated that the following troops are required:—

With the Afgháns friendly—

Men. Northern Zone ... .. 30,000 Central Zone ... .. 5,000 southern Zone ... (number equal to what Russia can put into the field, say at present ... 45,000 To hold the Kandahár Province ... .. 15,000

95,000 Of these, the following might be Afghán troops— Northern Zone ... .. 10,000) Central Zone ... ..  
... .. Nil) Southern Zone ... .. 7,500) 17,500 leaving 40,000 regular Afghán troops to defend  
Afghán-Turkestan, &c. With the Afgháns unwilling that we should enter their country— Northern Zone ... ..  
... 60,000 Central Zone ... .. 5,000 Southern Zone ... (number equal to what Russia can put into the field,  
say at present ... 45,000 To hold the Kandahar Province ... .. 20,000 1,30,000

Or in the first case, in round numbers, 80,000 men, and in the latter 130,000 men, will be required at present to defend India—a very moderate number, considering the efficiency of the defence given, and the less number of troops that would under the then existing circumstances be required to garrison India; a number which owes its smallness to the very defensible nature of the Hindú Kush. Moderate as they are, they err on the side of safety, and show that at the most we require to defend India, if her administrative limits are stretched to their geographical and natural limits, 20,000 more British and 20,000 more Indian troops. It would seem extremely hazardous to put off the immediate recruitment of this number.

230,000 men is the total number required during peace, the reserves being stationed in Great Britain and India in numbers sufficient to meet whatever number over 45,000 Russia can put into the field in the Southern Zone.

Of the 100,000 put down as the Indian garrison, a considerable number might be kept in immediate reserve in occupation of the frontier posts of Pesháwar, Kohát, Banú, &c., and in Peshín. The flower of the armies of the Native Princes should be actively employed out of India, thus removing to a distance a possible source of embarrassment.

Supposing, as would appear to be the case, that the difficulties of the Hazára hills and the country to the north of Kábal have been very greatly exaggerated, that the passes instead of being few are numerous and easy, that supplies of grain, fodder, and firewood are fairly plentiful, the difficulties of the defence of the Kábal Province increase and a proportionately greater number of troops must be retained there, and railways must be constructed from Kábal radiating outwards to facilitate the concentration of troops to oppose advances from the directions most favourable to them.

The only thing certain about these hills is that the Safíd Kúh (snowy range) is a considerable obstacle; as for the rest of this little known country, it is certain also that it is more open, less snow blocked, more fertile, and less difficult to traverse than has hitherto been supposed.

As before stated, in each zone, the country unoccupied by British forces is supposed to be efficiently defended by Afgháns. Should this latter defence give way, it has been shown that to operate actively in the Southern Zone becomes no longer possible, the position in Peshín untenable, and the necessity to supplement the Afghán defence in the Central and Northern Zones imperative.

The possibility or the likelihood of the pure Afghán defence being efficient is so problematical that the idea becomes altogether visionary when soberly considered; consequently the restriction of operations to the Southern Zone, in case of operations becoming necessary, is so tantamount to an impossibility as to be almost unworthy of serious consideration.

In the above calculations the pure Afghán defence has been omitted, and the Afgháns are considered to be co-operating with us, under British command, to a limited degree, or to be in part hostile, and to be coerced to our will and service by British and Indian troops and levies of Hazáras, Kizilbash, Baluches, &c.

To estimate roughly the number of men required to hold a defensive line behind the Indus and the advanced bastion of Peshín, it is necessary to consider the force that can be brought against it.

This estimate is a very moderate one. Afghánistán lies between 30° and 38° 20# N. lat. and 60° 30# and 7-1° 30# E. long., and may be assumed to have an area of 500,000 square miles: giving it on an average a population of 10 souls or two families per square mile (a moderate estimate., its total population equals 5,000,000 souls, or 1,000,000 families.

It is quite possible that the average population per square mile does not fall much short, of 20, or double that assumed for the purposes of this paper.

In eastern countries, such as Persia and Afghánistán, it is no hardship for each group of five families to furnish one fighting man to serve in the so-called army; indeed, the report is that the Amír has recently called upon the Ghilzis to furnish one man per three families, and that that number will be forthcoming. It may be therefore assumed that any strong ruler possessed of the means of paying them could raise and equip in Afghánistán a very efficient army of 200,000 men of a better fighting class than the ordinary dwellers in the plains of India. In the enlistment of such levies there is great advantage. It renders more easy the subjugation and final pacification of the country without loss of manliness on the part of its inhabitants; all troublesome men try to deserve and obtain service.

Again, when we consider the numbers that would be reclaimed from a nomad to an agricultural life, under a settled rule, the produce of the country, it may be confidently assumed, could be easily improved to support an additional of five percent, to its present population within five years, and ten per cent. within ten years. This is

only an addition in the first case of one man to four families, and in the latter one man to two families—a most moderate estimate which would no doubt be more than doubled in reality. Thus, within five years, the country could, at the most moderate computation, bear the burden of supporting 250,000 Cossacks and Russians, and within ten years 500,000. The latter figures require but 500,000 additional acres or 100 square miles, 1/5000th of its area, of average land to be sown with wheat. In our Indus Frontier plains (Banú district), the cultivation doubled itself in the first 30 years after settlement.

These figures then give that the country could now support an army of 190,000 men, and that within ten years 500,000 men additional might be stationed in it without looking beyond its borders for food; and that Afghánistán can be drawn upon for an army of 200,000 men (of whom half only need be Afgháns) without causing any stoppage to trade or agriculture, or giving anything but intense satisfaction to the country, if the men drawn for military service are properly paid. Allowing two-thirds of the additional population fed to be soldiers, the army that might be raised and concentrated within ten years and fed in Afghánistán for operations in India may be reckoned to be:—

It is left for others to say whether India could be defended with any less number, considering that they would overlook her borders and occupy the passes up to the very works blocking them on the further side.

The success of the defence must ever depend on the proportion that exists between the means and forces at its disposal and the ability with which they are employed, to the means, forces, and ability of the attack.

The troubles that must necessarily arise in India from a Russian occupation of Afghán-Turkistán is not considered, although the dangers arising from it will be great and costly to counteract; the requirements of a military frontier alone, giving the greatest security, have been sought. The political question, too, is left untouched, as it would be presumptuous to discuss it offhand, and quite needless to do so; for when military considerations are of paramount importance, diplomacy must play a helping part and work only to the attainment of the military aim, or its end must be ruin.

The disadvantages of the line of the Hindú Kush as the defence of India are said to be—

- its extent;
- its distance from India.

(i) The extent of frontier to be defended between Faizábád and Herát is roughly 600 miles. The frontier from Pesháwar to the Khojak is roughly the same. But, in the former case, the real fighting front extends from the neighbourhood of Kábal to that of Kandahár, a distance of about 350 miles, the greater part of which is covered by hills, the main passes through which it is only necessary to hold; and, in the latter, the whole 600 miles of frontier line must be held, because of its vulnerability.

The essential differences between the defence of the one and the other are that in the former case the defence is conducted from the proper side of the passes and not the wrong, that the hills are deep and penetrated by a few and difficult roads for three months closed by snow, all of which lead into the Kábal valley, where their outlets can be blocked by one field army and a very economical expenditure of force.

In the latter case the defence is conducted from the wrong side of the passes (see *ante*); the barrier of hills is passable at many points each one of which can be securely blocked by the expenditure of troops used uneconomically only and behind the narrow rugged screen of which many elevated plateaux and valleys exist which are favourable to the movement of troops and their concentration, after due preparation of roads and depôts.

(ii) The distance of Kábal from India, about which place only would troops be concentrated, is 175 miles. The line of the Khyber offers no difficulties to the laying of a line of rails along it. Nor do the Gomal and Tochi passes in all likelihood. Bamian is distant from it 107 miles and Ghazni 90 miles. Holding these three points in force with posts pushed out along the roads already referred to, *i.e.*, to Khinjan and into the Besúd, Deh-i-Zangi, and Deh-i-Kundi, Hazára district, the defence of the Northern Zone, that is the defence of the whole line of the Hindú Kush and its western spurs, is assured. The troops required have already been calculated at 30 to 60,000; in the former case acting with the Afgháns, in the latter in opposition to their wishes.

There is ever a great fascination in the "idea" of fighting nearer home, but unfortunately the above study proves the idea to be a very baseless vision, extremely dangerous to entertain and to act upon which would be to court disaster; indeed, its fascination vanishes when its dangerous tendency is shown.

## THE INDUS AS A FRONTIER LINE.

Streams generally are less valuable as a defence than mountains, as they fall by one defeat and allow of no after defence, as in the case of mountains; all direct defence of rivers resolves itself into a defence by posts, the most dangerous of all defence and least to be trusted to. An indirect defence can never stand before "superior numbers" which must eventually make themselves felt, and it has been demonstrated that these numbers may be swelled to 700,000 men after ten years of peaceful occupation of Afghánistán.

## SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS ARRIVED AT.

(i) Afghánistán (including in this term the border tribes), as she at present exists, is a perfect defence to India.

(ii) In contact with Russia, or if permeated by Russian influence, Afghánistán is no longer a defence, but a danger to India. The Hazáras would prefer a Russian rule to an Afghán domination, and so would all other tribes alien to the Afghán race. All the hill passes into the Kandahár and Kábal districts would then pass into Russia's hands, and, with them, the possibility of successfully invading those Provinces—a possibility at all hazards to be prevented.

(iii) But, inasmuch as the existence of Afghánistán, as a nation, is impossible between two civilized powers, and the British and Russian boundaries must touch eventually—in ease of a division of it with Russia, what is the very utmost that can be relinquished to her, provided we are not bold enough to strike for the whole?

The answer to this question has been shown to be that:—

The Hindú Kush must be secured to India with its western spurs and its northern and western skirts including those of the Paropamisus; the Herát Province intact, if possible, and if not possible its districts of Sabzawár and Farah at least. The possession of these southern districts secures Sístán, prevents any further southern expansion, and they form a *point d'appui* for the offensive towards the north and a watch tower whence to guard the integrity of Persia. They take in Hanks any movement, from Herát through the Hazára Hills, although not completely preventing such a movement. If the walls of Herát were razed the security of the position would be enhanced greatly, if it be impossible for us to occupy it ourselves:

(v) With any other portion, or portions of Afghánistán in Russia's hands, the defence of India is endangered more or less; the danger in each case has been considered.

(vi) With the Hindú Kush as a frontier the fighting front is contracted from 600 to 350 miles and the immediate security of the Indian empire is ensured by a garrison (inclusive of India) of 230,000 men. The reserves to this force, to be stationed in Great Britain, must depend upon the forces of Russia capable of being brought to operate on the line Herát-Kandahár.

With the Indus as a frontier or the skirts of the Suleimán range, India must keep up a garrison capable of counteracting a power that can put into Afghánistán and feed there an army of about 700,000 men, should she desire to do so.

(vii) Finally that, with the acquisition of Afghánistán, Russia will have cracked the Eastern nut, and it will be in her power to break it into pieces and appropriate its contents whenever it may suit her to do so.

\* \* \* \* \*

## IMPORTANCE OF THE AFGHAN QUESTION TO THE AUSTRALASIAN STATES.

The acquisition of Afghánistán by Russia would leave her paramount in the East, and enable her to absorb at will, without much reference to the power holding India, Baluchistán, Persia, and Turkey in Asia, and be the first step towards establishing her as an Eastern naval power, the magnitude of whose dominion would render India an easy prey.

The Australasian States form an European Power, with, as yet, undeveloped resources, set in the East, and from their geographical position it results that their interests are more or less bound up with the Eastern Powers of China, India, Persia, &c. The defence of Afghánistán is therefore clothed with an imperial importance of the greatest interest to the Australasian States, and its acquisition by Russia would at once compel them to prepare to resist a growing power formerly only of interest to them by reason of her far distant possessions and constant southern expansion in the north Pacific Ocean. Too little thought is given by the Australian Governments to the Eastern menace; it would be well for them to put forth their utmost strength to aid in setting it at rest once and for all, and this can be done, not by half measures, sufficient only to postpone the evil during this generation, but by measures calculated to destroy it effectually.

Both the defensive and offensive power of these States have been greatly exaggerated of late by the newspapers. These statements deceive none except perhaps our very gullible selves. The difficulties of the defence of a continent, populated to any extent at a few points along its coast only, are very great, and is as likely to collapse under a severe strain as the thin crust of an empty shell, when great pressure is brought to bear upon it.

Consider for an instant the position of a strong and inimical power in the Persian Gulf, the navigation of which is safe at all seasons and with a temperature not ill-adapted to Europeans. Two rivers, navigable or capable of being easily rendered navigable, the Tigris and Euphrates, give access to the interior of Asiatic Turkey and Russian Caucasian resources; the Kárún is navigable to Shústár, and affords an easy road into Persia; and by, these rivers would the corn, barley, wool, &c., of vast agricultural and grazing districts be placed at the disposal of its possessor.

The mouths of the Kárún and Shatt-ál-Aráb are suitable to the establishments of arsenals and dockyards. The Gulf abounds in islands also suitable for their construction. Both shores of the Gulf are far from wanting in supplies of grain and transport, and within 100 miles inland are hilly regions suited to the cantonment of armies.

The mouth of this inland lake is but 40 miles broad at the Straits of Ormuz; and with the island of Kishm fortified and protected by a fleet of ironclads and torpedo boats—a second Sebastopol,—it would be difficult to force and be a nursery ground for predatory expeditions.

It becomes therefore of the greatest importance to our Australian Colonies to secure the impossibility of such a state of things, so counter to their interests, ever maturing to accomplishment.

How this can be done so far as Afghánistán is concerned, this paper has endeavoured to show.

The parts that other Eastern Powers can be made to play will be considered hereafter, if thought necessary and desirable. It is held, however, that no defence is of equal value to the direct defence, considered in this paper, based on India and the Persian Gulf, south of Sístán, because it depends for its success on ourselves and the application of means within our power, and can be secured against all interference and flank attacks by means within the sphere of our legitimate action but best not made too public.

MARK S. Bell.

*15th May 1885.*

*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

## **Trans-Frontier Railway Lines.**

The lines Quetta—Sístán and Sístán the Persian Gulf, suffice to meet the present emergency and to secure the immediate safety of India. Any line stopping short of Sístán will fail to do this as it will leave a means to the enemy of turning our system of defence.

To meet coming events, whose shadows loom darkly across Persia and Turkey-in-Asia, this eastern or Baluchistan section must be supplemented by a Persian section and a Turkish section. Inasmuch as these sections and their component parts must be gradually carried out and vary in importance and in urgency, the order in which it is conceived that they are required is given below—

### ***1st or Turkish Section of Thorough route.***

To Aleppo from either Alexandretta, Suedia or Tripoli and thence *viâ* Birejik, Urfa, Mardin, Nisibin to Mozul and the foot of the pass selected for the passage of the hills to Karmanshah, with a branch line, from near this point, to Baghdad. This line will enable the Indian force from Baghdad to co-operate with the Turks, *viâ* Mozul on Van and towards Tabriz and Bitlis and to block all the roads from Kars and Erivan on Mozul; to take in flank any movement from Erivan towards Tehran and to co-operate with the Home Army at Mozul.

*2nd Turkish Section.*—From Samsoun, *viâ* Tocat, Sivas, Kharpout, Diarbekir to Mardin with easterly branches to Ertzrum from Sivas and to Van from Kharpout. In the first instance good roads might take the place of these branch lines.

Of the lines from Mardin that to Samsoun is of greater strategic importance than that to Aleppo, but the latter passes through an easier country and will be more rapidly constructed.

The line Samsoun, Sivas, Kharpout will enable the Home army to operate towards Ertzrum and Van. The same army would also operate on the line Trebizond, Baibourt, Ertzrum.

The above lines secure that we shall be in a good position to help the Turks and ourselves.

The junction of the lines from Mozul and Baghdad, at the most convenient and defensible position on the western side of the pass leading to Karmanshah, will place the Indian army in a position to move on the line Karmanshah, Hamadan, Rasht.

This, the *3rd Section* or Western Persian Section, *viâ* Karmanshah and Burujird to Isfahan is of next

importance, to facilitate the movements of the force acting through Persia and to aid the Persians about Tabriz or Tehran or Astrabad.

The 4th or Eastern Persian Section from Isfahan to Sistán is of the least strategic importance and can be constructed last.

With reference to the Turkish sections no new propositions are made—

*Section I*, is the commercial line proposed by Sir M. Stephenson, extended so as to readily allow of it being carried on to Baghdad and Karmanshah.

*Section II*, from Sivas to Mardin is the commercial line proposed both by the Stafford House Committee and Sir M. Stephenson.

*Section III*, is the line now put forward as necessary to supplement the above, and to enable us to help the Persians and ourselves.

*Section IV*, is necessary as a completing link. With these lines opened to traffic, as a natural consequence, the navigation of the rivers Euphrates, Tigris and Karun, and the construction of roads will follow to suit the demands of increased commerce.

Hitherto many of our strategists have looked upon these lines only as a speedy means of conveying troops to India and the majority of our merchants have regarded them merely as a through route for goods. These are the very least uses to which they could be put.

Their best use will be in developing local traffic, good government, and in forming contented peoples and therefore strong nations; their greatest value lies in their political and strategical importance. As a means enabling Turkey and Persia to withstand the encroachments of Russia they are most necessary, as a means to enable us to help them to do so and to co-operate with them in so doing and to insure the safety of our empire they are altogether indispensable and if the British nation has to raise an income tax of one penny in the pound for the few years required to develop traffic on the lines enumerated, to properly secure her Empire, the insurance may be considered to be a most moderate one and one in which, no doubt, the whole of the eastern portion of the Empire from Egypt to Hongkong and Australia, would be glad to join, did they understand the imperial, as against the Great Britain, or purely Indian and commercial sides of the question.

When traffic is developed, a most certain result, the capital invested in the defence of the Empire will have, therefore, a remunerative, as well as a political and philanthropic result and a fund be raised whereby preparation for defence will have been made to pay for itself and for any war that may arise and imperil imperial interests and unity.

M. S. B.

## **Sketch Map showing the Principal Lines of Communication from Persia, Trans-Caspia and Russian Turkistan on Afghanistan and India, Together with the Primary and Secondary Bases of Operations with Reference to them.**

### **Want of Confidence.**

*Speeches delivered by the Hon. Mr. Stout and Mr. Smith, M.H.R., in the House of Representatives, August 28, 1885.*

Mr. Stout.—After the long speech which the honourable gentleman has delivered I am reminded of the old aphorism, "Bitter are the words of a disappointed man." Every word of the honourable gentleman's speech reminds me of that aphorism. This is the great speech the honourable gentleman has been preparing for the last ten or twelve days, and which he has been so anxious to fire off; this the great speech which he has been so desirous of delivering, but which he has not been able to deliver, because he could not get a majority to back him up. But at last he has fired it off; and what does it amount to? He has made a strong personal attack upon myself, to which I shall refer presently. Listening to him to-night, one would be led to imagine he had been a strong supporter of the Government; but I would ask, when did he become that? I cannot forget what took place last year. He talked about supporting a Government which brought down a land-tax. What did the Government

do last year? They brought down a Speech from the Governor saying they were pledged to a moderate land-tax and to certain proposals in regard to local government. Did we get the assistance of the honourable gentleman in carrying out that policy? No. This gentleman, who was pledged to support a land-tax, voted against us. What happened then? Another Government was formed; and what were they pledged to? To a property-tax; and, when a want-of-confidence motion came on, how did the honourable gentleman vote? He voted for the Government which was pledged to support a property-tax. It is all "buncombe" for a man to stand up and say he is in favour of a land-tax when he acts in that way. I will give the House a portion of the history of this gentleman as a politician, and show what principles he entertains with regard to a land-tax and all those other things which he is going down to posterity as having fought for. I am going to show what his views are with regard to a land-tax; and I can only say that if this notion of a land-tax is ever to be given effect to I hope this colony will long be preserved from such a tax. We have heard a great flourish about the principles which he has advocated in the past; but I will give honourable members some idea of the honourable gentleman's political career. Some honourable members know that years ago there was a quarrel on the East Coast with respect to the Native Agent, Sir Donald McLean. This honourable gentleman at that time could hold no position in Hawke's Bay but for the support which he got from Sir Donald McLean, whose bidding he had to do, and who was the person who kept him in his political position. I am not making this statement on my own account, but on the authority of Sir Edward Stafford. What happened? Sir Edward Stafford got rid of Sir Donald McLean, and in 1869 the honourable member for Napier came down to the House; and one of the first things he did, as honourable gentlemen can see by turning to *Hansard* of the year—

Major Atkinson.—That was not the first time he was in the House. He was in it long before that.

Mr. Stout.—I do not say he was not. The honourable gentleman is not going to put me off by these interruptions. Now, what was the most important thing to consider in 1869? Was it a land-tax, or anything affecting the welfare of the people of the colony at large? No; it was the question of the removal of the Native Agent for the East Coast; and Sir Edward Stafford, in a speech to his constituents after the session, told them how it was that he was appointed, and why it was that the honourable member for Napier left the Stafford Government. Was it any question of political importance? Not at all. He deserted that Government simply because of the disappointment he felt in regard to the Native Agency on the East Coast. What, then, becomes of the honourable gentleman's political principles? Let me take one of those political principles for which he says he fights. Take the property-tax. He opposes that tax, and is in favour of a land-tax. And yet, when I hear him say that, I think my ears must be deceiving me; for he voted for the second reading of the Property Assessment Bill, and supported the Government who brought it in. When did he support a land-tax, and what is the land-tax he supports? I will tell the House the kind of land-tax which alone would meet his wishes. What he wishes is that there shall be no direct taxation by the State at all except in the form of an income-tax. What he wishes is that there shall be Road Boards. He does not want counties—they are too large for him; and he is the gentleman who first got the suspension of the Counties Act, and would not allow it to be put into operation. But what sort of local body does he want? "Local government, local government, local government," is in every speech he has delivered since he has been elected to the House but I appeal to any honourable gentleman to say whether he knows what the honourable member means by local government. There is not one who can say. He has never gone into any details or given us any definition of his idea of local government. But I will tell you what he means by local government and a land-tax. He wishes that there should be small Road Boards, and that each of those bodies should have the sole power of imposing a tax on the land. What happens then? The honourable gentleman represents the large property-holders in Hawke's Bay, of whom he is one, and he wants these local bodies to have the sole control of the land-tax, so that there shall be no roads made through the district. In fact, these people say, in reality, that they do not want any land-tax. Thus the large property-holders will escape any taxation; because there will then be no property-tax in Hawke's Bay. That is what the honourable gentleman is aiming at. He does not want a land-tax which will go to the Colonial Treasury. He would not have it if it were proposed to-morrow, as he showed by opposing the proposition which we brought down in the Governor's Speech last year. No; what he wants is that the large landowners in Hawke's Bay shall be able to put on a land-tax—which means that they would have none, and the result would be that they would escape taxation altogether. He also told us why he left us, and, in doing so, referred to the caucus which was held. I am sorry that his memory is so defective. I appeal to those who were present at the caucus, whether they be our supporters or not, to say whether the honourable gentleman has stated the truth in regard to what took place. At that meeting I stated that there were three courses open to the Government, and one of those was that we should resign; and he was one of those who forced us to retain our position here. Was it our determination alone? He was one of those members who asked us not to resign; and he now twits us with sticking to office. I ask this House, is that honest? Is it fair? But I will tell the House why it is he is so opposed to us now. It is not the land-tax, it is not the property-tax, it is not local government; but towards the end of the speech the honourable member could not keep it down longer within his breast: the truth, after all, had to come out. It is the Native

Land Bill. That is the secret of the honourable gentleman's opposition. Our Native Land Bill puts an end to Native land rings; it puts an end to speculation in Native land; it will not allow men to get land by grog; it will not allow men to take land from the hands of infants; and it prevents large blocks passing into the hands of two or three men. The honourable member knows that; and that is the reason why he opposes us. His whole opposition rests on this Native Land Bill. As to his proposal in regard to Native lands, I say a more inhuman, unjust, and unrighteous proposal was never made to civilized men. What is his proposal? He proposes to take the whole of the land from the Maoris—he proposes to take it whether the Maoris will or not; and what are they to get in exchange for their land? Just what we choose to give them. There is to be no arbitration or impartial judge to say what is the price of the land; but we are to give the Natives just what we choose. That is the honourable gentleman's *beau ideal* of a Maori Land Bill. And now let me refer to one of the honourable gentleman's leading principles—to the flag under which the honourable gentleman fought in one of the constituencies of Hawke's Bay. He went to the hustings, and he did not get returned, because this was the banner under which he fought. He desired all the pastoral lands to be sold. He would lease the railways. His monstrous proposal was that every acre of Crown land was to be sold for what it would fetch. That was his idea of dealing with the waste lands. That was the principle for which he fought. He wishes the Maori lands now to pass into the hands of large property-holders—Maori lands comprising thousands and thousands and thousands of acres. He wishes also to do the same in respect to the waste lands. He would sell every acre of them. These are his political principles; and is it to be wondered at,—when one knows the honourable gentleman's past history, and the principles on which he fought,—that even some honourable members, though anxious to eject us from office, anxious for a change of administration, when they came to think of his administration, could not stomach him carrying the banner of what he calls his principles of liberalism and land-tax? Now, as to local government. I have mentioned it before, and I ask this House to think of this: that, though the honourable gentleman has talked in every speech he has made about local government, he does not tell us what he means by it. He does not approve of counties. He thinks that the Hospitals and Charitable Aid Bill introduced might be of advantage; but, because the honourable member for Waipawa was able to get a separate hospital district for Waipawa, the honourable member begins to taunt him, and calls him a minnow, and speaks of him in a disparaging way. He says our Bill has been altered and is of no use. The Bill provides for rating large properties; it provides for those who have wealth paying some-thing for the poor, the sick, and the needy. The honourable gentleman does not want that. His *beau ideal* of a land-tax is something very different from that. So far as our

Charitable Aid Bill is concerned, I say it is an honest attempt to deal with the subject. I do not say that the Bill is perfect. I wonder it came out of Committee so perfect as it did. It is an attempt to carry out a proposal begun in 1879. If we are able to carry some Bill dealing with a question which all Ministries have previously failed to settle, I say we are entitled to some thanks. The honourable gentleman says that our legislation of last session was not beneficial, and he adds some sneering remarks about the Sinking Fund. He apparently thinks that what we did with regard to the Sinking Fund was a wrong thing to do; but he forgets what he said last year. That was a thing which he most cordially supported. Read his speech on the financial proposals of last year. He did not object to the property-tax being reduced, or the Sinking Fund being taken to aid taxation. What does his speech to-night mean? It is simply an address to those who do not know him in the Middle Island to welcome him as the new leader of some great Liberal party. Let me go further. He next says he is opposed to the District Railways Bill because that would be adding taxation on the colony. Where is the increased taxation? Our proposal is that, instead of paying 2 per cent, on what we are now paying on, we shall pay 2 per cent, not on the cost of construction but only on the sum we agree to pay for them. We have only to pay 2 per cent, on what we get the railway made for. There is a gain to the colony. Might I ask, who was to blame that we had district railways at all? Has the honourable member forgotten that he was Minister for Public Works? Did he not introduce the District Railways Bill? Of whom was it in aid? I suppose it was for the big companies and land rings. It was for them he introduced it. He saddled the country with this 2-per-cent. taxation. In our proposals we attempt to lighten the taxation. I would like to know how we are playing into the hands of companies and land rings. We are trying to mend and get rid of a piece of mischievous legislation, of which the honourable gentleman himself was the author. The next thing he referred to was our tariff proposals. One would have imagined that he would have given the Government notice that he would oppose those proposals. He did not do so. Why did he not do so? What objection had he to the tariff? From his speech to-night he would seem to be a Protectionist, and not a Free-trader. Why, then, did he vote against the tariff proposals? He gave no reason. As to Free-traders being opposed to the proposals, one can understand their position. One who is a Free-trader will oppose all taxation through the Customhouse and on every occasion. But a person who is a Protectionist and opposes our tariff—what excuse can he give for his action? Let me say this further, in reference to this question of railway management: One would imagine that there were no complaints against railway management at the time the honourable gentleman was Minister for Public Works. I remember being one of the deputation to wait

upon the honourable gentleman in reference to this subject; and I think, if honourable members will look back to that time, they will say that the railways were badly managed compared with what they are now. What is the proof of the good management of the railways in our time compared with the previous management? Why, Sir, though the staples of our country have de-created in value, though trade has been depressed, though we have been obliged to reduce rates because of this depression, what has happened? We have, by our careful management—not by an increase in business, because business if anything has decreased in some respects—by our careful management we have been able to get this year 10s. per cent, on the cost of construction mere than was got last year. I do not know that anything can be a better test than that of careful management. Of course people will complain: people will object to rates here and object to rates there. If the colony were to reduce the rates, as the honourable member thinks should be done, instead of the railways paying 3 per cent, they would not pay 1 per cent. We have to look to the railway rates of the whole colony. If we reduced the rates for one district we should have to tax others for it. I go further, and say, as to many of our charges for freightage, if you compare them with the rates in England you will see that they are as low here, and some lower, and none of them, I believe, so excessive as in some parts of England. Our railway rates are not too high. You cannot get rid of complaints of railway management. If you read those papers dealing with railway management in England, you will see more complaints of railway management there than you will find here. The honourable gentleman's remedy is to lease the railways. Of course that would not be legislation in favour of big companies! This Parliament is to have no voice in their management. The people are to have no voice in their management. Our railways are to be handed over to a huge monopoly—one company. Let me point out these two things in reference to how we proceed with our legislation. I have said on more than one occasion that I do not believe in revolution. The honourable member believes in revolution. He would create a revolution in order to get the Native lands. He was one who aided in getting a revolution in 1875—the abolition of the provinces. I say that no country can go on with revolutions. Does he ask us for a revolution in regard to local government? I say that true reform will have to go step by step, and little by little. That is the only way to get local government. The honourable gentleman has a sneer at our measures. Let him produce his measures. He comes here as a statesman, a politician, and a legislator. Why should he not have the courage of his opinions, like the honourable member for Auckland East, for example? Let him bring down his Local Government Bill, and let us discuss it. I am sure that every member of the House would be glad to see him introduce his Bill. But, in fact, he has got no Bill. How have we proceeded? We recognize that everything should be reformed by degrees: that is how we should proceed. In regard to the Counties Bill, seeing the large number of measures coming before Parliament this session, and that it was impossible for the whole subject to get proper attention, we introduced a small amending Bill. That Bill contained some important principles. One principle was that of locating local rates. It secures separate rates for the separate localities, and gives a popular representation to the County Councils. It was on lines like these that our local government was to be improved. We introduced the consolidated Municipal Corporations Bill, which laid down lines in regard to ward rating, and gave greater power to localities in every respect; and we said, "If we get these Bills through we shall have taken, at all events, one step in advance in local government." We have to remember this: that the finance of the local bodies was in a terrible state. The honourable member for Napier last year denounced—and I suppose he does this year too—the Roads and Bridges Construction Act, and demanded its repeal. Well, we wish to repeal it. But we knew that the local bodies had not sufficient rating-power, and that, even if they had, it would press too hardly on the out-districts to raise by rates all the money necessary for the purposes of local government and the making of roads. What, then, were we to do? To adopt the honourable member's notion of giving a land-tax to small local bodies? Utterly absurd and ridiculous, and never to be carried out. We had to do this: We had to give aid from the general finance, just the same as was given before. That was the only course open to us; because to put on local rates sufficient for the purpose would be ruinous to the small farmers in those out-districts, and would have the effect of crushing settlement in the outlying districts. The only course that could be taken we took, and our Local Government Bill, together with our Hospitals Bill, is an important step in the improvement of local self-government. And I challenge those honourable members who are always talking about local government. Let them produce their Bills. Let us see if they are practicable, if they are workable, if they are possible. Let us see how they deal with local government. Now let me see how we have approached the redeeming of our pledge about taxation. We have on the Paper here the Property Assessment Bill. It does not go to the length of a land-tax, but it makes an enormous advance towards one. How does it proceed? Sir, what is the difference between a land-tax and the property-tax? The property-tax taxes industry; it taxes improvements; it taxes machinery; it taxes savings. How does our Bill proceed? We knew we could not get the House or the country to assent to a land-tax; and I say that if he cannot get the House and the country to assent to his views, if he cannot get the whole reform he desires, he is no statesman and no reformer who will say he will make no reform at all. How have all the great reforms of the world been carried? They have not been carried by revolutions, but by piecemeal legislation and by gradual advance. How do we proceed to deal

with this question of land-tax? By the Property Assessment Bill now on the Paper we practically exempt all the improvements of the small farmer from taxation; we also exempt from taxation all the improvements of the small manufacturer; and I say that if we can get the House to assent to these two principles we shall have made an enormous advance towards getting a proper land-tax and a proper system by which every man in the colony will contribute fairly to the taxation.

Mr. Fisher.—Tax the savings of every man who insures.

Mr. Stout.—"Tax the savings of every man who insures!" The honourable member, like myself, is a director of a life-assurance association; and, like honourable members who have a specialty, he can only look at this one subject from this one point of view. Sir, tax savings! We find some insurance companies having hundreds of thousands of pounds invested on mortgage. Why should those investments escape taxation when we tax the thousand pounds of the widow, which is invested on mortgage? Is that fair? If we are not to tax savings let us exempt all mortgages from taxation. Why should men whose lives are insured for from £1,000 to £10,000 escape taxation on their savings so invested while the man who lends all his small savings on mortgage is taxed? Why should the capital of Australian companies, which introduce hundreds of thousands to invest on mortgage in this colony, escape taxation because it is held by a life-insurance office? I think the thing is utterly ridiculous. If the country is to exempt savings from taxation let us exempt them all. But I am not going to be driven away from the subject of a land-tax by a reference to the question of taxing life-insurance companies. That question can be discussed in due time, when I can revert to it. Sir, our Property Assessment Bill is not a land-tax pure and simple, but it is a great advance towards it; and I tell the House that when the division on that Bill takes place the honourable member for Napier will be found voting against it. He is not sincere on this question of a general land-tax for the benefit of the colony. How can he be—he who opposed our land-tax in 1878 and voted for the property-tax in 1879? What caused his sudden conversion? Sir, he looks on all legislation, not from the insurance-company directors' point of view, when it is proposed to tax savings, but from the point of view of the large property-holder. That is how he views every Bill coming into the House. Now let me say one word more. The honourable member seems vexed that he has not been chosen as the leader of the attack on the Government; he is bitterly disappointed that he could not get a following. I will tell him how he can get a following. It is by showing more sympathy for the people; by showing that his political principles have no personal bearing and no district bearing, but that they have a colonial bearing—nay, I will go higher, and say a humanitarian bearing. If he follows principles like these and is consistent I think he will be able to get that support in this House which is at present denied to him. Now let me say a word about the North Island Trunk Railway, about which we have heard a great deal. But, before I go to that, I will just say one word as to the reference that has been made to the evidence given before the Native Affairs Committee. We are not at present in a position to discuss that evidence; and I regret that, because the honourable member for Napier happens to be a member of that Committee, and has led this House to believe that Wahanui is opposed to any land being given for settlement along the line of the railway. I am informed that Wahanui has said that if the Natives are treated justly—treated as Europeans—and why should they not be?—land will be opened up for settlement. We have on our Statute Book "The Native Rights Act, 1865," a measure in which it is declared that they shall be treated like Europeans; and why should they not be? I am informed that Wahanui has said that if the Natives are treated justly land will be opened for sale and lease to Europeans along the line of railway, and settlement will be promoted. The honourable member for Napier says we have done nothing to provide for getting land for settlement along that line of railway; and I say that statement is utterly devoid of truth. What has happened since we have been in office? What could be done in nine months in dealing with Native land? I will tell the House what we have done. Out of four and a half million acres, tied up by the Act of last year, one large chief, Kemp, has applied to have one million acres surveyed for the purpose of having it passed through the Court. Instructions have been given at his request to have that land surveyed, so that the owners may be ascertained and land provided for settlement. I will go further, and say that if we had not been in office that offer would not have been made up to the present time. Then we have the Maungatautari Block: when we took office not a signature had been obtained to the cession of that block to the Crown, and now we have seven-eighths of that block, equal to 63,000 acres. That area along the line of railway is now in the possession of the Crown, and will be opened for settlement. What right, therefore, has the honourable member to say that nothing has been done towards getting land for settlement along the line of the North Island Trunk Railway? Now, let me say this further on that subject. The honourable member led the House to believe that, when the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan Act was passed in 1882, a distinct pledge was made that the loan should not be raised until land had been acquired from the Natives—apparently gratuitously—for settlement. That is not correct! I can appeal to two things to show that that is not correct. Let me take the preamble of the Act itself, which reads,—

"Whereas it is expedient that the construction of the Main Trunk Railway of the North Island should be proceeded with as soon as circumstances will permit: And whereas the obstacles in the way of carrying on the

extension from Awamutu may be shortly removed, and it is expedient that money as required should be available for such construction."

Now, it was not obstacles to settlement, but to the actual making of the line itself, that existed when that Act was passed, and which are referred to in that preamble. But I have something stronger and better than that. Let me take what was said in the House on the subject by the then Government. On the motion for the committal of the Bill the honourable member for Akaroa wanted to know what was the actual position of the matter, and he asked what the intention of the Government was in reference to this Bill. And I ask, was there any pledge that half a million acres were to be acquired for settlement before the line was begun? Not at all. Mr. Walter Johnston, the then Minister for Public Works, said, in reply to the honourable member for Akaroa,—

"Up to the present time the Government have made no arrangements with the Natives for the prosecution of the line in any direction; but the Government naturally hope that if this House sets on one side a large sum of money for the purpose of making a line through Native lands, which will enhance very much the value of Native property, even supposing the Natives do not consent to grant considerable areas in consideration of that line, that in itself will be a very great inducement to them to allow the railway to be made there."

There was no pledge whatever that the Natives would even be asked to grant areas or were expected to grant areas for nothing. Mr. Johnston hoped that the Natives, seeing that the line would give more value to their land, would allow the line to be made through their land. That was the only pledge given. The records show that there was no pledge whatever given by the Government that the loan would not be raised, and the making of the line proceeded with, until land had been acquired from the Native owners; there is nothing at all about getting land along the line.

Major Atkinson.—It was always clearly understood.

Mr. Stout.—Where was it understood? I ask the honourable gentleman to take *Hansard* and take the Act, and show me where the understanding was. It is not in the Act; it is not in the speeches of Mr. Johnston, who was in charge of it during its passage through the House. Where was the understanding made, and with whom? Sir, the question was put directly to the then Government by the honourable member for Akaroa whether there was to be such a condition annexed to the carrying-through of the line, and the answer was as I have read it. There was no such understanding and no such condition annexed to the passing of that Act at all. Now let me say one word in conclusion. I did not intend to speak on this question, and I do not intend to deal further with the question, because it seems to me that it is an unusual thing at this period of the session, when the legislation is nearly all through, when the estimates are nearly through, that a motion of this character should be made. And remember how it is made. Is there a party prepared to take office and carry out a policy if we leave these benches? If so, let them be named. Let us hear what their principles are. Let us know upon what questions they agree. Will it be local government? Will it be land-tax? What are they agreed upon? They have no agreement whatever. The honourable member for Napier hesitated, it is true, to move a vote of want of confidence, because he had to consider the bearing of his own position in the matter. I say at once to the House that I admit the Government has been placed in this position: that matters are in such a state in the House that there are three or four parties. We are not to blame for that. We are not to blame that party lines are so laid down that you cannot get in the House a majority all of one way of thinking. That is not our fault. What are we to do? How is the business of the country to be carried on? We have attempted to carry on the business of the country; and when the time comes, I repeat again, I shall take up measure by measure that we have proposed, and we will see whether they are founded upon Liberal principles, and follow what I have laid down. The honourable member talks about constituents. He says this one is afraid and that one is afraid of his constituents. I am not aware that he met his constituents during the recess. I am not aware that he consulted them about his conduct during the previous session. He was afraid, apparently, to meet his constituents. He did not take the trouble to consult them before he came to the House this session. As long as I have been a member of a representative body I have considered it to be my duty always to meet my constituents, and I am not only not afraid to meet them, but I am willing to go even to the honourable gentleman's constituency. I have no interest in Hawke's Bay, but I believe there is a Liberal sentiment even in Napier, and I should not be afraid to go to the poll with the honourable member there. I am not afraid of addressing the people on social questions. I addressed them on social questions—"sociology," no doubt, is the term—but they had a political bearing. I addressed the honourable member's constituents on social questions; and that perhaps makes him a little bitter on the subject. I found that there was in Napier—in the honourable member's constituency—a strong leaven of Liberalism, and those people can find in the honourable member no echo to their sentiments, and they do not think he is helping forward their Liberalism or helping forward democratic principles. I can not only go to Napier, but I am not afraid to go to any part of the colony, to tell them the position of the House, and the position I have occupied in the House. I have never been afraid to meet my fellow-colonists in any part of the colony. There was a time—as an honourable member sitting near me knows—when I was in a small minority, and sometimes had to fight very bitter elections with a very narrow majority to get a seat in a Provincial Council, and also when I first got a

seat in the House. But I never flinched from the expression of my opinions on any occasion, whether they were popular or unpopular, and I will not flinch now. I will tell the honourable member the distinction between himself and me. If one appeals to his past history, what will one find? he will be found voting for one thing one year, and for another thing the next; he has no consistency—no leading principle. He is like a ship at sea without a compass. Either he has not mastered political science, or, if so, he has not chosen to subordinate his personal feelings and predilections to true political science; and hence it is that he is like a ship going without a compass, drifting about in the sea. Aimless has been his past political life. I ask honourable members to point out one great Act on the Statute Book with which his name is associated, or to name one political principle with which his name will be associated in future—one that will recall him to mind in this House, or in the country either, as a politician or statesman. I hope that hereafter, whether I am on these benches or off them, people, at all events, will say that my aim in legislation, my aim in administration, was the good of the colony—that I had the good of the colony at heart. No one can say that I was ever actuated by personal feelings or a desire for personal aggrandizement.

Mr. Smith.—I did not intend to speak in this debate only for the remarks made by the honourable member for Napier, which I feel bound to reply to. The Premier has given us a picture, but I will fill in a few details which will astonish honourable members in reference to the proposed leader we have before us tonight in the member for Napier. We heard the honourable member for Egmont saying "Hear, hear," to the speech of this honourable gentleman. But what do we find in *Hansard* in 1881? The same speech, condemning the honourable member for Egmont, and winding up with a no-confidence motion as to his Government. The honourable member for Egmont I did not say "Hear, hear," then; but the I members of the present Opposition poured out the vials of their wrath on the honourable member for Napier. When I first arrived here after beating the member for Napier I met the Premier, Sir John Hall, in the library. He said, "We are very glad to see that the late member for Napier is beaten." That was said by the Premier of the Ministry of which the honourable member for Egmont was Treasurer. And what was the reason for that remark? Sir John Hall said, "That gentleman treated us in a fashion in which no other Ministry was ever treated. He came into our Ministerial room and heard everything we had got to say, and on the following day, without any notice, moved a no-confidence motion." That was the honourable gentleman's course of proceeding. He has posed as the great Provincialist—as the local-government gentleman. Do honourable gentlemen know what he means by local government? When the late Sir Donald McLean gave up the Superintendency of Hawke's Bay he took his place. He always took that gentleman's place and kept behind his shoulder. Sir Donald McLean was the big man of the party, and the honourable gentleman followed him up. When he took the Superintendency, one of his first acts was to abolish the Provincial Executive. There was to be no other ruler but himself. The whole of the open lands of Hawke's Bay which were worth anything were swallowed up by the honourable gentleman and his friends, and nothing was left for the people. Then, without consulting his constituents, he voted—he being Superintendent—for the abolition of the provinces. That was his great idea of local government. He helped to abolish it. What was the cause? Because he was going to have a portfolio in the then incoming Ministry. What comes next? The honourable member supported the Counties Bill to take the place of the provinces. But he came up to Hawke's Bay and told the people there to hang up the Counties Act and have none of it. And why? Because he had very large properties there, and he did not want to see them rated under the Counties Act. He did more than that. Turn to *Hansard*, and what shall we find? Why, as Minister for Public Works, he used his power in a way, I believe, that it was never used before: because when he found that the people would not take his advice he came down to Wellington and altered the number of members illegally in the Waipawa County by putting a notice in the *Gazette*, and he threw the county into confusion; and there were no rates raised in that county for some time. That was the honourable gentleman's idea of local government; and, at the present time, he is trying to divide the same county, so as to escape being rated. The honourable member told the people he thought smaller bodies than counties would do. In 1868 a Road Boards Bill was passed in Hawke's Bay, when the honourable member was Superintendent. What then happened? The whole of the districts were formed into Road Boards except the honourable gentleman's property and three others in the same district. I believe the honourable gentleman's friends were actually ashamed of the position he took up in not forming a Road Board. There were only four large runholders, and the Act said it was necessary that five ratepayers should apply to have a Board formed. After a time, Captain Newman cut up his property in that district into small sections, so that there was a sufficient number of ratepayers in the district; and they naturally wanted roads. They applied to me to come up and help them to form a Road Board, and I went up and formed a Road Board in the honourable gentleman's absence. He at once wrote a letter to a friend, saying, "How did you come to let these people form a Road Board? You have not looked after the matter." The Road Board was formed, and a rate of 8d. or 9d. in the pound was struck. But what did the honourable gentleman do? He went to the Hon. Mr. Dick, who was then Colonial Secretary, and got him to issue a Proclamation cutting out his property and making a separate district, leaving the small people to pay the rates. That is the idea of the

honourable gentleman as to local government. And, furthermore, he got the Government to fix this up just before he attacked them on local government. Everybody in the district is quite aware of these facts. Now, what happened after that? the honourable gentleman refused to pay his rates, and issued writs against the members of the Road Board to prevent us suing him for his rates; and there was also an application made for an injunction to prevent us using the funds of the Board to fight the matter, and the Board replied by putting a notice in the paper saying that if the rates were not paid within the specified time they would be sued for. Then the honourable gentleman thought better of it: the writs were withdrawn, and he telegraphed up his rates, and they were paid just before the expiration of the last hour at which we should have received them. The honourable gentleman has ever since that had a Road Board in his district, for he could not help himself; but he takes good care that very light rates are levied. Last year I think there was a rate of a farthing levied, but I am not sure that it has been collected. I believe that a certain amount was collected, and that on it the honourable gentleman obtained a subsidy, under the Roads and Bridges Construction Act, in order to make a road over which his wool-drays might go. The honourable gentleman may complain of the Act of the honourable member for Egmont, but he is not above accepting a subsidy under it to suit his own; purposes. Now in regard to local government. We had a caucus. I think there were forty members present. There was nothing decided in the caucus, because those present could not agree. It is quite clear that the Government cannot settle it in the way he talks of, as the country will not stand it. It must be settled gradually. The honourable gentleman does not believe in any form of local government, or like anything that taxes himself. For the same reason he does not like Road Boards. But I will go a little further. The honourable gentleman talks about the value of local authorities. About three years ago the property-tax valuation was made in his district. He has 14,255 acres of land that was valued at £1 per acre, which I should say, reckoning improvements, is at least 100 or 150 per cent, below its real value. But the honourable gentleman was not satisfied with that valuation. He went into Court and swore that it was too highly valued; and it was reduced to 10s. per acre. The property-tax valuation is now coming on again, and the honourable gentleman is going against the Government; and why? Because they will not appoint some one as valuer in that district who will keep down the present low rates on his property. That is one of his grievances against the Government—and they know it. His idea of local government is an entirely personal one. He has a large extent of property scattered about the district, and he wants to keep down the valuation as much as possible and keep taxes off, and he can only do it by getting the power into his own hands in the district. If he can get the power he will escape. That is the sort of local government that he wants. The honourable gentleman was good enough to call me a minnow; but I am one of those minnows that the honourable gentleman is not able to swallow. He challenged me once to run him for the Waipawa District. To oblige him I did run him, and the result was that he was out of the House for three years. That election changed his views on the subject of local government and a land-tax. In 1878, as was pointed out by the Premier, the honourable gentleman voted against a land-tax, and in 1879 he voted for a property-tax. While he represented a country district it was safe enough to vote against a land-tax; but it is different now that he has had to go to Napier for a scat. While he represented the country district he was always thoroughly opposed to a land-tax; but now that the honourable gentleman has had to take to the town he finds it necessary to change his views. He says he is in favour of a land-tax; but he is careful to say that it must only be a local land-tax. He goes as far as a land-tax in order to catch the votes of the working-man; but he does not want it to be a general land-tax. He only wants a tax that will improve his own property by it being expended in the district. Then, there is the hospital question. The honourable gentleman was troubled in reference to that. He had two troubles. One was that he had just come out as leader of the Opposition, and he was going to move a no-confidence motion, and when this subject of the hospitals came up he thought that he only had to get up and oppose separation of the Hawke's Bay District and it would be negatived. He thought that he would swallow me up at once; but I beat him by thirty-seven to twenty-two votes. That was one thing that he did not like. But why did he oppose that motion? It was done out of mere selfishness, to escape taxation. The House did not know that at the time. I have pointed out what the honourable gentleman has done in reference to the county, and now I will state what he did in reference to the hospital in the Waipawa District. The people in that district have spent a large sum to build a hospital: a large amount of settlement having taken place in the Seventy-Mile Bush, it was found that a hospital was required. Now, this is what happened: the honourable gentleman was written to by a member of the Upper House, on behalf of the subscribers, for a share of the money that had been voted by the Provincial Government for a hospital. I may explain that the Provincial Council passed a vote of £500 for an inland hospital and £500 for a town hospital. On the strength of that, the people in the Waipawa District subscribed £800. Well, what was the nature of the reply? It was this: that, in spite of the vote of the Provincial Council, he, as Superintendent, declined to give the money. The vote of the Council of £500 was never given to the inland hospital. He said that he intended to give the whole of it to the Napier Hospital, and he did; and he left the country district without the money which the Provincial Council had voted for it. And how was the hospital built? we applied to the Government of the day, the Grey Government, to which the honourable gentleman was

so much opposed, and they gave us the £500 which the honourable gentleman would not give out of funds that had been actually voted; and so the hospital was built. What has happened ever since? The honourable gentleman has a large property near that hospital; his men come to that hospital; there are nearly always one or two of them there, and they subscribe to the cost of maintaining that hospital; but I have never seen the honourable gentleman's name on the list of subscribers. And he was afraid, Sir, that if that were made a separate district that property would be rated, and he would have to pay towards the support of the hospital, but thought if he could get the hospital abolished he would escape. No matter to him that poor men might have to be brought a long distance to reach the rail-way-line, and then have to be sent to Napier by train. That was of no consequence to the honourable gentleman, so long as he could escape paying a farthing. That was his real reason for his opposing the Bill. When the honourable member for the East Coast proposed to exempt his district and cut it off from Hawke's Bay, he had not a word to say against that; but directly the Waipawa District was mentioned, that was another thing; and the reason is as I have stated. The honourable gentleman talks about the support that he gave to the Government. If the House knew the facts as they really are, would know that the honourable gentleman was only a supporter of the Government by a stretch of imagination. As was pointed out, he voted against them in the first instance, and, when a motion was proposed of want of confidence in the Atkinson Government, who followed, he sent his pair down from Napier in favour of that Government; for I saw the pair myself. He supported the Government during the remainder of last session; but immediately the recess commenced he began attacking them from his position as Chairman of the Education Board of Hawke's Bay, and the Government were constantly attacked in leaders in a paper in Napier which the honourable gentleman controls. That was the kind of support which he gave to the Government. All that the honourable gentleman did was this: When he thought they were in a majority he stuck to them, in order to get little things that he wanted. He got two or three of his principal supporters made Justices of the Peace, which he thought could be more easily done if he continued to support the Government. He never loyally supported the Government or any member of it. The honourable gentleman makes a strong attack upon the Government for their action in regard to taxation: that is his explanation of his vote on the tariff proposals. Well, as a Free-trader, I was strongly opposed to the tariff proposals of the Government, and I told them so. The honourable gentleman makes a song of it, and wants to show that in voting against those proposals he did so in the interest of the working-man, whereas the fact is that he simply voted as he did in order to oppose the Government; for what did the honourable gentleman do in 1879? When the honourable member for Egmont then proposed an increase in the duties from 10 to 15 per cent, *ad valorem*, he voted straight for everything that was done in that direction. He swallowed everything, and never said a word in favour of a reduction of Customs duties. When a reduction of the tea and sugar duties was proposed he said the reduction would go to the storekeepers, and he voted to keep it on. When the Grey Ministry proposed to reduce these duties the honourable gentleman opposed them. He now says he is in favour of a reduction of the Customs duties. He is now out of the country, and represents a town constituency: that is the real secret of his support of a land-tax and his opposition to the Customs duties. It is simply because the town he represents is in favour of these two things. And now we have the honourable gentleman posing as a leader, and he is going to support the very gentleman whom he could not say anything too bad of. He opposed the honourable member for Egmont in 1881; and now he is going into the lobby with him, and wants to know why other honourable gentlemen are going with the Government. I will tell him why I am supporting the Government. I am supporting the Government because when they got on those benches they came down at once with very good measures, and passed them in a very short time at the fag-end of the session. When the honourable member for Napier was Minister for Public Works he never attempted to pass any useful measures. The administration of the honourable gentleman now on those benches, in my district, I know has been in-finitely superior to the administration of those who went before them. In the Waipawa District the Minister of Lands has settled hundreds of small families on land that ought to have been settled long ago. A very valuable block of land has been taken up as a settlement in consequence of the administration of the honourable gentleman. It is said against the Native Minister that he has procured no Native land. He secured the Mangaitainoko Block, which had been shut up for years, and which other Native Ministers ought to have secured. Payments were made years ago on account of it, and some of the finest land in the colony will, directly after the session is over, be thrown into the market for small settlements in consequence of the energy displayed by the Minister of Lands. That is why the honourable gentleman is so popular in my own and other districts—simply because he has shown good administration. The honourable member for Napier objects to his Native policy. Of course, anything that puts a stop to the acquiring of large blocks of Native land by speculators and others is opposed by the honourable gentleman. I supported the Native Land Disposition Bill because I believe that, with some slight amendments, it will have the effect of preventing the land from going into the hands of speculators. The present Ministry had a very short recess. Parliament did not prorogue until the 11th of last November. What has since happened? Besides the great settlement that took place there was a vast drain on the Government in reference to defence.

Yet, in spite of that, the Government came down, for the first time since I have had the pleasure of sitting in this House, with their Financial Statement at once. How different from previous Governments! The honourable member for Egmont used to bring in his measures piecemeal, but the present Government brought down their measures at once. When the honourable member for Napier was Minister for Public Works his statement did not come down until the end of the session. That was the usual thing, but now he blames the Minister for Public Works for not bringing his Statement down till this week. There is no doubt the present Government attempted to bring down a much larger policy than the House could pass this session. They were pledged to it, and had to bring Bills down; and they have shown the House the vast amount of work they must have done to enable their Bills to be brought down so early as they have been. There is a diversity of opinion with reference to these Bills. If passed into law many of them will be of immense advantage. There is no doubt that the Property Assessment Bill which the Premier speaks of will be of advantage. I am a strong advocate of the land-tax, but we are quite aware that the majority in this House would not pass it, and, feeling that we could not get a whole loaf, we are content with taking half a loaf, and the Property Assessment Bill gives us that. A great many implements and other things used by small farmers and mechanics will be exempted under it, and the hardship they have suffered through being charged under the property-tax for their improvements will be removed. I shall not detain the House any longer. I simply rose in consequence of the speech of the honourable member for Napier, who seemed to think that he alone in this House had a right to arrogate to himself an opinion on the questions of a land-tax and local government.

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Speeches

Delivered in the House of Representatives,

August 3, 1885,

On the

Native Land Disposition Bill

By Hon. Mr. Stout and Hon. Mr. Ballance.

Wellington By Authority: George Didsbury, Government Printer.

## Native Land Disposition Bill.

*Speeches Delivered by the Hon. Mr. Ballance and the Hon. Mr. Stout in the House of Representatives, August 3, 1885.*

### Hon. Mr. Ballance.

Mr. Ballance.—Sir, the legislation of last session necessitated such a measure as I have the honour of bringing before the House this evening. The question of reserving lands along the main trunk line in this Island presented itself last session, and it was then the general opinion that it was the duty of the Government at once to bring down a measure which, would, in the first place, secure the land on both sides of the railway from the possibility of falling into the hands of private speculators, and, on the other hand, would provide for the settlement of the land. In the Bill which I then tabled in accordance with the general and expressed wish of the House we proceeded in both directions. In the first place, we reserved four and a half million acres of land, and prevented private dealings over the whole of that area. In the next place, we attempted to provide means by which the land could be occupied by a class of genuine settlers. In consequence of the wishes of certain individuals and of certain members in this House, as well as of the distinguished Waikato chief Wahanui, who was here at the time, I agreed to confine myself entirely to the prohibitory clause of the measure, and to withdraw that portion which provided for settlement, simply asking the House to pass that part of the Bill which reserved the land from all dealings, until we could this session bring down a comprehensive and matured measure dealing with the subject. During the recess I took the opportunity of visiting most of the Native people in this Island. I explained to them the principles of the measure which we intended to introduce, and I may say, with regard to the success of our proposals, that when we placed them before the Native people there was a general feeling expressed by their leaders and chiefs that such proposals as I then placed before them would be to their interests and meet their wishes. So far therefore, as we have taken the sense of the Native people on the subject, I have a right to claim that we have the great majority of the leading people of this Island with us in this matter. I am aware that since that time some petitions—one or two, not numerously signed in a hostile spirit to the measure—have been presented to Parliament. And I am also aware that two or three Native chiefs have also expressed their opinions in a direction contrary to the Bill; but, notwithstanding all this, I believe I am warranted in telling the House that the principles of the measure meet with a ready acceptance on the part of the

great majority of the Natives of this Island. I have received a number of letters in response to the invitations that were sent out to the Native people to express an opinion upon this question, and I am bound to say that a certain proportion of these opinions are not favourable. I hope the House will take my assurance that, in giving a few extracts from the letters I received, I will do so as impartially as possible. I have received a telegram from the Natives at Hastings to the following effect:—

*"A meeting was held to-day to consider the Bill (Native Land Disposition Bill). We are not at all clear with regard to that Bill, or any of its provisions, and would suggest that it be withdrawn from the House."*

Renata is a chief in that part of the country of considerable influence, and so is Tomoana. We received a number of letters not altogether hostile to the principle of the measure, but suggesting amendments. Here is one which I received from Parore te Awha and twenty-two others, from Dargaville, in the North Island:—

*"An Act (Bill) has been received by us Ngapuhis here which is called an Act amending the Acts affecting Native Lands (Native Land Disposition Bill). Now, Mr. Ballance, Minister for Native Affairs, we do not approve of that Act: we entirely object to it and all its clauses. We here to sign our names as a token that we do not wish this Act to apply to our lands held according to Maori custom."*

Then, Sir, we have received from the Thames the following letter from the chiefs there:—

*". . . We have considered 'The Native Land Disposition Act, 1885,' and we have come to the conclusion that this is a very difficult Act. for the Maoris to understand. The Maoris cannot be clear about its provisions, as they have no experience in Acts, and it would be very oppressive on the Native people and their lands. . . . This Act does not meet with our approval, or that of our people; but, if our amendments of some of the sections are embodied in it, it will then share our approval. However, it is felt that they will not be assented to, because they would afford relief to the Maoris and their lands. . . ."*

We also have a letter from Major Te Wheoro. I may say that at the present moment he is the principal adviser of Tawhiao, and therefore his opinions and views are entitled to considerable weight. He writes to our agent in the Waikato as follows:—

*"I have received your letter, and also the Government Bill (Native Land Disposition Bill). I shall not, perhaps, be able to point out clearly the faults in it, as there are so many things in it that will cause trouble when it is being worked. But it will be best to let the Native Committee have the management when it is passed, or it will be best to leave the Native Committee to decide as to the principles of the Bill. I have, however, crossed out in pencil some parts (that I disagree with), and have also written (in the margin) what has occurred to me. Friend, were it not on account of my severe illness I should go to Wellington. I am better at present, but have not wholly recovered strength. That is all. From your friend."*

And he suggests a number of alterations in the Bill. He also sent a marked copy of the Bill, showing what his views are on the subject. I have received a very large number of letters which go in the opposite direction. The first I will read to the House is from one whose opinions are entitled to considerable weight, and who will be remembered by many members of this House. I refer to Mr. Mohi Tawhai, who for some time represented one of the Native constituencies in this House. He writes as follows:—

*"We have received the copy of the Native Land Disposition Bill, 1885, which Mr. Lewis forwarded by your direction. I and my people have seen it. It is now for the first time that I have seen a really good Bill. By this Bill some of the difficulties which press upon Maori lands will be removed: that is to say, the Europeans will be emboldened to make arrangements for the lease or purchase of Maori lands that are unimproved. A second good feature in the Bill is with respect to the leasing of Native lands: the owner will no longer be in a state of uncertainty, and have the feeling that he is losing his land by passing through numerous channels necessary to execute a lease. This is a very good Act (Bill), and should be passed as an Act to deal with Native lands."*

Then, I have a telegram from the Resident Magistrate at Hokianga, Mr. Von Stürmer:—

*"For information of Hon. Native Minister, Natives here very favourable to Land Disposition Bill, and would be glad to see it passed; clause 3, as an Appeal Court from local Committees, being looked upon as eminently satisfactory."*

Then, we have a letter from a gentleman holding a high position in the Waikato, who has for a long time past been closely connected with the Maori race in that district. I refer to Mr. John Ormsby, Chairman of the Kawhia Native Committee. The letter runs as follows:—

*"The principle of your Native Land Disposition Bill will suit, as there are few clauses we object to, principally clause 22, enabling the Crown to get behind the Board, and purchasing from Committee or owners. We also think it of minor importance to a Bill for the investigation of title, as we have no confidence in the present system. Wahanui, on his arrival in Wellington, will point out the objections."*

That letter, I think, may be taken as showing the opinions of the leading chiefs of the Waikato. Then, we have a telegram from the Native Officer stationed in Auckland:—

*"Natives here who have read Native Land Disposition Bill unanimously approve of its general principle, as being a step in the direction of the object the Native people, as a whole, have been striving to attain for many*

years past. Some chiefs intend to communicate their opinions in writing to Hon. Mr. Ballance, and suggest certain slight amendments as soon as they have discussed the Bill with their people."

We have received a great many letters of a similar character, most of them strongly approving the general principle of the Bill, but suggesting various amendments. There is one more letter which I should like to read to the House, from Paratene Ngata:—

*" . . . We were a long time considering the provisions of that Bill (Act), and feel justified in giving it as our decided opinion that it will be a very good Act indeed for the Maoris and the Europeans, and will remove the great difficulties that there are between the Maoris and the pakehas in connection with the disposition of land. This will be the first Act of which it may be truly said that the Native race and their property are taken care of by the Government of New Zealand. Having duly deliberated upon the provisions of that Act (Bill), which we consider satisfactory, and the suggestions contained in the schedules, we now ask that it be amended. We give our entire support to that Act (Bill), and pray that you will bring it before this sitting of Parliament in order that it may become law."*

Paratene Ngata expresses the opinions of Ropata, who is known to honourable gentlemen as a chief of considerable note. There is one more letter, which will conclude what I have to read. It is from Judge Mackay, whose opinions on a matter of this kind are entitled to very great weight. He says,—

*" . . . It appears to be an excellent measure—one that will conserve the interests of both Natives and Europeans. It secures to the Natives the best price or rent for their land, fixes the cost of administration, and saves the European purchaser a world of trouble, as he has only a corporate body to deal with, in place of having to deal individually with scores of owners, frequently at a heavy expense for interpreters, solicitors, and black-mail for affixing signatures. Am puzzled to understand the out-cry that has been raised against the Bill that it will create a class of Maori landlords. The argument appears absurd. Are not the Maoris quite as likely to become landlords without the Bill as with it? The disposition nowadays with them is not to sell. One would suppose that the object of the Bill was to lock up the lands, instead of facilitating the settlement of them. I am sure any sane man who desires to take a lease from the Native owners would prefer dealing with a responsible body which would enable him to obtain what he requires at a minimum of trouble, in place of having to do as is done now. . . ."*

I may say at once, with regard to one statement in this letter, that Mr. Mackay is under a misapprehension. The Bill does not enable private parties to deal with the Natives for the land. Private parties are excluded from dealing with the Natives. I have also received letters from Major Scannell and other people, who are also in favour of the measure, and speak in terms similar to those employed in the letters which I have already read. It is unnecessary for me to read any more of these letters, although I have a great many dealing with the subject; but I think that what I have read is sufficient to show that, although there is a division of opinion amongst the Natives—and we know there will always be a division of opinion amongst them upon such questions as these—still the balance of evidence is all in favour of the Bill. Whether we judge by the number of letters, or by the influence of the writers, I think it will be seen that there is a large preponderance of opinion in favour of the Bill before the House. I would like to explain, at this point, that there are two Bills before the House. There is a Bill to consolidate the land laws of the colony in regard to Native affairs, and there is also this Native Land Disposition Bill, of which I am now moving the second reading. I heard it said in various quarters that the Consolidation Bill is an excellent measure, although the same parties said they were entirely opposed to the Disposition Bill. I have heard it said, "Give us the consolidation Bill, but keep the other." Now, Sir, there is no relationship whatever between the two measures. The Consolidation Bill is a measure that relates to the lands prior to their being brought before the Court and the title ascertained; but, the title having been ascertained, the Land Disposition Bill provides machinery by which that land may be transferred from the Natives to Europeans. There is an important distinction between the two Bills. Therefore those who say, "Give us one and keep the other," have really forgotten the position of the matter, or have never comprehended the object of each particular measure. The principle of the Land Disposition Bill is not now brought before the House for the first time. I do not know any principle that has been brought before Parliament that has been so thoroughly discussed as the principle contained in this measure. People have claimed credit for introducing this principle almost since the foundation of the colony. I remember reading an account of a debate in this House—and I think I was in the House myself at the time—when the honourable member for Waitotara moved the Land Sales Bill in 1880. The honourable member then gave credit to Sir Julius Vogel for introducing the principle; but he was corrected by some other honourable member—I think it was by the honourable member for Geraldine—who said that Sir William Martin was entitled to the credit: but I find, on going back to the old authorities in 1854 and 1858, suggestions with regard to this very principle had then been made by Mr. Forsaith, Mr. Justice Richmond, and many others. They had all suggested, at various times, something of this kind—namely, that, instead of allowing Maori lands to be scrambled for by whoever had the means and had the desire to acquire them, the Government should provide some machinery by which the lands might be dealt with

in the interest of the Government and in the interest of the Natives themselves at the same time. That, then, is the principle of this Bill, and the other portion of it consists simply of the machinery which will enable that principle to be put in force. The principle will be understood in a moment. It is simply this: that the Government shall provide Boards and other machinery by which the Native land should be sold in something the same manner as the waste lands of the Crown are at present sold in the colony. I do not say that the machinery provided in the Bill is to be taken as absolutely the best that can be devised; but I say that, in my opinion, there never has been a measure brought before the House more thoroughly calculated to achieve the object in view than that we have now under discussion. If, then, the principle be a good and sound one, if we recognize that land should be sold and disposed of through public bodies, then I claim the support of the House for this Bill; and of course, if the machinery can be improved, I shall be very glad to see it done. The principle is the same as that laid down by the honourable member for Waitotara in his measures, the one he introduced in 1880 and the one he was going to introduce in 1884—namely, that a majority of the Native owners should bring the land under the operation of the Waste Lands Board, by whom the land should be sold for them. The distinction between his proposals and mine is this; that, while he dealt with a majority of owners and asked them to sanction the sale of land, I provide machinery by which a corporate body—namely, a Committee—may be appointed by the owners and for the owners, and that this body shall deal with the matter by directing how the land shall be dealt with by the Board. There is therefore a distinction between the measure which was introduced by the honourable gentleman and that which I now introduce. Passing on, let me ask the House this, in the first place: whether the mode of dealing with Native land in the past has been satisfactory. Why, Sir I do not think there is any honourable gentleman in this House—I have not met with any one anywhere in this country—who has had the boldness to affirm that the Native land laws have been satisfactory in the past. In this House from time to time we have heard the strongest language used in regard to the manner in which the Native lands were acquired. I myself have two cases before me which will show how these lands were acquired even by the Government; and I do not refer now to agents in different parts of the country who have disobeyed instructions or who have acted on their own responsibility. With regard to one block of land which I have before me, how were the signatures of the Native owners obtained? By the Land-Purchase agent offering a chief, who was amenable to a bribe, a certain sum per head to bring in the people, and a free pass by railway, in order to get the signatures; and, when the time came to get the Government portion cut out, these people refused to consent. They said they had been wrongfully induced by this man to sell their land. And I have only to go to the speeches of the honourable member for Waitotara in introducing his measure in 1880, and on several occasions in this House, to show the abuses—the manifold abuses—which have taken place in regard to these Native lands. It is quite unnecessary for me to give more instances. They are found in *Hansard*: the pages of *Hansard* are full of them. From 1879, and even before that, down to last year, you see them bristling in *Hansard*—the gross abuses which have taken place in regard to the purchase of Native lands. We have a great estate to deal with; we have a most valuable estate—perhaps honourable members do not know the extent of territory and the value of these lands I propose to deal with by this Bill. What is the area of land still held by the Natives? Why, it is about equal to all the land in area that has yet been sold to Europeans by the Crown. I will give the figures, and, in discussing this matter, nothing can be of greater moment to this House than to know the estate we shall have at our disposal. The extent of Native land in the North Island still held by the Natives is 11,576,000 acres; the land sold to Europeans by Natives direct is 2,374,400 acres; the Native land leased to Europeans by Natives is 1,683,600 acres; the Native land still held in the hands of the Natives is 13,259,600 acres. Now, Sir, what relationship does that total area bear to the number of Natives in the North Island? The last census gives the Native population as 42,000. I am taking the census as the basis; but I believe, and it is the opinion of competent authorities, that the Native population is much less than that—possibly not more than 30,000. The average amount of land held by each man, woman, and child is 301 acres. In the Middle Island we have, of Native lands held by Natives, 82,400 acres. The Native population is 2,100, and the area held by each Native is about forty acres. I do not attach very much weight now to the argument as to the quantity per head of the land held by the Natives, because we know we are taking men, women, and children, and there are a great many people who, if they held land to-morrow in their own right, would be entirely unable to turn it to account. Still, looking at the vast area of land in the North Island in the possession of the Natives, and a large portion of which, as is admitted by the Natives themselves, ought to be got into the hands of Europeans and made productive, I say it behoves this House to consider the matter very carefully; but, whether the object desired will be attained by this Bill or any other Bill, I say there is an enormous responsibility on this House and the colony to devise some method whereby the lands may be placed in the hands of cultivators and made reproductive. We have a vast responsibility in facing this problem. It may be said that I ought to have brought down a measure confined entirely to the four and a half million acres which are to be reserved along the line of railway; and it has been put forward with some considerable amount of force that if we had confined our attention to that area we should have no difficulty in passing the Bill. But I say we must go beyond that; I say

we must face it, and any Government in office is bound to take up the question of how to deal with the vast estate that is in the hands of the Natives. We must keep in view two great principles—principles for which I have always contended: fair-play to the Native people themselves—to guard that portion of the land which public policy requires should not go from their hands; and, on the other hand, fair-play to the people of this colony, and to see that the people shall not be debarred and excluded by the laws of the country from having, if they wish it, an opportunity of acquiring a portion of that land. Now I come to another portion of my subject, and I should like to place before the House some figures with regard to the way in which the land has been acquired in the past, showing the number of owners who have acquired it, showing the price at which it has been acquired, and comparing that price with the property-tax valuation. The quantity of all land purchased by Europeans under "The Native Land Act, 1873," in blocks of over 2,000 acres, has been 730,460 acres. The number of blocks is ninety-two, and the total amount paid for the land is £206,297. The property-tax valuation is £646,222. The blocks of land under 2,000 acres embrace about an area of 74,302 acres. The number of blocks is 310. The total amount paid is £52,824. The property-tax valuation is £184,427. It will be seen here that the larger the blocks the greater the disparity between the price paid for the land and the property-tax valuation. The blocks of over 2,000 acres purchased, but not assessed by the Property-Tax Department, are thirteen, with an area of 302,566 acres, and the amount paid for these blocks is £67,844. Now, on all Native lands purchased the Crown receives 10 per cent. That has been paid on the amount of purchase-money; but, if we assume that the property-tax valuation is below what it ought to be, below the market value—in my opinion it is more than 25 per cent, below that—but assuming that it is only 10 per cent., that gives £831,714. How much has the Crown lost between the amount paid to the Natives and the amount of the property-tax valuation? No less a sum than £57,759 lost in duty between the difference in values. It may be said that property has increased in value between the time of purchase from the Natives and the time it was assessed by the Property-Tax Department; but any person who knows the values of land in the North Island knows this: that land, so far from having increased in value, has depreciated. At any rate, I believe that, taking the average, there has been no increase in the value of land. So we see at one glance the enormous difference between the amount of money paid to the Natives and the value assessed under the property-tax. I will give the House some instances of the values of these properties. I have here the names of the blocks and the prices paid, but I will not give the names. I will simply give the figures, and, if the House requires it, I will place this paper on the table after I have done. I find that on the 29th March, 1883, there was one purchase: it was a purchase of a number of blocks, because a large number of these blocks went into a very few hands. There are, I think, eight or nine blocks here bought by one firm. The total area was 18,216 acres in 1883, the purchase-money was £6,112 and the property-tax valuation was £23,420. Here is another case. In 1881 34,000 acres were purchased for £10,000, at 5s. 10d. an acre, and the property-tax valuation is £43,352: that is to say, the money paid to the Natives was £10,000, and the property-tax valuation is £43,000. In 1877 we find one purchase for £2,875, and the property-tax valuation is £24,232. Again, in 1880 16,000 acres were purchased for £1,900, and the property-tax valuation is £8,053. I have given the totals. These are not exceptional figures: other blocks will show just about the same disparity. The total of the figures given will show the difference between the amount paid to the Natives and the property-tax valuation. I do not mean to say for one moment that the purchasers of these lands got all the benefit. They did not get the whole of the benefit, but the Natives did not get the benefit. Who got the benefit? We know very well that the people who got the benefit were the middle-men between the Natives and the actual purchasers. I believe it will be found that in nearly every case, although they may not have paid the full property-tax valuation, the European purchasers have paid, at any rate, considerably above what is put down here for the land. A large portion of the money which has been expended has, to use a phrase quoted with great force by an honourable member of this House in 1876 or 1877, gone in the direction of "ground-bait," to induce the Natives to sell their land. A great portion of it has gone to interpreters, lawyers, and others. Now, I am not making any charges against these people. I have given solid facts, and honourable members can draw their own inference. The Natives do not get the benefit they are entitled to receive from their lands. The purchasers themselves do not get the benefit, in my opinion; and the money goes into the hands of a class who, at any rate, are non-producers. These are the conclusions which, I say, must be drawn from the facts which I have laid before the House. And they are the facts which have made every public man of eminence in the Legislature of the colony and outside declare against the present system and ask for a change. I have here the opinions of members of this Legislature with regard to the desirability for a change. There was a most interesting debate last session in the Legislative Council; and what were the views expressed by almost all the speakers? That we ought to proceed in the direction we are now taking. They one and all asked the Legislature for some measure to save the Natives from the circumstances by which they were surrounded. I will take, for instance, the opinion of one who was Native Minister at one time, and whose opinions on this question will always be received with respect by this House. What said the Hon. Mr. J. C. Richmond on the matter?—

*"I hope they will buy no more land than may be necessary for the purposes of the railway, and that they*

*will accept of this very reasonable proposition: that they will put all the Native lands under the charge of the Land Department, to be dealt with for their benefit, with only such deductions as are necessary for surveys and administration. . . .*

*"I should be very glad if the Government could see its way to accept my honourable friend's amendment; but the difficulties of detail are extremely great. Moreover, I do not think they can do so, considering what I referred to before—the intricate 'ring-puzzle' which is exhibited in the Legislature at the present time."*

Those words are very strong, and they express the matured opinion of one who had perhaps as much experience in Native affairs as any one in this House. Then I come to the opinion of the Hon. Mr. George McLean:—

*"I take it that this Bill is of a merely temporary nature, merely reserving the land through which the line passes, and that at a future time we shall have legislation in order to settle the country through which the railway will run."*

The Hon. Mr. Mantell says,—

*"For my own part I conceive that before the title has been investigated by the Native Land Court there are no Native owners except hapus; and I can very easily conceive that great trouble, ending in an insuperable barrier to further negotiations, may arise if the Government begin to negotiate with people now resident in the block for their claims, however shadowy those claims may be in this block."*

In this House last session the honourable member for Akaroa asked for this measure. He said,—

*"The whole of the seven hundred thousand acres is adapted for settlement, I believe, in farms of from two to four hundred acres. If that large area of land were settled in that way, it would bring a large amount of traffic to the railway; but, if it is to be acquired in blocks of twenty, thirty, or fifty thousand acres by speculators, what would be the use of a railway there?"*

If the land along the railway is to be acquired, as it has been, by large speculators, how can we have population? And it was proved to a demonstration last session by those acquainted with the subject that no lines of railway had ever paid where they connected large centres of population unless you had a large producing population along the line. One great difficulty that we have to contend against was forcibly pointed out by the Hon. Mr. McLean last session, in discussing the Alienation Restriction Bill. He said,—

*"I wish to point out to my honourable friend Mr. Reeves that there is a large number of interested people on both sides of the House who will not allow a Native Land Bill adverse to their interests to go through; and those from the South whom you would expect to give assistance to the work would, through party exigencies, be compelled to vote against carrying a proper Bill through. With these two interests hanging together, it has been hitherto impossible to get a good Native Land Bill through the Legislature."*

I have also the opinion of the honourable member for Waitotara, who has had some experience—bitter experience—on this question, and he has declared in this House that it is one of the most delicate and difficult questions a Government could touch. He said it had involved the fate of more Governments than one, and was very likely in future to involve the fate of still more. Honourable members, no doubt, may say that it is not a sense of duty on my part, but temerity, that induces me to bring forward a measure attended with such difficulties. I do not seek to excuse myself; but I take this stand: I say that, after last session, we were pledged to a measure of this kind. And I say no Government can remain in office and do its duty without facing this question: that this House will demand that any Government that sits on these benches shall attempt to solve the problem. The honourable member for Auckland East has also had some experience upon this question, and I bring under the notice of the House the fact that the honourable member himself in 1879 proposed to deal with this very question on the lines of the Bill now before the House. We have in the Governor's Speech in 1879 these words:—

*"A measure will be laid before you by which lands, the property of the Natives, not purchased by the Government for the public, will henceforth be sold in small blocks in the open market, on such terms as may be agreed upon with the proprietors."*

And the honourable member last session made a proposal with regard to this question which I shall read to the House. He said,—

*"I think the Government should pass an Act that no more sales should go on from Natives to Europeans. Put a stop to that at once, and then let the Government pass any Act they think necessary to give them full security over the land through which the proposed line of railway is to be taken, and also over any other land through which it will be necessary to take any other railways in this Island. Then, in addition to that, pass an Act which will give the Government power to take land upon giving fair compensation to the Natives."*

Well, I am not sure that anything in the nature of compulsion will meet with the approval of this House. My own opinion is, that anything in the nature of taking land by Act, by compulsion, taking the land in large quantities, and giving compensation for it, will not meet with the assent of the Native people, but, on the other hand, will be resisted by them. I believe that, if we give them, as we do in this Bill, a ready means of selling

their lands to the Government, or selling land through the Boards by public competition to the public at large if they wish, we shall have placed in the market at once as much land as we can deal with, and as much land as we can find money to buy. There has never been any difficulty in inducing Natives to sell their land. The difficulty has been to get all the owners of a particular block of land to consent to its sale. You can always buy out a certain number of them; but the great difficulty in the past has been to bring them together and get them all to consent to the alienation of their land. But if you provide a means by which they can dispose of their lands for a certain sum to the Government of the country, who are not interfered with by private dealers, there will be no difficulty at all, and a purchase which would formerly extend over perhaps twenty years can be made in a week. Some land-purchases of the present day have been going on for twenty years. There is one block—the Piako Block—which is not purchased yet. The Government has paid £20,000 on it, and I believe there is no possibility whatever of getting that land for the next ten years. Why? Because a large number of the owners of that block had not received the money to which they were entitled; while a great many not interested in the block, who had no claim, had received a portion of the money charged against it. So with regard to other blocks. For instance, there is the Mangatainoko Block of 40,000 acres. The purchase of that had been going on since 1872. The Provincial Government and the General Government tried it from time to time. They paid away money to the Natives, and it was only by cutting out the Government portion that we could get 40,000 acres of the block. So it is, all through the Island. Those purchases are going on slowly and tediously, with no hope of obtaining the land within a reasonable time. I say, therefore, even upon that ground, so far as the Government purchases are concerned, some change must be made if the Government are to acquire land in future. I go a little further and maintain that this Bill violates no Native right. By the Treaty of Waitangi the Natives handed over to the Crown the sole right of purchase—the pre-emptive right—and the Crown guaranteed to the Natives the ownership of their land. Any Bill which is brought into the House must proceed according to the Treaty of Waitangi. It has only lately been laid down in the British Parliament that the Treaty of Waitangi is still binding, and we must proceed on its lines. But we have gone beyond the Treaty. We offer the Natives better terms. We might say to-morrow, "We will restore the pre-emptive right, and abide by the strict letter of the Treaty;" but we go further and say that, while we retain the right of purchase in our hands, we give the Natives an opportunity of getting a better price for their land by placing it in the open market, by offering it to competition. I say, on that ground, the Natives should welcome such a measure. It is just and fair to the Natives; for, instead of having one purchaser, as under the Treaty, they will have the whole public of New Zealand—of the whole world, in fact—as the purchasers of their land, under the Bill now before the House. The Bill is also based upon the repeated expressions of opinion in this House. For instance, the Bill of 1880, introduced by the honourable member for Waitotara, and read a second time in this House. It has been in several Governor's Speeches; and resolutions in favour of the principle have been carried in this House. Resolutions were passed in 1877 pledging this House to adopt a principle of this kind—a principle which will allow the whole public of New Zealand to come in as competitors and obtain small parcels of land. It may be said that, if we only pass a good consolidating Bill, and allow the land to come before the Court, small men will get small pieces of land. I deny it. I say that under the present system, or under any reformed system nicknamed or misnamed "free-trade," you will not allow small people to acquire land. What is called free-trade is, in my opinion, a most grinding monopoly—a monopoly confined to a few rings, a few large purchasers, who have the means and machinery to enable them to go in and deal for this land. These figures show that few small men have any opportunity whatever of acquiring Native land. It requires a large organization and a considerable amount of money. It requires a whole army of interpreters, and the payment of heavy fees to Native lawyers, in order to acquire any land at all from the Natives. And that is the way that it is done. It is confined to a few, so that, instead of its being free-trade, as they call it, it is, as I have said, the most rigid monopoly. I have shown that the principle of this Bill at any rate is not unfair to the Native people. I have shown that it is intended, whatever may be its effect in application, to benefit the great mass of the population of this colony; and I go further and say that its principle is indorsed by those who have taken the largest and most comprehensive view of Native affairs, men most entitled to public confidence. I have seen a great deal of criticism on this measure, but I tell the House solemnly that I have not seen in any newspaper criticising this measure any objection to its principle. They have abused the author, but so far as the measure itself is concerned they have gone wide of the mark in all directions, but have never ventured to face the principle of the Bill; and I believe the reason is that they did not want to inquire into its principle, but to perpetuate a system which gives a monopoly. That is the object they are aiming at, and not at discovering whether this is a wise, just, and politic measure or not. I will just refer honourable members to a criticism with regard to this Bill which has been extensively circulated amongst members. I think it appeared originally in the form of a leading article in a Canterbury paper; but there is no name given to it in this circular which has been distributed amongst members. I wonder whether the honourable gentleman who reprinted the article was ashamed to attach the name of the paper in which it first appeared. It deals with the question in a very amusing way. It says, first of all, that the South Island is as deeply interested

as the North in this question. Certainly it is. The whole colony is deeply interested in this question. That is an admitted truth, to start with. Nobody ever denied it; and, when honourable members from the South say, "We do not understand this question," I venture to think it is one they should try to understand, because it very closely affects the welfare of the South as well as the North. Then it goes on to say that the South is to be plundered for the benefit of the Natives. "Plundered," mark you, "for the benefit of the Natives." Who receives the benefit now? Does the South receive it? I should like to get an intelligent answer to that. What part of the colony receives any benefit under the present system? The South is to be plundered. How, and in what way? Certainly not under the Bill. I ask honourable gentlemen to consider whether any part of the colony is to be plundered under the Bill. Then the article goes on to say that the measure has been successfully devised to exclude Europeans from the land. Now, if Europeans are to be excluded from the land, how are the Natives to be benefited? If no Europeans participate in the land, I should like any one to demonstrate how the Natives are to receive any benefit. It appears to me that the greatest benefit the Natives could receive would be to get a large population on the land, to have it submitted to fair competition, and to obtain a fair price for it. That would be the way to benefit the Natives, and the North and the South at the same time. But it says, "Ministers do not want people to settle on the land." That is the most extraordinary part of the whole thing, and this is the whole of the argument, apart from mere abuse and verbiage: it asserts that "Ministers do not want the people to settle on the land." If Europeans are not to settle on it, how are the Natives to be benefited by it, and what object have the Ministers in view? The writer of that article must have an extraordinary reasoning faculty: there is neither rhyme nor reason in the whole thing.

Major Atkinson.—He was in favour of the Bill, I expect.

Mr. Ballance.—Well, Sir, perhaps he was; but I do not think he was in favour of it, and I do not think the House would suppose he was if I were to tell the House that a person intimately connected with this newspaper is a large speculator in land in this Island. Will the honourable member say he was in favour of the Bill?

Major Atkinson.—Tell us who he was.

Mr. Ballance.—I find that this was printed at the *Press* Office, Cashel Street, Christchurch. I put it to the honourable gentleman to say whether he thinks these arguments are intelligent. Sir, it has been said that there is one solution of the difficulty; and I must bring it before the notice of the House. It is this: It has been said that the proper way to deal with this land is to reserve a portion for the Natives, and then have free-trade in the remainder. This is the way some would have us deal with it. Well, I have shown what "free-trade" does for the Natives, and I have shown what it does for the colony. But how are the reserves, then, to be set aside, who is to set them aside, and how are the Native people to be located upon the reserves? And after all that has been done we are to have "free-trade"—which means that the present system shall continue; but it does not mean the settlement of the country. I ask members of this House whether such a solution of the difficulty would be any remedy at all, and whether the remedy would not be worse than the disease. I will now go through the Bill as briefly as possible and touch upon its salient provisions. I claim that the measure, in the first place, is exceedingly direct, it requires very little thought, and is, perhaps, one of the plainest Bills that have ever been submitted to the House. In the first place, Boards of Management are to be appointed, consisting of a Commissioner and two members. Now, the Commissioner is to have large powers of administration; and I may say, with regard to the question of economy, that I believe that, in the first instance, the Commissioner of Crown Lands may also perform the duties of Commissioner under this Bill. However, in many instances it may be necessary to appoint men with special knowledge, who will devote the whole of their time to it. It has been said that both the other Commissioners or members of the Board of Management ought to be Natives, and to a large extent I agree with that proposal. As the Commissioner has large powers of administration, and the land belongs to the Natives, I think that two Natives might be on the Board. That proposal is one which, I think, should receive the serious consideration of this House. Then, it has been objected that the Crown should not buy from the owners individually, but from the Committees. I think there is a great deal in that, too; but where the Crown has advanced money it should retain in its hands the power to deal with the owners individually. The Committee system is the main feature of the Bill, so far as the machinery part is concerned. It has been said, "You will have too many Committees; and these Committees will not sell." My opinion is that Committees will be in almost every case at once selected; and there are large powers contained in the Bill enabling Committees to deal with the land, and, if the action of the Committee does not suit the owners of the land, they can call a meeting and depose the Committee, so that the owners, who are entitled to it, also receive very large powers under the Bill. I maintain that it is a wise thing to let the Native people have the means of meeting together, consulting together, and devising what is for their own benefit, and that one of the greatest mistakes in the administration of Native affairs in the past has been that we have not given the Native people sufficient power and control over their own affairs. I maintain that if they had received larger powers of administration of their own affairs we should have had far less difficulty in the colony than we have had. We have tried to do everything for them, we have tried to manage for them, and have interfered with them too much. If we had said,

"Here are certain duties—perform them; they relate to your own affairs," we should have had the Native people, with that zeal that is peculiar to them, taking up the questions, occupying their time with them and deliberating upon them, instead of doing what was a great deal worse and bringing trouble to the colony. The mistake that we have made hitherto is that we have not trusted the Natives enough. With regard to moneys, under the Bill we have taken particular care, and have had the valuable assistance of the Auditor-General in devising means to secure the custody of the money, so that it will be almost impossible that there should be any malfeasance with regard to the money which the Commissioners will have to deal with under the Act. Every safeguard that could possibly be devised has been adopted, so that the money may go to its right destination. One part of the Bill requires explanation. We have taken large powers by Order in Council, and there is an omission which, from the first, I had intended to supply, but which has not been supplied. It is with regard to the way in which the land is to be disposed of; and the omission is, that the land should be sold under the waste-land laws of the colony: that is to say, the Governor in Council will have power to bring into operation the land laws of the colony. I think that is the main feature of the Bill; it is contained in the 62nd clause, and it will at once hedge round the powers of the Governor in Council, and provide, in my opinion, a proper mode in which the land may be disposed of. One or two other features of the Bill require explanation. I refer to what is called "Remedial." Where a person is in occupation of the land for a certain time with the consent of the Natives, when he has stocked it and occupied it as a *bonâ fide* settler, though he has no title, we have power, after inquiry, to give a lease for fourteen years. Then with regard to restrictions. This question of restrictions is one of the most troublesome questions of the day, so far as the Native Minister is concerned. I have been constantly besieged since I took office with applications from all parts of the country to have the restrictions removed, and I came to the conclusion that the only proper thing I could do was to refuse to remove any restrictions whatever until this House decided upon some uniform plan under which this question should be dealt with. It appears to me that nothing is more unjustifiable on the part of any Native Minister than to exercise his powers in an arbitrary manner, perhaps favouring a friend and refusing the application of an opponent to have the restrictions removed. It is a fact that there are a great number of people in this Island who have been buying land without warrant, without having complied with the conditions, and without having first received the consent of the Governor. They have so bought Native lands; and then they come to the Native Minister and say, "Lift these restrictions," though the public had no opportunity of competing, the land being purchased privately. The Minister must comply with their demands or incur their eternal enmity, and I am perfectly certain that I have incurred the enmity of a great number of people through refusing to remove restrictions. We propose to deal with that question in this way: that there shall be an inquiry and report as to the merits of each case, and that, after inquiry has been made and the report submitted, the cases shall be dealt with on a comprehensive plan. Again, there are a great many transactions only partly concluded where people have gone in to buy Native land, but have been able to obtain the signatures of a part only of the owners, and have therefore been unable to obtain possession of the land for which they had dealt. We think that, when inaugurating a new system, we are called upon in justice to provide for such cases, and this Bill provides machinery by which that can be done. Where a purchase has been partly completed the Bill gives power to the Native Land Court to cut out the land of the Natives who have not sold, and to hand the land which has been sold to the persons who have purchased it. I have now explained the main provisions of this Bill. As I have before stated, I am not prepared to say that the Bill as I have submitted it is a perfect measure. The Bill will be submitted, of course, to the criticism of all sides of the House—to those who are "past masters," as they have been termed, in Native affairs, as well as to others. I acknowledge that I am only a novice in this matter, and I admit that a great many members of this House are only novices in it; but I shall be perfectly willing to have the opinion of past masters, and I am certain that, with their intelligent assistance and with that of the House generally, this Bill will come out of Committee a good and useful measure. It is almost unnecessary for me to say any more on this question. So much has been said in the past, the question has been so thoroughly discussed, and honourable members on all sides of the House must be so familiar with the main principle that I have laid down, that it is almost unnecessary for me to say another word on the subject. But I will say this: that I have done the best I possibly could to prepare a fair measure, one that would be fair to the colony itself and to the Native people. If that is not the effect of the Bill it is not my fault; but I feel a certain amount of confidence that we have proceeded the right way to deal with the question, and my confidence is all the greater that I have on my side, as I have said, the opinions of some of the most eminent men in this colony who are conversant with Native affairs, and many eminent members of the Native race. Sir, I submit this Bill with great confidence to the House, and I have now pleasure in moving its second reading.

## Hon. Mr. Stout.

Mr. Stout.—The honourable gentleman who has just sat down said in the former part of his speech that the

time for personal government of the Maoris, he thought, had come to an end. There is another thing which I think has come to an end, and that is the time for Maori doctors. We have heard tonight that the South Island knows nothing of the Maori question, and all knowledge about dealing with Native matters is reserved to a few—as my honourable friend called them—"past masters" who occupy positions in this House. It is time that came to an end as speedily as personal government of the Natives. Now, the honourable member spent three-fourths of his speech in commenting upon the notes of the Native meetings, and did not allude to the Bill at all. The time he spent upon this Bill was not much over a quarter of an hour in his long speech. All the rest was dealing with something that this House at present has nothing to do with; because, if the question of Native administration comes up, it should be discussed on the estimates, or in some definite way. To refer to the Native meetings on dealing with this Bill is entirely clouding the issue which is put before the House in asking it to read the Bill a second time: but I will not refrain from dealing with this question of the Native meetings; and let me say, first, that I am not going to refer to past administrations, I am not going to refer to the administration of the honourable member for Waitotara. If I did refer to it I should say that it was in many respects a most unjust administration, and I say that the circumstances of the colony did not justify action that was contrary to every principle of fair-play and justice. I have said that out of this House, and I say it in this House. I am not going to comment upon that; but I would say this to the honourable gentleman: that, although it is true that in one respect the honourable member for Waitotara brought peace, he also brought about a position in which there was no sympathy between the races. In every part of the North Island where I went I hardly spoke to a Maori without finding a profound feeling of irritation against the past administration. I am not going to mention expressions used regarding the Native Minister. I appeal to those who come from the North Island to say if they are not agreed that the Maoris as a whole had not, at any rate, a lovable feeling towards the honourable member for Waitotara; and I say that a Native Minister fails in his duty if he leaves the people over whom he is placed to exercise control and guidance in a state of profound irritation. What have we heard so much of in the management of Ireland? Have we not had it continually charged against the English Government that it failed in its duty as a Government because Ireland was left in a state of irritation? I say it is no credit whatever to a Minister of the Crown to have it said of him, in regard to his administration, that those whose affairs he is supposed to look after are left in a state of profound irritation. An honourable member says it is not true. Well, let an appeal be made to the Maoris themselves. I ask the Maori members in this House to stand up and say whether the Maoris in their districts have any feeling of love for and sympathy with the honourable member for Waitotara. Now we may come to these Native meetings. The honourable member for Napier first objects to the Native Committees having any duty to perform. As I understand him he wishes to have the Native Committees abolished. He would give them no power. Well, it is the most extraordinary thing of all that this should come from an honourable member who wants local self-government, but who says to the Maori race, "You shall have no local government at all." What is a Native Committee but a form of local self-government given to the race? The honourable member quoted a story about a certain trial by a Native Committee as an illustration that the Maoris are not fitted to have local self-government. Is the honourable gentleman aware that he need not have gone to the Maoris, but that he could have gone to any of the primitive races and found the same thing there? Even if he had read one of the books that are pronounced holy, he would have found illustrations of the same thing among all primitive people. But this wonderful story was coming out in which there was a man called an unfortunate co-respondent. I am not aware what misfortune befell him. I thought it was to be some charge against my colleague the Native Minister. I thought that there was some fault to be found with his administration, and that is why I interrupted the honourable member and asked the date. It then appeared that it happened some time when some other person was in charge of Native Affairs than my colleague; so that it could not be a charge against him. This Maori Committee settled the matter in a way which the honourable member disliked. They apparently punished the co-respondent by taking all his goods. Well, if the honourable member had been a juryman on such a case in Court I do not know that he would not have done the same. The honourable member for Wallace asks, "How about the husband?" We do not know all the evidence. Perhaps they found that the husband had been the means of the guilt of his wife, and they punished him also. The Native Committees were created by special Act, and certain powers were given to them by this Legislature. The Act was introduced by the honourable member for Waitotara, and it gave enormous powers in some respects to the Committees. They deal with arbitration up to £20, and their decision is final as soon as filed in the Resident Magistrate's Court. They have power to decide a great many cases—even questions of succession can be referred to them. I apprehend that the honourable member, in getting that Act passed, meant it to be operative, and the Native Committees were to be a form of local self-government for the Maoris. Now, my honourable colleague, when he travelled through the Native districts, urged them to adopt this mode of procedure and carry out the local self-government given to them by the Legislature. Was anything wrong done in that? The only other wrong thing that was spoken of was the increase of representation. I have not hesitated to state that if we are to give the Maoris equal rights with ourselves they ought to have equal representation

with ourselves in Parliament. I said so when the Hon. Mr. Taiaroa was in this House many years ago, and I say so still. I say that the Maoris, if they are to stand on a level with us, ought to have equal representation. I now come to this question of the Crown and Native Lands Rating Act. I ask honourable members from the South—who have been appealed to half a dozen times in this speech—to really appreciate what is meant. It simply means this: that we are to have a large territory of millions of acres put under this Act, which means that the Native rates are to come out of the Consolidated Fund for the purpose of expenditure in the North Island. I will now deal with another matter; and I was surprised that the honourable member for Napier, with his knowledge of the whole affair, should fall into such a blunder. He talks to-night about unconstitutional practice. He says that some pledge was made that a certain Proclamation was not to be issued over Native lands. When my honourable colleague was speaking to the Natives he also was in ignorance of the law; and that is, perhaps, why no letter was ever written. The honourable member was going to produce the letter. That reminds me of another letter in olden times that was never produced. There is no letter to produce; and why? I will explain to the House. The whole of this King country—Kawhia, East Taupo, and West Taupo—was exempted from the operation of the Crown and Native Lands Rating Act by the honourable member for Waitotara. It is done in the statute itself. There was therefore no need of a letter; the pledge was given in the Act itself. The Act itself declared that there was to be no rating of these lands; and I apprehend that, when the Minister was going to the Natives to ask them to open up their lands, and consent to have roads made through them, he had a right to say to them, "The Legislature has declared that this land shall not come under the Crown and Native Lands Rating Act, and, if you allow this land to be opened up by roads and railways for settlement, I shall not propose that the Crown shall go back on its own words and repeal this Act." That was all that was done; and I ask this House, is it going to extend the limits of the Crown and Native Lands Rating Act, after seeing the returns laid on the table showing the expenditure for that purpose in times past? I apprehend, not. The honourable member says, "Repeal the Act." Why repeal it? He wants some system of taxation for Native lands, and I shall come to that presently. The honourable member for Napier told us that there was to be a system of Maori landlordism in the future, and that no land would be sold. Is that in the Bill? I tell the Maoris—as I would tell Europeans, especially any who are not careful of their means, with no thrift—"If you go away and sell all your land, how are you to maintain yourselves and your families? You should keep some land." What are the Maoris to be left? Are they to be left landless? Who is then to maintain them? Will not their maintenance fall on the State? I say it is not fair to the Maori race to ask them to sell all their land. They should have sufficient reserves made to maintain them. Let me here say, incidentally, that I was glad to hear from the honourable member that he apparently disagrees with such a thing as landlordism. Well, we will apply that to Europeans. If it is wrong to have Maori landlordism, I apprehend that the pakeha landlord is quite as difficult to deal with as a Maori landlord, and we should have no such thing as landlordism in the colony hereafter. Does the honourable member mean that? Is the honourable member prepared to advocate that there shall be no landlordism in the colony? Let the honourable member be consistent and say that our land laws and system of taxation are to be so framed that there shall be no European landlords any more than Maori landlords. Now, as to the North Island Railway, what is our position with regard to it? The honourable member apparently thinks that, in forming the North Island Railway, it was our duty to take the land from the Maoris, without compensation, by force.

Mr. Ormond.—No.

Mr. Stout.—Then what else could we do? We proclaimed the land under the Public Works Act. We said to the Maoris, the same as to Europeans, "We shall pay you for the land we take." And Wahanui, with a generosity which European landlords do not always show, said, "We will give you the land for nothing." The honourable member for Franklin North apparently looks surprised now, and I am not surprised that he should be astonished. Practically, the land will be got for nothing—that is, the land actually re-quired for making the railway. Wahanui said that, so far as the land in his tribal territory was concerned, it should be given for nothing; and I say few Europeans would have been so generous. But what does the honourable gentleman mean? He says we are not to take the land by force. How, then, were we to get possession of the Maori land? We could only get possession of the Maori land by dealing with the owners, and we cannot deal with the owners till we know who the owners are, and we cannot know who the owners are till the land has gone through the Court. That is the exact position. And let me quote to this House a statement made by an honourable member who is not on our side in politics, who pointed out what would be the effect of any attempt to take lands by force, or in any way except the way in which we are proceeding. I refer to the Hon. Dr. Pollen. This is from his speech on the Native Lands Alienation Restriction Bill of last session. He said,—

*"If the Government set themselves, at this particular time, obstinately to ignore the views and desires of these people, then a land league will be formed in the whole district, and they will get no land at all; and, if the railway has to go through—and it will have to do so—it seems to me that it will have to be pushed through at the point of the bayonet."*

I apprehend that no member in the North Island will say that Dr. Pollen does not know as much about the North Island and the Maori feelings as any member of this House, and he pointed out what we ourselves saw, that, if there was any chance of our getting the Northern Trunk Railway made, any chance of getting the land for settlement, we should have to try to meet the views of the Native owners, unless, indeed, the colony wanted another Native war on its hands. And this was not only the only way to get the Northern Trunk Railway carried out, it was also the righteous way to do it. What right have we to treat the Maoris differently from the way we should treat Europeans? What right have we to say, "You must give up this land without compensation"? What right have we to ignore their views, their feelings, and their desires? Are they not men? Have they not feelings like us? What right have we to ride rough-shod over them, to have no care for their feelings or desires? I say the only way to get the land for the railway was to meet them, show them we meant to act fairly by them, and then, no doubt, they would be willing to do what I believe they are willing to do now—to throw their lands open for settlement, and to give them up to us on being compensated. Let me now come to another part of the Bill. Let me contrast the scheme of this Bill with the scheme of my honourable friend. The honourable gentleman has asked honourable members to deal with this question independently of party. So do I ask them; and I have no doubt, if they do so, how they will decide. What is it that this Bill proposes? This Bill proposes that land shall only be sold in one particular way. The honourable member proposes that land shall only be sold in one particular way. We are agreed on that. We propose that the land should be sold through a Board. The honourable member proposes that the land should be sold through a Board. We are also agreed on that. The constitution of his Board is the present Waste Lands Boards of the colony, on which the Natives have no voice, regarding which the Natives have no voice. We propose, on the contrary, that the Chairman of the Board shall perhaps be the Waste Lands Commissioner, but that the Natives shall have representatives upon these Boards. I ask, is that fair? Would it be fair to the Native race that you should sell twelve million acres of their land, and that they should have no voice in the selling of it? Would that be just? I appeal to any honourable member to say if it is just that the Natives should have no voice in the disposal of their own lands.

Mr. Ormond.—Appoint them on the Boards.

Mr. Stout.—"Appoint them on the Boards!" Well, we will suppose they were appointed to the Hawke's Bay Board: would the honourable member like that? Would he like them dealing with the disposal of European land? I think it is better that Native and European land should be kept distinct in that respect. If the Natives were put on the Board, I will tell you how they would be put: they would be put so that they would be overruled by the Europeans, who would thus have the management of their land. That would not be honest to them; it would be giving them a semblance of representation without the reality. The honourable member said it was to be given to representative bodies to manage. Well, Sir, is he in favour of the Waste Lands Boards being elected? We shall have that discussed on the Land Bill, and I understand that some members of the House wish the Land Boards of the colony to be elected, and I hope the honourable member will support that proposal. Our proposal is simply that the Maoris should have some voice in the disposal of their lands, though their lands are to be disposed of under the Waste Lands Act. What else is the difference between us? The honourable member talks about pre-emption. Does he really mean pre-emption? Does he mean that the State should buy the land from the Maoris, and that the only land that is sold by the Maoris is to be sold to the State? Sir, if that were so, this would be a Bill with a borrowing clause. We are told that we should not introduce any more Bills with borrowing clauses; but what would be the borrowing power required if that were carried out? We should need, if we are to have the North Island settled, how much? We should have to borrow millions a year. What has been the result of the Native-land-purchasing in the past? I defy any member to say that it has been a success. It has been an utter failure. We are, then, I say, shut up to this position: that we must take care the Native lands are disposed of under the Waste Lands Act, which will sell on deferred payments, which will give pastoral or perpetual leases; and is it unfair, when we remember whose land is being sold in that way, that the Natives should have some representation on the Board? Then, there is only one other point of the Bill that I will touch upon, and it was not referred to by the honourable member. The question is asked, What are the Committees for? what have they to say in the matter? Well, you cannot take the land by force; and, suppose a hundred persons are interested in a block, how are you to get the consent of all to its sale or lease? Surely it would be better to create a corporation for the block and say that the three, four, or five Committeemen should give their consent, than to say that the hundred people should give their consent. The difficulty in the past has been to get all the people to give their consent: that has been the great block in dealing with Native lands, that purchasers have been unable to get the consent, except after many years. I therefore say that, though the honourable gentleman meant to object to the Bill, he apparently accepted its principle. I do not wonder at his saying he would not move an adverso vote; for, if his speech is analysed, it will be seen that he accepts our proposal for a special commission, that he agrees to the sale under the Land Act, and that the only point of difference is that he would give the Natives no voice whatever in the management of their land, while we propose to give them a considerable voice. The next point is the question of taxation; and the honourable member would have the

Maoris taxed. Suppose the Maoris cannot pay their taxes. What then? Can the Maoris pay taxes? Certainly not? What would be the result? The past has proved that they cannot pay taxes. You have passed the Crown and Native Lands Rating Act; and what does that measure mean? It is a declaration by statute on the part of this House that the Maoris cannot pay taxes, and that the Consolidated Fund has got to pay them. Are you to impose taxes on Maoris who cannot pay them, and when they do not pay them are we to sell their land by the rate-collector? Are we to resort to that practice in the future? Do we want a cessation of Maori troubles, or an increase? Is there a Native Minister who would say that the whole of the lands of the North Island are to be rated, the owners not having been ascertained over millions and millions of acres, and that you are to do as you would with European lands the owners of which are absent—to put a certain rate on the land, and sell the land for the rates without perhaps giving any notice to the owner, and in that way get the land into your own hands? I say that no Native Minister who will be appointed for years and years to come will ever carry out such a system, and it is a mockery, a delusion, and a snare to tell the House that any such system can ever be given effect to. And let me point out that the Natives do pay considerable sums to the revenue that Europeans do not pay. Whenever a transaction in Maori lands takes place there is 10 per cent, of the value of that and taken for the Consolidated Fund.

An Hon. MEMBER.—Out of the European's pocket.

Mr. Stout.—Out of the European's pocket? Does the honourable member think that the European does not make considerable allowance, knowing that this has to be paid, when he comes to deal with his Maori client? Was not that proved by my honourable colleague when he gave the amount the European had given for the land, and the amount at which it was assessed for the purpose of the property-tax valuation?

An Hon. MEMBER.—There was then a good title.

Mr. Stout.—"There was a good title!" I am glad the honourable member has made that remark, because it shows that, for want of a proper system, the Maoris have been robbed, and have only got a third or a fourth of the value of their land. That is the meaning of it. But I will put it in another way. If the honourable member says that as soon as it becomes European land it acquires an additional value, nothing having been done to improve it, but simply because it has a good title—if that is what he means, then I say that as soon as the Maori has executed the conveyance and got a good title, after the ownership has been determined under this system the Maori will get the proper value of his land, and the Government will get its proper 10 per cent, of revenue from that land, and it will be better for both. Let me say, on this question of taxation, that you cannot tax the Maori except in the way you are doing now, and that that is a considerable tax. I should like to know how Europeans would like, when they sell property, to have 10 per cent, of the value of the land deducted. That tax which the Maori pays will be equivalent, if this Bill is given effect to, to all the taxes the Europeans are called upon to pay; and I say that taxation is impossible in any other way. I would now, however, say one or two words in reference to dealing with the Maoris, Sir, I say that you cannot inaugurate any system of pre-emption except the system of preemption in this Bill. This is a kind of preemption, because the Maoris are not allowed to sell their land to whom they please. The honourable member for Napier said that that system must end. I defy any honourable member to point out any flourishing settlement of small farmers in the North Island where the land has been bought direct from the Natives. In all the small-farm settlements the land has been bought from the Crown. A small section now and then may have been obtained direct from the Natives, but the land so bought has fallen almost entirely into the hands of big speculators and large land-rings. And this Bill is to put a stop to that. Now, what are we to do? Some Bill is necessary. The question whether the Natives should have any representation in dealing with their land or not is practically the only point on which objection has been made to this Bill by the honourable member for Napier. And I ask this House, how are we to look at this Maori-land question? I apprehend that we have to deal with the Maoris, to give them more help, more sympathy, more fair-play, if you like the words better, than we give to people of our own race. We have a great duty to fulfil in reference to them. We have to see that they are not only not treated harshly by us, but also that they do not come to look upon our race as a race intending to crush them by depriving them of their rights. Our Bill, I apprehend every one will admit, is fair to the Maoris. Now, is it fair to the Europeans? What do the Europeans get under this Bill? By it Europeans in the South as well as in the North are put on an equal footing, which they have never been on up to the present time. By this Bill every one will be equally able to obtain Native lands in the North Island. In the past only those who could employ a host of pakeha a-Maori interpreters, or could themselves speak Maori, have been in a position to get Maori land. By this Bill all colonists will be put on a level in that respect, and all will have an equal right to purchase Maori land; and Maori lands will now be sold, as they should have been in the past, according to the land laws of the colony, and they will be open to all in the colony to compete for. I will not take up the time of the House further now in referring to this Bill. I am glad, I repeat, that the honourable member for Napier asks the House to consider this Bill independently of party; and I have no doubt whatever that, if the Bill is treated independently of party spirit, at the end of the discussion this Bill will be admitted to be a good Bill in the interests of both races in this colony.

Proceedings of Meeting of Sheep-Farmers in Amuri.

To Consider the

Unsatisfactory Administration

Of the

Sheep and Rabbit Act.

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## Meeting of Sheep-Farmers in Amuri

A large and influential meeting of stock-owners was held in the Waiiau Hotel on Monday, the 18th August, to consider the manner in which the Sheep Act is being administered. There were present gentlemen representing an ownership of about 400,000 sheep. Mr John Tinline was unanimously voted to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN after reading the circular convening the meeting read apologies from Mr W. D. Wood, of Swyncombe, and Mr Bullen, of Kaikoura, regretting their inability to be present, and expressing full sympathy with the object of the meeting.

Sir NORMAN CAMPBELL read a lengthy correspondence between the owners of Highfield and the Sheep Department, in order to show that the Department was not doing its duty either in the matter of protecting the clean runs or in stamping out the disease in infected quarters.

After a lengthy discussion, during which several gentlemen expressed the opinion that the interests of the Sheep Department were opposed to those of the owners of clean sheep,

Mr A. W. RUTHERFORD proposed the first resolution as follows:—"That this meeting after hearing evidence of the way in which the Sheep Act has been administered in the districts of Amuri and Marlborough considers itself justified in censuring the Sheep Department for the great neglect shown in carrying out the Act, and begs to lay the following facts before the Government. 1st—That immediately after the passing of the Sheep Act in 1878 the Sheep Inspectors at once, and without any forbearance, took most extreme measures to compel all run-holders in North Amuri, which at that time was infected, to clean their flocks regardless of all cost. That these run-holders, being most anxious to see the Act carried out in its integrity, did every-thing in their power, in season and out of season, to clean their sheep, and ultimately succeeded, but at the cost of large expenditure in fencing their runs, and also, in many instances, by the reduction of their flocks to three-fourths of their number, and with a loss of nearly all lambs for one or two seasons, caused by continual mustering and dipping. 2nd—That those runholders of Northern Amuri having got their runs clean, naturally looked to the Sheep Department to protect them and carry out the Act on the runs in Marlborough, adjoining Amuri, in a similar manner to what they had been themselves subjected to. Instead of which the Inspectors seem to have allowed the Act to become a dead letter, and are administering it upon lines laid down by themselves, the consequence of which is that scab has never been eradicated from some of those Marlborough runs, and has in one case become worse than it ever was before, and this district is again threatened with a fresh introduction of the disease. 3rd—That to show the inconsistency and careless manner in which the law is now being administered, the following instances may be given: Within the last few months the Messrs Inglis and Mr Tinline having infected sheep in the Kaikoura district, were compelled to pay fines to a large amount, and on the other hand another runholder in the same district being also fined had his fines remitted, although his sheep were in a much worse state than the others. The same individual was also allowed, although the Inspectors were re-monstrated with at the time, to drive his flock, numbering 40,000, half of which at least were actually diseased, to the Kahutara shearing reserve, which is in the middle of what were then clean flocks belonging to Messrs Bullen, of Greenhills, and Mr W. D. Wood, of Swyncombe, and those gentlemen have now their flocks infected as the natural consequence. Another instance of loose administration of the Act is the allowing large numbers of sheep to be driven out of Marlborough from runs where there is no guarantee of their being permanently clean, and through very doubtful country into Amuri, where every runholder holds a clean certificate, without any pre-caution having been taken to dip them before they commenced to travel; while on the other hand the Amuri settlers north of Waiiau who have had clean flocks for many years cannot drive any sheep into Canterbury without first dipping them twice at an extravagant charge, imposed upon them through the careless manner in which the Waiiau dipping reserve has been leased by the Department; whereas if the Act had been carried out in Marlborough as it ought to have been, not only those dipping charges would have been avoided, but large numbers of sheep could have been sent to the Canterbury markets and for freezing purposes, which at present cannot be done through the deterioration and injury they are subjected to through dipping and quarantining." In speaking to the motion Mr Rutherford said—To effect anything beneficial to this district a thorough reform in the administration of the sheep department is imperatively required. The Sheep Department, with the consent of the late Government, has practically suspended the Sheep Act.

Sir N. CAMPBELL, in seconding the motion, referred to the last annual report of the Sheep Department, from which it appeared that, notwithstanding the large number of Inspectors throughout the colony, the number of scabby sheep had actually increased by 107,000. He also read correspondence from runholders in Otago reflecting severely upon the same department for their administration of the Rabbit Act there. Happily we had no trouble with the rabbits in this district as yet, but what he had read went to show that the administration of this Department was rotten in every branch.

The resolution was then unanimously agreed to.

Mr JAMES MACFARLANE proposed the second resolution, viz., "That in submitting the foregoing statement this meeting respectfully requests the Government to institute a Parliamentary inquiry into the whole working of the Sheep and Rabbit Acts, with a view to their being carried out in a more efficient manner than is being done at present."

Mr W. J. MOFFAT seconded the resolution, which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr W. ATKINSON Jun., proposed the third resolution, viz., "That copies of the foregoing resolutions, and of the documents and correspondence relating thereto, be forwarded to the Colonial Secretary, and to the member for the district;" which was seconded by Mr W. SCAIFE, and agreed to.

It was further resolved that this meeting forms itself into a Committee, with power to add to their number, to take such action as may from time to time be necessary for the furtherance of the above objects.

Mr John Tinline was appointed Chairman, and Mr R. Corbett Treasurer of the Committee, and it was agreed that the whole of the correspondence and documents which had been read to the meeting should be published in pamphlet form.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

[Copy.] Highfield, Waiau,

19th February, 1883.

B. P. Bayly, Esq., Chief Inspector of Sheep, Blenheim.

Sir,—We wish to call your attention to a few facts *re* our Cloudy Range country.

You may not be aware that all the time Mr. Wharton has been interested in Highfield, now some six years, we have been afraid to stock our Cloudy Range country owing to our neighbour's sheep being so scabby. It is only now, that after going to a deal of expense in clearing all sheep off this country, fencing it, &c., that we have ventured to stock it.

After incurring such expense and loss through not stocking the country for so many years, it seems to us very hard that we should have to run so much risk from our neighbour's, Mr. Gibson's, scabby sheep.

Considering that so much pressure was brought to bear upon Mr. Tinline four years ago to compel him to clean his sheep, it seems strange that Mr. Gibson, owning sheep in a portion of the same district, should still be allowed to remain a standing menace and source of terror not only to us, but to the whole of this district.

Your local inspector, Mr. Passau, can doubtless corroborate our statement *re* the present state of Mr. Gibson's sheep.

We have no wish to injure Mr. Gibson, but simply to point out that we are more particularly interested in this matter owing to our position, as of course if we get infected by Mr. Gibson's sheep, we have to bear the whole brunt of it, and also run the risk of infecting this clean portion of the district.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed) HENRY WHARTON & Co.

[Copy.] Clyde,

7th March, 1883.

J. Corbett, Esq., Highfield, Waiau.

Sir,—In reply to your letter of 26th February, I can assure you that the matter of Gibson's Sheep endangering the country lately stocked by you is one that has claimed my attention specially for some time past, and now Inspector Passau's attention is again drawn to it.

I may further add that distinct instructions were given that if satisfactory steps, in his opinion, had not been taken already, prosecutions were to be instituted without awaiting until May, when all not having by that time secured certificates must necessarily be mulcted in a heavy penalty. You may rely upon the fact that no further extension will be granted, or is it dreamed of so far as I know.

I have now again brought this matter forcibly under Passau's attention, and I trust the result will be

satisfactory to you.

Thanking you for your letter, as communications of this description strengthen my hands.—I am, yours sincerely,

(Signed) BENJ. P. BAYLY.

[Copy.] Highfield, Waiau,

23rd March, 1883.

B. P. Bayly, Esq., Sheep and Cattle Inspector and Registrar of Brands, Wellington.

Sir,—We are in receipt of your memorandum dated 7th inst., and thank you for the information contained therein, and are pleased to hear that our letter will be of some service to you.

We are glad you have instructed Inspector Passau to take whatever steps he thinks necessary in the matter, and under the circumstances we hope you do not consider it unreasonable if we request you to order Mr. Passau to have a man put on to keep the boundary between us and Mr. Gibson, until such time as Mr. Gibson obtains his certificate.

In order to shew we are justified in making this request we beg to inform you that there is a joint boundary fence between us and Mr. Gibson, also a boundary-keeper, whose time is divided between that and two other boundaries, viz: that between Messrs. Gibson and Bullen and Mr. Bullen and ourselves, and of whose wages we pay one-third. Whilst Mr. Gibson's sheep are infected we do not consider this sufficient for our protection, and think that any further expenses should certainly be borne by him.

Trusting this matter will meet with your favourable consideration.—We remain, yours obediently,

(Signed) HENRY WHARTON & Co.

[Copy.] Memorandum from Benjn. P. Bayly to J. Corbett, Esq., Highfield. Wellington,

May 11, 1883.

I enclose for your perusal a letter from Inspector Passau dealing with Gibson's country and state of his flock. You will observe that the Inspector explains satisfactorily some points referred to in your last communication on this subject, and I should be very glad to hear from you again if there is any matter contained in Mr. Passau's report which you may deem requires attention.

(Signed) BENJ. P. BAYLY,  
Superintending Inspector.

[Copy.]

23rd April, 1883.

Passau to Bayly.

In reply to your letter of the 30th ultimo, respecting complaints against Mr. Gibson refusing to keep an extra boundary man and not reducing stock by boiling-down, I have to state the following:—

*Re* Boundary.—What Wharton & Co. state that there is a joint boundary man kept on the fence is true, but previous to the Cloudy Range being stocked he was kept there by Mr. Gibson alone. Since stocking that country Mr. Campbell was anxious that the man's wages should be paid between them, as he did not see the necessity of two men being on the same fence. Mr. Gibson agreed to this, and has not been consulted since by complainant as to the second man being necessary. Although I have forwarded a report upon the inspected runs in this sub-division, I consider it but just to all parties concerned to state here the condition of the sheep on the Warden Run (infected) which adjoins the Greenhills and Cloudy Range (clean runs).

On the 20th, 21st, 22nd of the present month I inspected fully 30,000 sheep that were mustered from the Warden Run, and I was unable to detect the slightest sign of scab, not even in the woolly sheep (about 400), they are now being dipped, and they are to be mustered in again immediately and dipped, to make certain that nothing has been left upon the run.

When this is done I shall be in a position to state that between the country actually scabby and the clean runs (the Greenhills and Cloudy Range) there will be a block of country—40,000 acres in extent—carrying

nothing but clean sheep, which I consider will greatly lessen the danger of infection.

Mr. Gibson's sheep, as all other infected sheep in this subdivision, are branded with S.

There is evidently a mistake respecting Mr. Gibson's not boiling-down surplus stock, as I saw them drafted from the flock myself—about 7000.

*Re Inglis' sheep*, I have to report that I have, during the whole season through, seen either the whole or a portion of this flock every time that the run has been mustered.

(Signed) A. PASSAU,  
Inspector.

[Copy.] Highfield, Waiau,

22nd May, 1883.

Benjamin J. Bayley, Esq., Superintending Inspector, Sheep Department, Wellington.

Sir,—In reference to Inspector Passau's memo, of the 23rd ultimo, we beg to call your attention to the following facts:—

*Re Boundary.*—It is true that the man on the boundary between the Cloudy Range and Warden Runs was paid by the owner of the Warden Run, but, as a set-off against this, we would point out that the owners of Highfield kept 27,000 acres of country unstocked for six years through fear of infection from the Warden flock, and hoping every year that something would be done to compel the owner of the Warden Run to take the necessary steps to clean his flock.

*Extra Boundary Keeper.*—In Inspector Passau's memo, he says complaints have been made against Mr. Gibson for refusing to keep an extra boundary man.

In answer to this, we beg to refer you to our letter of 23rd March, which was as follows, viz.:—"We request you to order Mr. Passau to have a man put on to keep the boundary between us and Mr. Gibson until such time as Mr. Gibson obtains his certificate."

As regards a conversation between Sir Norman Campbell and Mr. Gibson, what took place was as follows:—

*"Sir Norman Campbell asked Mr. Gibson to make the boundary man denote all his time to their boundary, pointing out that that was as much as one man could do, instead of dividing it over two others, and on condition this was done, Wharton and Co. would pay half his wages. Mr. Gibson said that the boundary man was well able to keep the three boundaries (referred to in our letter to you); and Sir Norman Campbell said that if Mr. Gibson was satisfied on that score, he did not wish to run into unnecessary expense."*

Since the above conversation took place, Sir Norman Campbell, on several occasions riding past Mr. Gibson's yards at the Reserve, saw mobs of scabby sheep, and we then thought our best plan was to claim the protection of the Sheep Department.

Inspector Passau's statement *re* the condition of Warden flock.—This statement is doubtless very satisfactory, but until Mr. Gibson obtains his certificate, the danger to this district remains the same.

*Re Mr. Gibson's not "boiling down."*—Mr. Corbett merely mentioned to you that Mr. Bullen informed him that in his opinion Mr. Gibson ought to have boiled down ten thousand sheep.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed) HENRY WHARTON & Co.

[Copy.] Shag Valley Station, Waihemo,

2nd May, 1884.

Sir Norman Campbell, Bart., Cloudy Range, Kaikoura.

Dear Sir,—My brother Harry has sent me your letter of 21st April, kindly offering me the chance of some ferrets cheap. I should have been glad to take them and plenty more, but the inspectors here allow them no chance, insisting upon men with dogs and traps being kept on the same ground, and I am reluctantly obliged to give up the turning out of ferrets, which I had begun. Should the Department send men of any sense here at any time, I will remember your information on the subject, and trust that it will not then be too late to avail myself of it.—Yours faith, fully,

(Signed) A. D. BELL.

[Copy.] Shag Valley Station, Waihemo,

19th July, 1884.

Dear Sir Norman Campbell,—I have just received your note of 14th. I don't remember exactly what I wrote to you about the ferrets and the inspectors, but whatever it was, you are fully at liberty to use my letter in any way you please.

I am very glad to hear of the steps you intend taking. I am perfectly certain that we should have got over the difficulty down here long ago. As soon as I had reduced the rabbits to a small number by poisoning, and had spent my first hundred pounds on ferrets, the inspectors issued countless notices to employ rabbiters (dogs they particularly insisted upon, of course) where they had been turned out. When I remonstrated, the answer of those masters of the rabbit question was, "I don't believe in those ferrets myself," and this was supposed to settle the question. With the aid of prosecutions it did; and I gave up the ferrets and took the rabbiters back again, with the loss of my £100, but with the gain (of) the lives of the poor rabbits.

I have actually no less than six inspectors and agents coming regularly to this house, as well as others on my borders. The whole business is monstrous.—Yours sincerely,

(Signed) A. D. BELL.

Once a Month No. III. VOL. II. March 15, 1885.

## Gallery of Eminent Australasians.

No. IV.

The Hon. Robert Stout,

PREMIER OF NEW ZEALAND.

*"O small beginnings, ye are great and strong, Based on a faithful heart and weariless brain; Ye yield the future fair, and conquer wrong, Ve earn the crown and wear it not in vain."*

—J. R. Lowell.

*"In a troubled state we must do as in foul weather upon a river, not to think to cut directly through, for the boat may be filled with water; but rise and fall as the waves do; and give way as much as we conveniently can."*  
—Selden.

Continuing our pen and pencil sketches of statesmen of note in the Australasian Colonies, we have this month to direct the attention of our readers to the gentleman who last September took up the reins of Government in New Zealand—Mr. Robert Stout.

In giving a brief sketch of Mr. Stout's past life, we may first remark that the history of his career is simply the history of a man who early in life goes out into the world, and by dint of hard study, steady application, and a firm determination to overcome all obstacles, attains in the prime of life to a leading position both as a lawyer and as a statesman.

Mr. Stout is a native of the most northern part of the British dominions, having been born in the year 1845, at Lerwick, in the Shetland Islands, where his father was a merchant and anded proprietor. He was educated at the parish school of Lerwick, which at that time was considered one of the first seven schools of the North of Scotland, the master being a cultured classical, scholar. At the age of thirteen he became a pupil-teacher in this school, and served through the full term, passing the various examinations with more than ordinary credit; Being in fact one of a very few specially mentioned in the Privy Council Reports in 1861 While at school, the subject of our sketch had begun to display some of the qualities for which he is distinguished, and which have stood him in good stead throughout his adult life—untiring industry—an unlimited capacity for hard work—and an unswerving honesty of purpose. In addition to the ordinary subjects taught at the parish school, he had, either as scholar or pupil-teacher, obtained a good knowledge of Mathematics, for which he had manifested a special aptitude and also of Latin and French, as well as a tincture of Greek.

As may be supposed, the Shetland Islands, shut off, as they are, from the rest of the world by stormy seas and fiercely-running currents, did not offer much, scope for the exercise of the faculties of a man like Mr. Stout, whose natural disposition made him impatient of restraint, and discontented until he had scaled the highest point within the horizon of his views. Accordingly in 1863, when his term of pupil-teachership had expired, he began to look about him for some wider field in which to try his fortune. At this time much attention was attracted by New Zealand, as well by the disastrous wars in which the colonists were engaged with the Maoris, as by the lucrative goldfields which had shortly before been discovered throughout Otago. After a little consideration young Stout determined to betake himself to what was looked upon, at least in the remote part of

Her Majesty's dominions in which he was brought up, as almost unknown land; and left his home at the close of 1863, passing through Scotland and England on his way to Dunedin, where he arrived early in 1864. Before leaving home he had made himself master of land-surveying, and had got special certificates on passing an examination in the theory and practice of it, and it was his intention to have followed in his adopted home the profession of a land-surveyor. After his arrival in Dunedin, however, he found that there was no opening in this profession; but he soon obtained an appointment in the Dunedin Grammar School as second master. Afterwards he became second master in the North Dunedin district school, which position he held until the close of 1867, having during this time gained a good reputation as a teacher. While thus engaged, Mr. Stout was chiefly instrumental in founding the Otago Schoolmasters' Association, with branches in different parts of that colony, which has now developed into the Otago Educational Institute. In 1868, he commenced the study of Law at Dunedin, and in July, 1871, the two branches of the profession being amalgamated in New Zealand, was admitted a barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court, having passed the examinations prescribed for barristers.

The first session after the University of Otago was opened, in 1871, he attended the courses of lectures in Mental and Moral Science, and obtained the first prize for essays in these subjects; and also stood first in the Political Economy class next session. He was subsequently Law Lecturer in the University for three sessions (1873, 1874, 1875), but resigned this position on being elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1875.

Immediately after admission into his profession he went into partnership with Mr. Sievwright, a countryman of his, who had been practising in Dunedin for a year of two previously as a solicitor. Mr. Stout's professional reputation was won almost *uno ictu*. He gained laurels in his first criminal case, and he soon became noted both as a successful pleader and as a sound lawyer, being particularly effective in addressing juries.

In 1876 an important event in his domestic life occurred, he having, towards the close of that year, married Miss Logan, a daughter of an old Dunedin settler and officer of the Provincial Government.

For some years past Mr. Stout's services have been in request in most important cases, from Wellington to Invercargill. His name appears constantly in the Court of Appeal Reports, and his opinion is sought as advising counsel by solicitors and clients in all parts of the colony. With his growing fame the business of the firm expanded, and, more accommodation being necessary, new offices were built, which are acknowledged by visitors to Dunedin to be the handsomest in the Australasian colonies.

We turn now from Mr. Stout's professional to his public, and especially his political career. We were about to say that his first appearance before the public was when he contested Caversham for a seat in the Provincial Council of Otago in 1872; but before that date he had read papers before the Otago Schoolmasters' Association, and had evinced considerable interest in the management of the Dunedin Athenæum, having been appointed a committeeman in 1868, and having been elected on the committee for several years afterwards. In 1872 he was elected to a seat in the Provincial Council of Otago, and in the following year accepted the office of Provincial Solicitor in the Executive of which Mr. Donald Reid was the head. Mr. Stout's connection with the Ministry is suggestive, since Mr. Reid's name has been associated, as a member of the Provincial Council, as a member of the House of Representatives, and as a Minister, with the settlement of the people on the land, and the framing of liberal land laws.

In 1875 Mr. Stout was elected a member of the House of Representatives. In that year the act was passed for the abolition of Provincial Governments, and for making Wellington the centre of legislative and executive power. Mr. Stout had hotly opposed the passing of this measure, and as it was not to come into operation till 1876, a general election took place in that year, the issue of which was "Abolition *versus* Provincialism." Dunedin returned three Provincialists—Messrs. Macandrew, Stout, and Larnach, in the order named; but the cause of Provincialism was lost. In 1877, on the defeat of the Atkinson Ministry, Sir George Grey, who had two years before left his island home to enter the arena of politics, took office, and the accession of Mr. Stout to the Grey Ministry in 1878—as Attorney-General—met with the unanimous approval of the country. He was forced to resign, however, in June, 1879, owing to the urgent demands of private business, occasioned through the serious illness of his partner.

Mr. Stout has always prided himself on his radical principles, and while standing loyally by his party since he first entered political life, has always been found on the extreme left of that party. Being intensely democratic by nature and training, he has great belief in agitation, and in awakening the people to political life, and he has often stood alone in advocating views which many have sneered at as impracticable fads, but more than one of which he has had the satisfaction of seeing carried out with more or less completeness. On the platform, and in the newspapers and magazines, in his place in Parliament, and as a private citizen, he has fought in the ranks of the temperance reformers. Time after time he tried to get bills passed through Parliament applying the principle of local option to the sale of alcoholic liquors, and the principle was at length

acknowledged by the Licensing Act of 1880, passed during his retirement from politics. At the election of licensing commissioners under the Act last year, he was returned in each of the four wards of the city in the temperance interest.

Mr. Stout's views on the land question are well known and pronounced. He has incurred much ill-will by his persistent opposition to the accumulation of tracts of land in the hands of large landowners, whether companies or individuals, and he has always been in the van among those who desired the settlement of small farmers throughout the country. His name has occasionally been associated with land-nationalisation, but we believe we are correct in saying that he regards it as impracticable in application, and would not go further than retaining the yet unsold pastoral lands of the Colony.

When in the House of Representatives in 1877, he was on the Waste Lands Committee at the time that the Land Act of 1877 was considered, and had charge of the bill in its passage through the House. In 1882, he was appointed, by the Atkinson Ministry, a member of the Land Board of Otago; and, at his instigation, the Board instituted a series of investigations, not yet finished, which revealed the existence of a serious blot on the working of the Land Acts, viz., what has been termed "dummyism." Mr. Stout took part in the investigation with energy and with determination, and he and his colleagues on the Board, who supported him, became, for a while, the idols of the public.

Many of the Acts to be found in the statute books, from 1875 to 1879, were due to Mr Stout's initiation. He obtained for Dunedin the High School site, the Museum site; and the Town Hall site. The working men have to thank him for the Trades Union Act; and the Administration Act, which, following Victoria, does away with the distinction between real and personal estate so far as succession is concerned, passed in 1878, and re-enacted in 1879 with slight amendments, is due to him.

He has always taken a lively interest in education. He was a member of the Education Board of Otago, from 1873 to 1876, a member of the High School Board of Governors during 1877 and 1878, and has several times been a member of the Dunedin School Committee. His hand may be "traced in the Education Act of 1877, the secular system of education instituted by which has always been warmly supported by him, and he is at the present time Minister of Education.

At the general election in July last year, Mr. Stout again appeared before the electors. He had not been idle, however, in the interval between 1879 and 1884. He edited from 1880 to 1883 a radical and agnostic paper published at Dunedin, and also occasionally contributed articles to the Melbourne Review. Indeed he had been contributing to the press articles and leaders almost constantly since 1870. He also appeared at intervals on the platform, lecturing on political, religious, and temperance subjects.

The political crisis which took place in New Zealand last winter is well-known throughout Australia, and will not soon be forgotten in New Zealand.

First came the defeat of Major Atkinson's Ministry; then the appeal to the country, when Mr. Stout was elected by a large majority; then the resignation of the Atkinson Ministry, after the unfavourable decision of the constituencies; then for more than a month, chaos; until at length the waters became still, the foam dissolved, and the Ministry now in office was allowed to carry on the business of the country without interruption.

Sir Julius Vogel, well-known in New Zealand politics twelve or fourteen years ago, had arrived in the Colony a few months before the election, and some surprise was occasioned when it became known that Mr. Stout supported his candidature. He was re-turned; and when Parliament met it was found that there were really four parties, Sir Julius having a following in addition to the other recognised leaders in the last Parliament. It is unnecessary to give an account of the various attempts made to form a stable Ministry. What was tantamount to a coalition was ultimately formed by Sir J. Vogel and Mr. Stout. Mr. Stout has been subjected to much adverse criticism for this alliance, seeing that on some questions he and Sir Julius held opinions considerably divergent. He is not, however, a politician who pins his colours to certain doctrines, neglecting meanwhile to take advantage of opportunities which may come in his way for carrying them out. He is not a rigid *doctrinaire*, who would pursue to its end a "theoretic scheme of policy that admits of no pliability for contingencies." The true statesman is he who knows when to compromise, as well as when to hold fast to his doctrines. He believed in the principle of party Government. He saw that the best security for party Government was that the people should have confidence in the Ministry for the time being. The people had declared their want of confidence in the Atkinson Ministry, but that party was still more powerful than any one of the other parties. He put aside all minor differences and joined Sir J. Vogel in a coalition.

Last session the Government professedly confined itself to administrative questions, leaving large questions of policy for future consideration. Whether the Ministry will live an average life remains to be seen. In these colonies, where it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line, making two such parties as Liberals and Conservatives, opposite sides may work together on many questions without much friction.

One thing, however, the formation of this Ministry has done. It has given time and opportunity, in which we may expect that the heterogeneous elements, of which the House was composed when it met, may be

consolidated into parties on distinct party lines. And, for the efficient carrying on both of the work of legislation and of administration, this is no slight benefit.

In conclusion we may remark that the Ministry has given indications that it will support and encourage the industries of the country by sound and legitimate means. Mr. Stout has always taken an interest in native industries, having been President of the Committee of the Industrial Exhibition held in Dunedin in 1881, and taken a large share in its promotion.

There can be no doubt, that Mr. Stout exercises, and will, in the years to come, exercise great influence in the Parliament of New Zealand. We cannot say that this influence is due to the predominance of any one quality. It is no doubt due as well to his determination, energy, and far-seeing policy, as to his power as a debater. Mr. Stout is not a born orator. He is eloquent, yet has only a moderate command of language. The rank which he has obtained as one of the best public speakers in New Zealand, has been obtained probably as much by practice, as from any inborn quality. His power over his audience is mainly attributable to his intense earnestness, and his great depth of feeling.

"Tenax."

## Jacobi's Wife.

By Adeline Sergeant.

### Chapter IX.

#### Midnight in the Tent.

You can't think how full a bullock's foot is of bones," said Vanborough reflectively. He had placed a mass of soft, brownish jelly upon an earthen-ware dish and was touching it up with an iron spoon. Nigel Tremaine lay in a hammock, looking rather white and worn from the effects of his feverish attack; the warm air came in from the tent opening, and Geoffrey was pre-paring his friend's breakfast—Paraguay tea, corn-cakes, and very primitive calfsfoot jelly.

"Where did you get the bullock's feet?" asked Tremaine.

"Oh, they were given me. Carson told me what could be done with them, and took off the shoes. I soaked them for one night and let them boil for twelve hours more—this savoury jelly is the consequence. It is very good for you; but I repeat that you will never know how difficult it is to cut up bullock's feet, because you simply cannot imagine how full they are of bones."

"You are becoming a first rate cook," said Nigel, taking a portion of the jelly; upon his plate.

"A good plain cook," said Van-borough, pulling down his sleeves and proceeding to pour the tea into a tin pannikin; "but I don't pretend to emulate Carson." Carson was another Englishman who had recently joined the party. "He brought in an ostrich's egg yesterday morning for himself and Darenth and made an omelet for their breakfast. When it was done he remembered that Soyer always tossed an omelet in the open air; so he would go outside and toss it. I saw him from afar, and told him what would happen, but he would not listen. Up it went, and about one quarter came down into the frying-pan again."

"What a fool!"

"So I called him," said Geoffrey, plunging his spoon into the jelly.

"And what happened yesterday? The men came in swearing that you were the best drover among them. I was too lazy to inquire about it at the time."

"The mules all went different ways," said Geoffrey, laughing, "and so did we. At last I got down and put my ear to the ground in order to ascertain whether I could not hear some large body of them coining my way; and I did. They had turned round and were coming back, so I just headed them, and when the other fellows turned up I had got every one—not a single mule missing. We drove them into a mule-yard then, you know, and some of the men took charge of them. Now we are nearly at our journey's end, and shall have no more work of that sort just yet."

"You are happy in this life, Geoffrey?"

"I like it very well. It is a change from mess room and parade, isn't it?"

"And how about the home-ties?" said Tremaine, with a keen glance of his eagle eyes at the broad-shouldered, fine-looking man before him, who had adapted himself with such apparent ease to the exigencies of a colonist's life.

Vanborough was silent for a moment; then laughed rather defiantly.

"You don't expect me to go into those *pros* and *cons* over breakfast, with a day's work before me, do you?" Then, seeing that Nigel took this speech with a curiously grave, considerate look, he added, "You must not press me too hard, Nigel. You forget that while you are soon going back to English life, I am not."

"That is just what I want to talk about. Not now, though, while you are so desperately colonial. But I must be getting back to Buenos Ayres in a few days, remember, and I have a thing or two on my mind to say."

"All right, old fellow. I beg pardon for my roughness. It's awfully hard to hear you talk of going back; though, of course, the time-must come sooner or later. Now I must be off—there's no help for it."

"I shall be out, too, presently. I want to see your mesmerising friend before I go."

"Don't," said Geoffrey, with an accent of such hearty disgust that Nigel laughed as they separated. "Besides," Vanborough turned back to say, "I believe he has left the camp."

Sebastian Vallor had been hanging about the camp for some time earning his living in precarious ways. Occasionally he prescribed for various diseases, and seemed to have a good deal of knowledge of herbs, acquired perhaps amongst the Indians, with whom he said he had lived for many months at a time; sometimes he told fortunes, even cast nativities in some rude way, and predicted the course of events by the stars. These latter accomplishments aroused a good deal of superstitious feeling among the Spaniards and native Americans; but the English and Yankee settlers, of whom there were several, laughed unmercifully at his pretensions to supernatural lore. His mesmeric influence was put into requisition more than once, but never to such good effect as in the case of the little Indian boy on the night of Vallor's arrival at the camp. Indeed he seemed to shrink from any such exhibition of his powers, and confined himself to common-place tricks and sleight-of-hand, in which he was an adept. His cleverness in card games brought him at first into much repute, but when he was found to win steadily, the settlers became slow to play with him, and the gains thus made rapidly melted away. However, there was always plenty of work to be done, and ready hospitality extended to a stranger; so that, after all, Vallor was not badly off.

He had made little use of his connexion with Luke Darenth; in fact, he seemed to hold himself somewhat apart from him, intimating now and then in a mysterious manner that he knew more than he thought well to confide to such a country booby; but he was particular in his inquiries about Charnwood, and also about the Tremaines and the Vanboroughs. He speedily gathered that Captain Vanborough was on bad terms with his family, and plied Luke with questions as to the reason; but Luke had no answer to give, and grew silent and sulky when he thought the conversation lasted too long. But Vallor returned to the charge more than once.

"What did Mr. Tremaine come out here for?" he asked one day, when Luke seemed more amiable than usual.

"For friendliness to the Captain," said Luke. "They're like brothers, those two, and they're to be real brothers some time or other."

"How is that?"

"By marriage," said Luke nodding. "Mr Tremaine worships the very ground that Miss Clarice treads on. But he's done himself an ill turn by coming out here with Mr Geoffrey."

"Indeed! and how?"

"Oh, Sir Wilfred's taken against him! by all accounts," said Luke. "He didn't like Mr. Tremaine holding to Mr. Geoffrey in opposition to him, but I suppose it will come right in course of time."

"Why had Sir Wilfred quarrelled with his son?" asked Vallor with evident interest.

"Tain't no business of mine," said Luke. "No, I don't know, nor does any one else—except themselves and Mr. Tremaine. Unless, p'r'aps it would be Joan," he added, in a low tone to himself.

"Joan? Ah, that is your sister's name?" said Vallor, interrogatively. Then, with a look as if some new idea were occurring to him, he said, "But your sister—she was very friendly with Miss Vanborough and your Captain—was she not? He might tell her things that he would not tell you or me?"

"He might," said Luke, stolidly un-conscious of the conclusion that Vallor was drawing from his words.

"Your sister, then," pursued the Spaniard, "she is beautiful?"

"She's a fine, strapping lass," said Luke, with calm satisfaction. "Why, you heard that little Pépé describe her to a hair, though how he knew what she was like is more than I can understand."

"That was your sister, was it?" said Sebastian Vallor, "The girl with the dark eyes and the ribbon round her neck—oh, I should know her again so well!—whom Pépé was describing when your Mr. Geoffrey interrupted us with his angry frown and terrible voice? Oh, now I understand. My good Luke, if I was ever to visit Charnwood, I think I could turn your information to good account."

And his eyes assumed so crafty an expression that Luke was suddenly put upon his guard, and began to bethink himself of what he had said. On reflection he could not see that he had betrayed more of his master's business than was well known to all the world at Charnwood. But as a matter of fact Sebastian Vallor had learnt far more than Luke himself could have expressed in words.

"Mr. Tremaine's going back to Eng-land soon, is he not?" he asked Luke presently.

"Next week, I expect; he wants doctoring."

"Why does he not have a doctor from Buenos Ayres? Is he not rich enough to pay the cost? It is seven or eight dollars the mile, and it is forty miles—true; but if he is so rich?—"

"Oh, money matters nothing to him," said Luke, with an Englishman's desire to uphold the honour of his countryman in the presence of a stranger. "Still," he added, upon re-flection, "seven dollars a mile for forty miles is a tidy lot of money, to be sure."

It was noticed after this conversation that Sebastian Vallor was found several times in the vicinity of the tent occupied by Vanborough and Tremaine during their absence; and a certain settler, who was acting one day as cook for the community, felt it his duty to warn him that, "if he didn't give them premises a wide berth for the future he would know the feel of a bullet afore long, or his name wasn't Jonathan Elkins." After which remark Sebastian Vallor absented himself from the camp altogether, and was supposed to have gone back to his lonely hut in the forest at some miles' distance. And therefore Vanborough told his friend, who as yet had observed Vallor only in the most cursory manner possible, that the Spaniard had finally quitted the little settlement.

In the dusk of the evening, when Nigel and Geoffrey were both out of doors, a keen observer might have distinguished a dark form lying almost motionless upon the ground near their tent. A few log cabins had been hastily run up for the use of the cattle-drivers when they came that way, but Vanborough preferred the free ventilation and portability of his canvas dwelling, although he was warned that it was more easily accessible to thieves. He was strong and well-armed, and had no fear. And yet there might have been room for fear in the mind of any one who had descried the stealthy approach of that dark figure through, the grass. It writhed itself along by slow degrees, like a snake, and finally reached the very edge of the tent, where it lay still for a long time. When night had fallen it wormed itself just inside the tent, and lay hidden in the darkness between the canvass and a rude wooden box which stood at one side of the tent. Thus the man, whoever he was, lay not a yard from Nigel Tremaine's hammock, and close to the box which he was in the habit of using as a table on which he sometimes carelessly deposited his watch and pocket-book, side by side with his revolver.

It was with this dangerous visitant crouched within four feet of him that Nigel Tremaine that night opened a conversation with Geoffrey. The lights were out, and Vanborough was just sinking into slumber, when his friend's voice aroused him.

"Geoffrey, old fellow, I'm sorry to disturb you, but as I can never get a quiet word with you in the day time, I must ask you to listen to me now."

"Say on," said Vanborough, sleepily. "You wouldn't be so ready to talk if you had been as many hours in the saddle as I have to-day. I'm afraid I shall snore in the middle of the conversation, that is all."

"Not when you hear what I have to say. I want to talk about your home people."

Geoffrey's voice took a wakeful tone at once.

"What is it? I'm listening."

"I'm not going to pretend to be disinterested," said Tremaine, deliberately. "My words are spoken from purely selfish motives, and you must not mind if they sound harsh. You know how deep my attachment to Clarice is?"

"Yes."

"You know that I was denied admittance to your father's house a fortnight before I came away?"

"Unhappily I do."

"I expected Sir Wilfred's soreness about our friendship and my expedition with you to die away in a short time, but I am sorry to say that it seems to have become exasperated I hear from Clarice that she is now forbidden to go to Beechurst to see my mother and the girls—or to write to me any longer."

"She never told me that," said Geoffrey, sitting up, with something like a groan.

"Of course I shall demand an explanation when I go back."

"You ought never to have come."

"Yes, I ought. I don't think your father will hold out against both Clarice and myself. The fact that makes me most anxious, and that has very considerably astonished me, is that Gilbert takes the same view as Sir Wilfred and opposes our engagement with all his might."

Geoffrey was so still for a moment that Nigel could not even hear him breathe. Then he drew a long sigh, as of one utterly heart-sick and weary. "Well," he said, "is there anything in that to surprise you?"

"Yes," Nigel answered emphatically, "very much." He paused for a moment, and then went on in clear and rapid tones—"I am surprised, because I thought the bond between you was so strong. I know how he used to cling to you when we were all boys together; how considerate you were of him, how dependent he was on you. You were a model elder brother, Geoffrey; Gilbert used to look to you for all sorts of aid long after his boyhood; and you were absurdly, romantically generous and good to him. Oh, yes, I know the history of his lameness; you needn't remind me of it. You all i attach an undue importance to your share in that accident.

Practically he owes more than half his success and happiness in life to you; I've heard him acknowledge it when he was in an amiable mood. And for him to say that he believes that you would commit forgery! Why, he must know that it is a moral impossibility as well as I do. I am lost in amazement at Gilbert's action in the matter."

"I wish you would let it rest."

"I can't and won't let it rest. Do you ever let it rest? You know that it haunts you night and day. This is the last time we may be able to talk the matter out. Hitherto I have respected your silence. Now I am going back to encounter the obstacles which between us we have managed to raise up in the way of my engagement to Clarice. For her sake and mine you ought to help me. The easiest way of removing the difficulty would be to clear yourself of suspicion. And I think I have a right to ask a question or two."

"This is just your old trick of bullying me which you had at school," said Vanborough. "It has lost its power now, you know. You have a right to ask questions, certainly; and I have a right to decline answering them Go on."

"Do you want this matter cleared up?"

"No."

"Do you want to come back to England?"

"No."

"You prefer expatriation? Why? When Sir Wilfred rests with your fathers, you will come home with your fortune gained in sheep-shearing and colt-breaking, and take your proper place in the country."

"I think it is probable," said Geoffrey, "that my father may have made some provision in his will to render my return to England all but impossible. He is in possession of certain papers which would lodge me in prison at once, if he chose to place them in proper hands."

"And you will submit to that?"

"I prefer remaining in South America."

"But what do you hope for? What are your prospects of happiness?"

"I have none," said Geoffrey bitterly. "What is there for me to hope for here? I don't blow my brains out, be-cause I hold that a man who commits suicide is a coward; also because there are two or three people in the world to whom my death would bring some little shade of grief. If you had not taken the management of me at the critical moment I think I should have joined the army here instead of going sheep-farming; and then I should have probably been shot in the next revolution. Still, I find that Indians, sun-stroke, fever, and accident make the average death-rate rather high. So much the better."

"I never heard you take that tone before."

"It is not a manly one, I know. You shall not hear it again. Only spare me any more questions."

"One moment, Geoffrey. Will you do nothing to clear yourself?"

"Nothing."

"I believe that I have my finger on the truth. Shall I point it out?"

"No."

"You understand that you are throwing away your character and your life?"

"Indeed I do."

"And for whose sake?"

There was a long silence. Nigel was content to let his question do its own work. When Vanborough spoke it was in a low, pained tone.

"I can't help it, Nigel. Think of it as being for my own sake—my own safety. I can't go back."

"The whole truth would not be half so bad for yourself, and for others, as this concealment. If I said to your father——"

"Nigel, I can't listen."

"You must listen, or I shall have to precipitate matters by writing my views to Sir Wilfred in a way that might be called rash."

"Dear old boy, I wish you would hold your tongue. You make matters worse, not better. Do be quiet and go to sleep."

"Not till I have told you a story which justifies my interference. Now don't interrupt me with any such frivolous statement as that you know the tale already, or the parties concerned. Remember you have not heard the comments on it that late years have suggested to me. There were once two brothers, boys of eleven and sixteen. They were at a tutor's house together. One day there was a great row because pipes, and spirits, and various materials for feasting had been smuggled into one of the bedrooms. Everybody in the house denied any knowledge of it—be quiet, I say, and listen—until damning evidence against one Mr. G. Vanborough was found in the shape of a label tied round the neck of a bottle, and addressed to him. Mr. Geoffrey Vanborough was accordingly accused, condemned, and expelled—or would have been expelled, but for the officiousness of a friend who had looked hard into the face of G. Vanborough the younger, saw something there that the general

public did not see, and extorted the truth from him. G. stands for Gilbert as well as Geoffrey, you see. The elder brother had been fool enough—yes, *fool* enough—to shield the younger at his own expense, on the ground that he was young, lame, delicate—heaven knows what besides!—and forgot that his over softness and tenderness to the lad might hinder any chance of his growing up brave and honest in after life. In my opinion you did Gilbert much greater harm by trying to protect him from the consequences of his own wrong-doing than when you were the innocent cause of his lameness. There; I have done. History repeats itself; that is all."

"You are going too far, Tremaine."

"You told me so on that former occasion, I recollect."

"Don't, Nigel; for God's sake, don't! You make me sorry that I ever sought you out on that unhappy night last summer. Don't say another word, or we shall quarrel."

"Vanborough, your love for your brother Gilbert makes a perfect fool of you. Well, what are you going to do?"

"Going out. I'll have no more of this. I can't stand it."

"Lie down again. I have nothing more to say to-night."

"No," said Geoffrey, who had risen from his bed; "I must get a breath of fresh air. I am stifled."

He lifted up the flap of the tent door and disappeared.

Nigel sighed as he turned upon his pillow. He had made one last attempt to alter his friend's determination and had failed. There was nothing left for him to do but to go back to England next week and do what he could with Gilbert and Sir Wilfred. Thus musing he fell asleep, and Geoffrey, broad awake outside, lay under a solitary eucalyptus tree with the night-breezes cooling his feverish hands and head.

And all the time the dark figure of a man, with ears on the alert and nerves a-strain, had crouched three feet from Nigel's head and listened to every word.

Geoffrey had become almost sleepy when his attention was aroused by a sudden cry which seemed to proceed from the tent. He started up, listened, and then rushed towards it at full speed. It was Nigel's voice that had called him, and as he approached he could hear the noise of a struggle, and then the report of a pistol, which roused the whole camp.

He entered the tent just in time to hinder the escape of a man who was crawling away under the canvas with a knife in his hand. Geoffrey seized him by the throat and disarmed him, knowing as he did so that the would-be thief and assassin was Sebastian Vallor. And when he had secured him he turned to the floor, where Nigel Tremaine lay, the still smoking pistol dropping from his hand, the dark blood oozing slowly from more than one ugly wound, and staining all his arm and side; a deathly pallor upon his lifeless face.

## Chapter X.

### The Vengeance of the Camp.

These was a tumult of words and voices, a-crowding of angry faces round the entrance to the tent, a storm of curses on the prisoner's head. Vallor lay on the ground, bound hand and foot, looking ghastly. It seemed to him that his last hour had surely come. If any man present chose to lift his deringer and put a bullet through the culprit's head, no stigma of blame would attach to the perpetrator of such an act of summary justice. But this act was not performed. The men left it to Vanborough, the natural avenger of his friend's blood, and Vanborough was too much absorbed by the sight of Nigel's danger to have thought for any one but him.

An old and experienced colonist, who was in charge of the expedition, and well versed in the treatment of accidents, came and knelt down at Tremaine's side, felt his pulse, and raised his eyelid with one finger and thumb. "Only a faint," he said tren-chantly; "he'll come round." Then he looked at the circle of faces, some scowling, some curious, some sympa-thetic, pointed to the door and uttered one expressive monosyllable—

"Git!"

In two seconds the tent was clear.

"We'll keep 'im till you come out, Cap'en," said one of the men to Van-borough, as he assisted in removing the captive; "darn me if anyone but you has the right to shoot him."

"Keep him safe, then, Geoffrey answered rather grimly.

At that moment he felt himself quite prepared to shoot the murderer with his own hand, should Nigel die.

The manager's rough surgery soon showed, however, that the wounds were not quite as serious as they looked. The knife had penetrated his side very deeply, and his arm was severely wounded, but it did not appear that the injury was a mortal one, as Geoffrey had feared at first.

"Can't we get a doctor?" Vanborough asked by and by.

"None nearer than Buenos Ayres. Eight or ten dollars a mile."

"That doesn't matter. I'd better go myself, perhaps. Or shall I get Darenth to go?"

The squatter thought that "one of the boys" would do the business better than Darenth, and that Vanborough himself should stay by his friend.

"If he wakes up and sees yer gone, he may be just a trifle on reasonable. Sick folk often air, any way. I calc'-late too that Hiram Gregg knows Buenos Ayres more closely 'n you or Darenth neither. If he rides Black Pete he'll be there an' back like a flash o' greased lightning. I'll go and find him."

Geoffrey was left alone with his friend. The bleeding from the wound had hitherto continued, but now he thought he saw signs of its becoming allayed. In a little time Nigel opened his eyes, fixed them earnestly upon Vanborough, and smiled.

"All right," said Geoffrey, softly. "Don't talk; you've been hurt, but you'll soon be better."

Nigel glanced down at his arm and side, seemed to recollect something, and was silent. The kindly settler now returned, and motioned Geoffrey to the door of the tent, where Hiram Gregg, the man guaranteed to go to Buenos Ayres and back "like a flash o' greased lightning," was already in waiting. Vanborough had to furnish him with a part of the money which the doctor would require as a fee; some portion of it, he was told, being often paid beforehand in sign of good faith.

Hiram Gregg, who, like the old colonist, was a North American, waited a moment to add, in an odd, unmodulated voice, which it was vain to hush—

"The boys is gettin' wild out thyar. [*unclear*: Sezthey] want to kna wot yer gwine ter dew with Vallor. Sez they'll lynch him ef yer not raound soon to put a bullet inter him yerself. They 'low yer may as well hev the satisfaction o' dewing it with yer own deringer."

"I'll come out," said Vanborough. He was hardly conscious of what he meant to do—whether he should protect the criminal or allow "the boys" to take vengeance upon him—but he strode back into the tent for his own pistol, as a precautionary measure. And there his eyes encountered Nigel's again; Nigel's blue eyes fixed upon him with something of their old keen brightness.

"Geoffrey," he said.

"Don't speak, don't talk," said Vanborough, hurriedly. "You will hurt yourself."

"Was it Vallor?" the wounded man persisted.

"Yes," and Geoffrey's brow grew dark.

"Remember—I should not have been hurt—but for my resistance—don't let them—kill the fellow."

Vanborough shrugged his shoulders. He was not disposed to interfere in behalf of the man who had half killed Tremaine. But Nigel spoke again, with the gasping impatience of weakness.

"Look after it, will you? Don't let him be killed—on my account."

"All right. Do keep quiet Nigel. I'll do all I can."

And Geoffrey sallied forth, very doubtful as to his line of conduct. No sooner was he outside the tent than he was beset by buzzing groups of men, anxious to see what he would do, and to know what he wished them to do. With the rough honour of comradeship, they had not touched a hair of their prisoner's head; they had left the task of vengeance for Geoffrey's hand. They had already grown fond of the three Englishmen, who seemed united by a stronger tie than the one generally admitted among fellow-settlers in that part of the world. And they were quite prepared to see Geoffrey Vanborough do justice on the man who had stabbed his friend.

Their surprise was not great then when Vanborough, seeing that he was expected to do or say something definite, sprang upon an oak stump and made them a short speech. Vallor lay on the ground at some distance, and whether he heard or did not hear the words that Vanborough spoke could not be told.

"Gentlemen," said Geoffrey, who was not unpractised in the art of addressing a body of men, and had learnt on parade how to make his voice heard, "gentlemen, my friend, Tremaine, is now conscious, and is likely to do well. I have sent to Buenos Ayres for a doctor. As regards the man Vallor, I must say that a short time ago I should have felt much pleasure in shooting him." (Applause—suppressed however, for fear of disturbing the wounded man's repose.) "But—much as I think he deserves punishment—I have passed my word not to shoot him, and to do my best to prevent your shooting him also. What do you think has induced me to give that promise? Who, but the man whom yonder ruffian stabbed in the arm and side—my friend, Tremaine!"

There was no applause this time, but a murmur, half-admiring, half-savage. Then questions, hisses, cries—"We're not safe if a thief like that is to be let off!" "What did he do that for?" "What a darned fool he must be!"

"He says," continued Vanborough, still dominating the passions of the little crowd by the command of his resonant voice, and stately, soldierly-like presence, "he says that the man wanted to rob, not to kill; that he would not have attacked him if he—Tremaine himself—had not fired at him first, and that therefore he is not to be treated as if he was a murderer. Now, whether Tremaine is right or wrong I don't say. I only say that it will be a shame if I have to go back on my word to him while he's lying there helpless. I promised I'd save the man's life, and I'll defend him to the last, because I promised it; but I'd sooner you kicked him out of camp with a

recommendation not to come back again. Now, whoever shoots Vallor will have me to deal with afterwards; and with Tremaine, as soon as he gets better, after me; and with Darenth after both of us. We three are on the same side."

He had spoken loudly, almost roughly, using tone and words most likely to impress the men's minds, and his loyalty to his friend's wishes and to the promise he had given, extorted from them a sullen submission. They muttered that it was no business of theirs any way; and if Vanborough and Tremaine and Darenth liked to be such cursed fools, it was their own look out, and not that of the settlers now in the camp.

Vanborough got down from his stump, and was moving away when the head man, generally known as Ohio Bill, put a horny hand on his arm, and brought his grizzled face very close to the Englishman's brown beard.

"Look hyar," said he, "ef we cave in to the wishes of yond' Britisher, and spare that darned coon's life, it air but right that our feelings should be considered as regards the robbery."

"What now?" said Vanborough.

The American raised his wrinkled forefinger. "It's consid'able hard line's on us, to think we're going to stand by and see a robber make tracks without punishment. Camp air not safe, I reckon, no more than ef the Injuns was on us, if robbery goes unpunished. Neither Tremaine nor you oughter deny that."

"What would you do?"

"Let the boys sorter amuse them-selves with him a little. Not to hurt him partiklar, as you're so sot on begging him off. Duck him once or twice, or give him a taste of a tar brush, and let him run for it; that'll spile his good looks a bit, I reckon. Taint for the morrils of the camp to let him go scot-free, Cap'en. I speak for the boys."

"I don't want him to go scot-free. I should like him to be punished," said Vanborough. "I don't want him killed, that is all. Short of that, I don't see that I need interfere."

"I'll see him safe off the camp ground arterwards," said Ohio Bill, with a wink of his left eye, and a look of intense satisfaction; and Vanborough went back to the tent not at all sorry to think that Sebastian Vallor would meet with some punishment. In his indignation against the man he did not think it necessary to consider whether the punishment was likely or not to be one practised in civilised countries.

Work was suspended for the day. "The boys" were determined to vindicate the honour of their settlement by a solemn trial of the offender. Bench and bar were rigged up by means of planks and logs. Ohio Bill was chosen as judge, and twelve of the men, with Carson the Englishman as their head, constituted a jury. The trial took place at ten o'clock.

There would have been an element of burlesque in the whole affair but for the tragical light in which the prisoner evidently regarded it. To him, not knowing that Tremaine had secured his life, it was a matter of the most serious import. And the jeers, the scoffs, the roars of laughter, commingled with the threats and execrations which occasionally fell upon his ears, must have made those waiting hours torture to him.

Vanborough was summoned to give evidence, which he did with his usual careless calm demeanour. A deputation also waited upon Tremaine to see if he was capable of adding anything to Vanborough's account; but he was in a state bordering upon insensibility, and, considering that "the assassin," as, for purposes of rhetoric, Vallor was now dubbed, had been taken red-handed, there was no necessity, in Ohio Bill's opinion, to wait for Tremaine's return to consciousness. The deputation returned to the improvised courthouse, and Vanborough sat down again at Nigel's bedside to wait for the doctor. He had no curiosity about the verdict or the punishment inflicted.

The trial was over. He could hear a sudden rush of trampling feet, a sudden outcry of voices, oaths, laughter, noisy jests; and then Luke Darenth looked in with a face from which the ruddy colouring had somewhat paled.

"Well," said Vanborough, in a low tone, "what are they going to do with him?"

"I don't know for certain, sir.," said Luke, rather sullenly. "Seems to me it's a heathen kind of way that they're treating a Christian man, for all he's a robber."

"I'll go and see," said Vanborough. "Remember he nearly killed Mr. Tremaine, Luke. Stay here till I come back."

He walked out, saw an excited group near the great ox-waggon, and proceeded thither. As he drew close to it a pale figure eluded the grasp of his rough guards, and flew to Geoffrey Vanborough's feet.

"Save me! save me! They will kill me! You are English; you are better than these demons—these savages—these——"

"What are you doing?" said Vanborough in a voice of thunder. "Did you not say that the man's life should not be harmed? Back! If one of you lays a finger on him I'll fire!"

There was a moment's pause. Vallor cowered at his feet. Geoffrey held the men at bay with levelled revolver and flashing eye. But their passions were up, and could not now be controlled. Before he knew what

they were doing a dozen strong arms had seized him from behind; half-fiercely, half good-humouredly, he was warned to be quiet or he might share Vallor's fate. A rough hand was laid over his mouth when he tried to protest; his revolver was wrested from him and pointed, half in jest and half in earnest, at his own forehead. There were full thirty men against him, and the thirty men would have their way. He was forced to be silent and passive in their hands, which submission became easier to him when he was soon convinced that after all, they had no intention of putting Vallor to death.

The man was pallid, his eyes were almost starting out of his head with fear, but as yet he had suffered little bodily harm. His clothes were almost torn off his back by the rough handling he had received, and his wrists were cut and swollen from the chafing of the rope with which he had been tied, but it was evident that he was undergoing more mental than physical pain. He was dragged away to the great bullock waggons which stood at one side of the camp, and then Vanborough knew what punishment the settlers had determined to inflict upon Sebastian Vallor. He was to be "staked out."

"Staking out" is a punishment with which South American settlers are familiar. Strips of raw hide are fastened from the wheels of one oxen-waggon to the wheels of another, and the culprit is stripped and suspended over them, *head downwards*, at a height of five or six feet from the ground, for a space of time varying from five to fifteen minutes. More, it is said, human life could not sustain, for the suffering inflicted is intense.

Vanborough was forced to watch the infliction of this punishment in comparative silence, and bitterly regretted that, while he had the power, he had not freed Sebastian Vallor entirely. It was a mistake which he had cause afterwards still more deeply to deplore. But as he could not check the suffering so barbarously imposed, he braced his nerves to witness it with stoical calmness. Not a trace of the disgust he felt could be seen in his grave, impassive face. But when it was over, and his rough captors set him free, he turned aside with a sensation of absolute sickness. Vallor had fallen fainting to the ground. When he recovered consciousness he was led out of the camp, and dismissed with the intimation that if he showed his face there again he would be shot—without trial.

But as he was marched away he passed Geoffrey Vanborough, and favoured him with a look expressive of as much malevolence as lips and eyes could well betray.

"It was your doing I" he hissed out painfully, panting with the strain put upon swoollen muscles and quivering nerves, almost black in the face with anguish and wrath alike; "I shall make you repent it still! You have not heard of me for the last time yet."

And then he was silenced and thrust forward, and the camp was rid of him at last.

It was between four and five o'clock in the afternoon when Hiram Gregg at last put his head into Vanborough's tent.

"I've come, Cap'en," he said. The title of "Captain" had been learnt from Luke Darenth, and was applied to Vanborough by all his rough comrades.

"At last," said Geoffrey, rising and turning to the entrance. I thought your horse was a fast one."

"There ain't no faster than Black Pete," said Hiram sullenly, "but you can't allers find a doctor to kum when you want him, can you? I had to wait about a mighty long spell, and arter all he didn't come himself, but sent a friend as was staying along of him,"

"A friend? Is he a doctor, too?"

"Well, I calc'late he must be. He's mighty peart and noticing like. Told me more about the perrairies than I ever knew," said Hiram, with an air of mingled disdain and superior wisdom.

Geoffrey smiled. "Where is he? Let him come in."

"He's here," said Hiram, standing aside, and then the doctor entered.

A man of thirty or thirty-five years; lean, wiry, energetic-looking; not an ounce of superfluous fat anywhere; a keen, dark resolute, masterful face with very little hair upon it, vivacious dark eyes, a long nose, thin lips, a good, broad forehead and square jaw; these were the outward characteristics of the the new doctor. He had one or two cases in his hand, and a wallet at his side. He was dressed in grey linen, and he wore a Panama hat.

"This is my patient, I suppose," he said, after the briefest possible greeting to Geoffrey. "Ah!" And his eye ran rapidly over the details of the scene before him, seeming to note everything in sight—from Nigel Tremaine's white, exhausted face and Vanborough's grave features to the smallest article of camp furniture. Then he devoted his attention exclusively to his patient, and scarcely spoke again, save to issue one or two peremptory orders to Geoffrey until his examination of the patient and the dressing of his wounds were completed. But Tremaine and Vanborough speedily became aware that no tyro in surgical art was before them. The light, skilful touch, the calm certainty of every movement, inspired so much confidence, that when the dressing was over Nigel looked up with a smile and said cheerily—

"That's better—I shall do now."

"I hope so," said the doctor. "Be good enough not to talk for the present, however. Are you disposed to obey Orders or not?"

"To obey," said Nigel, smiling.

"Then don't open your lips again to-night without absolute necessity. I will look at you again in an hour or two. Captain Vanborough, may I speak to you?"

Vanborough quitted the tent with him, leaving Darenth in charge. And then the doctor gave him orders as to his management of the patient, and put matters in such fair train, and spoke so hopefully about his recovery, that Vanborough's mind was more lightened and cheered than he could have expected it to be.

He invited his guest to stay the night, an invitation which was at once frankly accepted. The camp had by this time become a scene of drunken revelry, and Vanborough was glad to have a companion at his own evening meal, which otherwise he would have felt very solitary.

He was soon led into giving an account of Nigel's encounter with Vallor, but he happened not to mention the Spaniard's name until the very close of his narrative. And then the doctor, who had been smoking, put down his long cigarette with a rather curious expression of countenance.

"What name did you say?"

"Vallor. Do you know it?"

"I have heard it before," said the doctor, coolly beginning to smoke again. "Do you know his Christian name?"

"Sebastian."

"Ah! What was he doing here?"

"Gambling chiefly, I believe."

"Has he a wife?"

"I fancy not. He brought some news of his sister-in-law to a man in the camp—that was perhaps his first motive in coming here."

"I knew something once of a man of that name," said the doctor slowly, as if weighing his words, "but he was married."

"This man may have been married too for aught I know," said Vanborough lightly. "He only spoke to Darenth about his brother and his brother's wife."

The doctor repeated the word "Darenth" with an abstracted air.

"It is curious," he said presently, "to find that you mention the name Darenth' in connection with that of Vallor. I know them in connection too."

"Have you been to England?"

"Ten years ago."

"Perhaps you visited a little place called Charnwood? You might have heard both those names there."

"Do you know Charnwood?" asked the doctor.

"Intimately. I was born there."

A sudden light flashed into the man's dark eyes. But he spoke quietly, almost carelessly.

"Excuse my asking you another question. Can you tell me whether a relation of the Darenth family has returned to them yet from America? Her name was Vallor: she had married a man called Constantine Vallor.

"I should have heard of such a person had she arrived at the Darenths' farm," said Geoffrey. "I can safely assure you that no one of that name has been seen there. Besides,—I suppose, from the man Vallor's account, that it was she who was drowned in the wreck of some ship, seven or eight years ago, with her husband."

The doctor paled a little and frowned. "Neither she nor her husband was drowned," he said. "I was there."

"During the wreck? "

"Yes; and afterwards: I had the privilege of knowing Madame Vallor well."

There was a silence. Vanborough felt the presence of some unusual emotion in his visitor's mind, and did not wish to intrude observation upon it. But before long the doctor spoke again.

"I believe," he said "that Madame Vallor and her husband are both alive. I have not seen either of them for many years. But if either of them had died, I fancy I should have heard. Then he paused. "I have not yet introduced myself by name, Captain Vanborough. I am sufficiently civilised, even in South America, to carry my card about with me sometimes. Allow me to offer it to you."

Vanborough's eyes fell with some curiosity upon the card thus presented to him. But the name upon it was utterly unknown to him. It ran thus—

*"Oliver Burnett Lynn."*

*(To be continued.)*

## **In the Children's Hospital.**

The ruddy glow of the sunset gold  
Falls soft on a pain worn face,  
So haggard, and pinched, and wan, and old;  
So lacking in childish grace.

No vernal breath from that hallowed place,  
The valley of childhood fair,  
Ever fanned that hard unchildlike face,  
Early stamped with want and care.

Only a waif of the city ways—  
A wasted, uncared for life—  
That has ebbed, through long and weary days,  
In a fevered struggle and strife.

The dim blue eyes, fierce and bold no more,  
But wistful, and very meek,  
Urge a mutely longing plea before  
The tremulous lips can speak.

"Jim,"—foils the refrain, like some sad song.  
While a weak hand seeks in vain  
For a hand, never loosed before so long,  
That will never be clasped again.

"I guess Jim's dull—there's only us two—  
He ain't but little, you see—  
I promised mother I'd cherish so  
The baby she left to me.

"The little un's never wanted food,  
No matter how hungry I've bin;  
I don't know nothin', and ain't no good,  
But I've kept him safe from sin.

"Pray to Our Father? but dad ain't kind;  
He beat poor mother and Jim;  
But I'm big and strong, and so don't mind—  
I'll soon be a man like him.

"But Jim is 'fraid of strangers, I know;  
So tell him I wants him here—  
I'll show him a golden way to go  
Right up to our mother dear.

"Jim, lad!" but how could an answer come  
From lips that are mute and chill?  
"Mother's baby" already has followed her home,  
And the childish tones are still.

But on that golden path to the west,  
It may be a child-soul stayed,  
For an angel called the boy to rest,  
Ere his last appeal was made.

T. L. Grace Dumas.

La Nouvelle Zélande

Au Point de Vue Économique de la Belgique

par Emile de Harven

*Courtier en Laines*

Conférence Donnée a la Société Commerciale, Industrielle et Maritime D'Anvers

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## La Nouvelle Zélande

### Au Point de vue Économique

De la Belgique.

*Messieurs,*

L'imprévu joue un grand rôle dans la vie.

Si l'on m'avait dit, il y a six mois, que je ferais bientôt mon tour de Belgique pour propager, par la parole, mon étude sur la Nouvelle Zélande, je n'aurais pas ajouté foi à cette prédiction.

Voici comment la chose advint:

L'honorable Président de notre Société royale de Géographie, M. le colonel Wauwermans, après m'avoir fait l'insigne honneur de publier mon travail sous les auspices de la Société, me pria d'y donner une conférence sur le même sujet.—L'entreprise me paraissait périlleuse.—M. Wauwermans insista.—M'inspirant alors de la maxime de Danton: *de l'audace et toujours de l'audace*, j'affrontai le péril pour la première fois, le 17 Octobre dernier, devant le public intime de la Société royale de géographie.

Ma conférence de ce soir est la douzième. Ne me jugez pas comme conférencier; ne voyez en moi qu'un homme de bonne volonté à la recherche du vrai, et en quête d'alliés.

Dans ces dernières années, frappé des transformations économiques et sociales de notre époque rénovatrice, j'ai consacré mes moments de loisir à l'étude des questions commerciales et industrielles qui captivaient mon attention.

A ce même point de vue, j'ai à vous parler aujourd'hui de la Nouvelle Zélande.

En économie politique, comme en toutes choses, tout a des points de contact plus au moins resserrés et il est souvent difficile de préciser où commence et où finit la liaison des rapports.

Tel trouvera dans une information un fond précieux d'enseignement où d'autres n'apercevront que le néant.—C'est pourquoi, Messieurs, tout en n'accordant qu'une place restreinte à la partie descriptive de mon

exposé, je ne puis me dispenser de vous dépeindre brièvement le pays, les mœurs et les coutumes des habitants.

J'en demande pardon à ceux d'entre vous qui m'ont entendu ailleurs ou qui ont lu mon livre.

Précédemment, dans un travail sur l'ensemble des colonies australiennes, j'ai esquissé les ressources de la Nouvelle Zélande, mais son grand éloignement, aussi bien que la difficulté d'accès, me la faisait considérer comme en dehors de notre portée.—Le percement du Panama y ramena mon attention.

Beaucoup d'entre vous le savent, j'ai fait un stage de plusieurs années dans une des plus grandes maisons de commerce de Londres, et j'ai conservé en Angleterre de bons et influents amis.—Par eux, j'ai réussi à me mettre en rapport avec des fondateurs de la colonie néo zélandaise, aujourd'hui rentrés dans leur patrie.—Ces derniers m'ont introduit dans les bureaux du ministère colonial et de cette façon, sans avoir été en Nouvelle Zélande, il m'a été donné de rassembler de précieux documents sommairement condensés dans mon livre.

Je m'étais fait la réflexion suivante:

La Nouvelle Zélande est à nos antipodes; elle est isolée au milieu du Pacifique,—à 2000 kilomètres de toute terre habitée. Cet isolement, cette distance sont évidemment préjudiciables à son développement; et cependant, elle a progressé dans des proportions inconnues ailleurs!

Si, en dépit d'une foule de circonstances défavorables,—en une vingtaine d'années, car ses progrès sérieux ne datent que de 1861,—tel a été le cas, me suis-je dit, à quels soubresauts de progrès ne doit-on pas s'attendre lorsque le percement du Panama raccourcira la distance de plus de 6000 kilomètres, et diminuera d'un tiers la durée du voyage actuel ordinaire par le cap de Bonne Espérance!

Aujourd'hui, pour se rendre en Nouvelle Zélande, il faut intentionnellement dépasser l'Australie et refaire, en sens inverse, la même route pour le retour.—C'est un voyage de 4000 kilomètres, correspondant à neuf jours de navigation par steamer filant régulièrement 10 noeuds à l'heure.

Par l'isthme américain, au contraire, cinq jours avant d'accoster l'Australie, la Nouvelle Zélande sera l'escale des navires en destination du continent australien.

#

Certes, en me livrant à mes dernières investigations sur la Nouvelle Zélande, je ne m'attendais pas à rencontrer un concours aussi homogène d'éléments favorables à sa prospérité.—Vainement, j'ai cherché une contradiction capable de refroidir le charme éprouvé par cette étude laborieuse, mais entraînante en raison des merveilles de tout genre que je trouvais à relater.

Tous les livres consultés par moi, toutes les personnes ayant séjourné en Nouvelle Zélande que j'ai eu l'occasion de voir, sont unanimes à exalter les beautés et les richesses de ce magnifique pays.

C'est une terre d'abondance dont les ressources naturelles ne réclament que l'appoint de capitaux plus importants, la présence d'un plus grand nombre de bras robustes et d'esprits bien équilibrés, pour livrer ses immenses trésors au monde avide d'éléments nouveaux de bien-être.

Or, le percement du Panama va donner à ces îles une topographie privilégiée entre toutes—et lorsque, dans 4 ou 5 ans, la deuxième grande œuvre de M. de Lesseps sera terminée, la Nouvelle Zélande justifiera, sans conteste, son appellation d'Angleterre du Sud que ses heureux habitants se plaisent déjà à lui donner.

A n'en pas douter, elle deviendra rapidement l'entrepôt général et la factorerie de l'hémisphère austral.—L'accroissement déjà si rapide de sa population prendra une extension infiniment plus grande que par le passé, et le flot d'immigrants qu'elle attirera, constituera une agglomération humaine trop considérable pour négliger de songer, dès à présent, à poser les jalons capables de nous y assurer d'importants et nouveaux débouchés.

C'est le cas de méditer la morale de la fable:

*Rien ne sert de courir, il faut partir à temps.*

Car le percement du Panama ne manquera pas de provoquer à courte échéance, en Nouvelle Zélande, les efforts des différents peuples du globe.—Tous y revendiqueront leur place.

Peut-être,—l'heure étant venue,—mon livre a-t-il eu le don d'attirer particulièrement l'attention de nos voisins sur cette contrée!—Toujours est-il que ma publication semble leur avoir donné l'éveil.

La *Berliner Börzen Zeitung* (le Journal de la Bourse de Berlin), dans son supplément à son numéro du 1er Décembre dernier, rend compte d'une conférence sur la Nouvelle Zélande donnée, par le Dr Stieler, au cercle de géographie commerciale de la capitale allemande.—J'y retrouve la plupart de mes données.

En Hollande, le *Tijdschrift voor neder landsche Indië*, le plus autorisé des journaux économiques du pays, fait une analyse complète de mon travail et reproduit ce compte-rendu, sous forme d'opuscule, dans le but manifeste de propagande.

Et ce qui est plus significatif encore, en France, où l'attention publique est fortement portée vers les œuvres coloniales, le *Journal des Économistes*,

Numéro de Janvier 1881.

d'une part et, de l'autre, l'*Economiste français*,

\*Numéro du 17 Novembre 1883.

l'influent journal de M. Leroy Beaulieu, consacrent tous les deux à mon ouvrage quatre colonnes *in-quarto*.

Mon amour-propre peut trouver satisfaction à tout cela, mais mon patriotisme en serait alarmé si, moins prompts que d'autres, nous ne nous avisions d'agir qu'à leur remorque; j'en éprouve une certaine crainte, car déjà le gouvernement français a chargé le Baron Michel d'un voyage d'étude en Australie et spécialement en Nouvelle Zélande.

Je vais donc m'efforcer de vous démontrer la nécessité, pour nous, de prendre énergiquement les devants:

La Nouvelle Zélande fait partie des trois terres désignées par les Anglais sous le nom collectif d'Australasie, c'est à dire:

1° L'Australie, divisée en cinq colonies distinctes, savoir:

La Nouvelle Galles du Sud, la colonie de Victoria, L'Australie Méridionale, l'Australie Occidentale et le Queensland.

Ensemble, ces cinq colonies ont une population de 2,200,000 habitants.

2° La Tasmanie, population 120,000 âmes.

3° La Nouvelle Zélande, population 550,000 habitants, indigènes compris.

Total de la population Australienne 2,900,000 âmes.

La Nouvelle Zélande est formée de plusieurs îles dont les deux principales portent les noms de: Ile du Nord et Ile du Sud,—plus, au midi, la petite île Stewart.

Tout autour, un grand nombre de petits îlots, et, enfin, les îles Chatham, à 600 kilomètres à l'Est et les îles Auckland, au Sud.

Les deux grandes îles du Sud et du Nord sont seules exploitées jusqu'ici.—Il ne sera donc pas question des autres, habitées seulement par quelques centaines de baleiniers.

Naguère divisée en provinces fédérées, la Nouvelle Zélande est aujourd'hui réunie sous un seul gouvernement central ayant son siège à Wellington, au midi de l'Ile du Nord, dans le détroit de Cook.

Les deux îles comprennent neuf districts provinciaux dont 4 dans le Nord et 5 dans le Sud.

Leur étendue est un peu moindre que celle des îles britanniques et forme environ neuf fois le territoire de la Belgique.

La Nouvelle Zélande fut révélée au monde civilisé par le capitaine Abel Tasman, célèbre navigateur hollandais qui la découvrit en 1642.

Cent vingt cinq ans plus tard, l'intrépide capitaine Cook fut le premier à l'explorer et à en déterminer la configuration; et ce n'est qu'en 1840 que le commandant Hobson, au nom du gouvernement britannique, prit officiellement possession de la Nouvelle Zélande, soumise depuis lors au libre régime colonial de l'Angleterre.

Des conflits sérieux éclatèrent d'abord entre les Anglais et les indigènes au sujet de la propriété territoriale;—des soulèvements continuèrent à se produire pendant les 25 premières années de l'occupation; mais, depuis le traité de 1865, garantissant les droits acquis à chacune des deux races, la paix publique n'a plus été troublée et ne saurait plus l'être.

Robustes, supérieurement bien bâtis, beaux de visage et d'expression, fort intelligents, les Maoris, décimés par la lutte contre les Anglais, ne comptent plus que 44,000 individus et, réduits à la plus complète impuissance au milieu des Européens, déjà 12 fois plus nombreux qu'eux, ils vivent actuellement en bonne intelligence avec les colons.—Ils ont adopté en grande partie les mœurs de leurs envahisseurs;—ils sont vêtus à l'européenne, ils ont leurs écoles, leurs députés aux chambres et même des journaux de leur idiome.

Contrairement aux républiques de l'Amérique du Sud, la Nouvelle Zélande, à l'abri de toute invasion étrangère, offre donc une sécurité politique absolue, et c'est là, assurément, une considération majeure.

L'aspect et la climatologie de la Nouvelle Zélande sont surtout remarquables:

Monts gigantesques, mers de glace et glaciers, cascades et cataractes, geysers, vallées, plaines, collines et vallons, lacs, rivières, havres et baies, d'immenses forêts s'élevant jusqu'à la limite des neiges éternelles, etc., etc., procurent à la Nouvelle Zélande une variété de paysage sans égale et permettent de la comparer tour à tour, sous ses divers aspects, grandioses ou souriants, à la Suisse, à l'Italie, à la Norvège, à l'Ecosse, au Pays de Galles et à la Normandie.

Les latitudes de la Nouvelle Zélande correspondent à celles de l'hémisphère boréal comprises entre Vienne et l'île de Chypre.

«En dépit de la différence de latitude avec celle de l'Angleterre, dit, en substance, M. Alexander Kennedy, le climat de la Nouvelle Zélande est tout à fait tempéré; ni chaleurs excessives en été, ni froids rigoureux en hiver, et l'on peut dire qu'il n'y a pas de jours dans l'année, ni d'heures dans la journée où, sous le rapport de la température, on se sente incommodé en plein air. Au plus fort de la belle saison, la brise océanique ramène toujours la fraîcheur.

Au Nord de l'île septentrionale, le myrte et le geranium fleurissent toute l'année à ciel ouvert; rarement la température descend au dessous de celles de nos journées d'Avril. L'alternative des saisons n'y est pour ainsi dire sensible que par la durée plus ou moins longue des jours et des nuits et par les rafales violentes du vent qui,

en hiver, souffle plus fréquemment en tempête sur les hauteurs et parfois dans les plaines.

Dans l'Ile du Sud, il arrive que les collines les plus élevées et même les vallées soient, pour quelques heures, couvertes de neige, mais celle-ci ne demeure en permanence que sur les monts et les glaciers.

En Nouvelle Zélande, il tombe au moins autant d'eau qu'en Angleterre et pourtant le ciel est loin d'y être aussi brumeux et aussi nuageux. En Australie, il y a de longues périodes de sécheresse et d'humidité. En Nouvelle Zélande, ce sont des successions constantes de soleil et de pluie, maintenant à la terre sa fraîcheur, aux rivières et aux ruisseaux leur courant, à l'atmosphère sa pureté et sa légèreté, aux prairies leur perpétuelle verdure, aux versants des montagnes et aux vallées une luxuriante végétation.

Sous le double rapport physique et intellectuel, les aborigènes néo zélandais ne sont inférieurs à aucune race humaine. Beaucoup d'entre eux atteignent un âge très avancé. L'excellence du climat est évidemment la cause de leur vigueur.

Tous les auteurs, indistinctement, sont d'accord avec M. A. Kennedy en ce qui concerne l'excellence du climat de la Nouvelle Zélande et de sa salubrité. Leurs affirmations sont, du reste, confirmées en tous points par les statistiques officielles et, dit Sir Dillon Bell, la Nouvelle Zélande possède une propriété d'accroissement naturel incomparable sur notre planète.

L'excédant des naissances sur les décès y est de 30 pour mille contre 22 en Australie, 18 aux Etats Unis, 13 en Allemagne et en Angleterre, 10 en Belgique, 7 en Italie et 2 en France.»

Donc, comparativement à la Belgique, les décès s'y produisent dans la proportion de 1 contre 3 et l'augmentation de la population de la Nouvelle Zélande dépasse de 66 % celle des États Unis.

Dillon Bell ajoute:

«Nous n'avons pas en Australasie l'inconvénient des classes sociales tranchées, arrêtant ailleurs l'élan de l'immigration. Heureusement pour nous, nous sommes préservés des maux qui arrêtent en Europe le développement matériel et intellectuel de bien des nations; nous n'avons pas à supporter le poids du paupérisme et l'excellence de notre état sanitaire procure à nos populations une vie moyenne plus longue et une vitalité plus robuste que partout ailleurs.

En Angleterre, les adultes de 20 à 60 ans supportent en moyenne, pendant cette période de 40 années, onze jours de maladie par an; la proportion tombe à 7 jours en Australie et à 5 seulement en Nouvelle Zélande.

Le paupérisme ravit à la nation anglaise 3 % de sa puissance productive et la maladie 4 %—en tout 7 %.—En Australasie, la proportion est de 2 ½ % seulement. C'est le chiffre le plus bas constaté.»

#

La Faune de la Nouvelle Zélande se distingue par l'excessive rareté de mammifères indigènes. Les chevaux, bœufs, moutons chèvres et porcs qu'on y trouve ont tous été importés. Sous l'influence de l'excellent climat du pays, ils s'y multiplient et se développent à merveille.—De plus, les habitants n'ont à se garer d'aucune espèce animale dangereuse ou malfaisante.

Mais, si la faune néo zélandaise est pauvre, sa Flore, par contre, est une des plus riches de l'univers et sans contredit la plus variée qui soit. On lit à ce propos dans le grand Dictionnaire de Larousse:

«Le climat de la Nouvelle Zélande est salubre et propre à la longévité. Il convient à la culture de toutes les productions de l'Europe. Sur plusieurs points, sa végétation dans laquelle on distingue des fougères arborescentes, des dracénas qui s'élèvent comme des palmiers, ressemble, par son abondance et sa vigueur, à celle des tropiques. Le sol défriché est très fertile et produit toute espèce de graines et de fruits. Le lin a de larges feuilles qui fournissent une filasse aussi fine que de la soie et propre à la fabrication des étoffes. Le myrte croît sur les collines voisines de la mer, etc.»

On compte, en effet, en Nouvelle Zélande, une grande variété et une profusion sans fin de fougères représentées par environ 130 espèces différentes, dont un tiers ne subsistent pas ailleurs.

Les essences forestières indigènes s'y trouvent au nombre de 120. La plupart appartenant à la classe des conifères conservent aux forêts une verdure perpétuelle. Les cèdres atteignent des proportions énormes, mesurant de 25 à 55 mètres en hauteur et de 3 à 7 mètres de diamètre.

Le Kaurigum (Dammatia Australis) donne en quantité une gomme estimée. Les hêtres, aussi, offrent de nombreuses variétés et possèdent des qualités incomparables pour la construction des navires; en un mot, les inépuisables forêts de la Nouvelle Zélande procurent des bois excellents et propres à tous les usages: menuiserie, charpenterie, teinture et tannerie.

Le caractère général des arbres de la Nouvelle Zélande est celui des forêts de la Tasmanie et du continent australien; ils sont plus compacts et plus lourds que ceux de l'Europe et de l'Amérique.

Les arbres de toute nature importés du dehors s'y acclimatent sans peine, atteignant souvent un développement supérieur à celui que l'on observe dans le pays de leur origine.

L'Auckland, partie septentrionale de la Nouvelle Zélande, possède les meilleurs et les plus beaux arbres de la Colonie qui en tire une notable partie des bois utilisés pour l'ébénisterie et pour la charpente des navires. Le fameux et gigantesque *kauri pine* est particulier à l'Auckland et ne descend guère au dessous de la latitude de la

capitale de la province. C'est le *kauri pine* qui fournit les beaux mâts des vaisseaux de guerre anglais. Il y a une dizaine d'années, l'un de ces arbres, abattu à 30 kilomètres au nord de la ville d'Auckland, s'est vendu à fr. 12.500 (£ 500). Jusqu'à la naissance des branches, son tronc mesurait douze mètres de hauteur, et, scié, il procurait 22,000 pieds du plus beau bois madré.—L'acheteur, après déduction de fr. 5000 de frais, réalisa encore un bénéfice net de fr. 7,500.

Les forêts de la Nouvelle Zélande occupent actuellement 5 millions d'hectares; c'est deux cinquièmes de plus que le territoire de la Belgique.

La gomme fossile est aussi un produit propre surtout à l'Auckland. Cette gomme fournit un bon vernis. Elle provient d'un enfouissement séculaire d'arbres dissous par le temps. On la trouve à deux ou trois pieds sous terre, sous forme de masses durcies, de même qu'à de grandes profondeurs, mêlée aux couches de charbon dans les terrains tertiaires.

L'extraction, gratuitement autorisée par le Gouvernement sur les terres domaniales, améliore celles-ci en les rendant plus perméables.

Le chanvre de la Nouvelle Zélande (*Phornium tenax*) est très remarquable.—On le rencontre à profusion partout dans les terrains vierges. Sa force de résistance l'emporte sur celle du chanvre de Manille.—Après la soie, c'est la substance filamenteuse la plus résistante que l'on connaisse. Cette fibre s'emploie principalement pour la fabrication des cordages et des câbles de navires.

A leur tour, les arbres fruitiers introduits en Nouvelle Zélande y produisent à profusion des fruits savoureux. Les oranges, les citrons et les grenades mûrissent même à la latitude de Wellington, et les pêches, les pommes, les poires, les raisins, les abricots, les figues, les melons, en un mot tous les fruits des climats tempérés, se récoltent sous toutes les latitudes de la Colonie.

Une autre compensation à la pénurie de la faune néo zélandaise, c'est l'abondance et la grande variété du poisson dans les eaux de la contrée. On en compte 47 espèces de mer propres à l'alimentation indépendamment des bancs de sardines, de harengs et de maqueraux qui, à certaines époques de l'année, accomplissent régulièrement leur migration en passant dans le proche voisinage des côtes.

Les huîtres, les moules, les homards, les écrevisses et autres mollusques et crustacés de valeur et d'excellente qualité abondent et n'exigeraient que des soins appropriés pour devenir la source de grands revenus.

La fertilité du sol de la Nouvelle Zélande est exceptionnelle. Voici, à cet égard, les statistiques concernant le rendement des céréales, extraites du *blue book* anglais:

Pris isolément, les froments produisent le double de ceux des Etats Unis. Collectivement, les froments, les orges et les avoines y donnent:

- 52 % de plus qu'aux Etats Unis
- 71 % de plus qu'au Canada
- 75 % de plus qu'en Australie
- 178 % de plus qu'en Russie.

principaux pays fournissant l'Europe occidentale de leur surplus de production, et—dit l'auteur de *Land and farming in New Zealand*:

«A de rares exceptions près, la rentrée de nos récoltes s'effectue sans encombre et nos travaux champêtres se poursuivent sans interruption toute l'année durant.

Pendant la dernière période quinquennale, le rendement de nos froments a dépassé de cinq boisseaux par acre celui de l'Angleterre; ils y ont obtenu 30% de plus que les froments anglais, et cela pour ainsi dire sans fumage et avec des frais de main-d'œuvre excessivement réduits.

Les nombreux cours d'eau qui arrosent la campagne rendent impossibles les inondations et les sécheresses générales. Pour n'être pas tout à fait inconnus, ces fléaux y sont en tous cas fort rares et toujours localisés.»

Aussi, la Nouvelle Zélande est-elle, relativement à sa population, peut-être la contrée la plus cultivée du globe.

En 1882, elle possédait 406,000 hectares de terres sous culture et 1,432,000 hectares de prairies,—soit, proportionnellement à la population, six fois plus de terrains cultivés qu'en Belgique.

La Nouvelle Zélande est en même temps le pays pastoral par excellence.—Les troupeaux, paissant constamment dans de gras et plantureux pâturages, sont exempts des épidémies engendrées ailleurs par la famine et les perturbations atmosphériques.

On compte déjà en Nouvelle Zélande:

13,288,000 moutons, 700,000 têtes de gros bétail, 162,000 chevaux de labour etc. soit, par habitant, une quotité relative globale 75 fois supérieure à celle de la Belgique.

Et ces troupeaux ne cessent d'augmenter dans des proportions considérables. Ainsi, de 1872 à 1876, l'augmentation dans la production de la laine a été en Nouvelle Zélande de 508% contre 242% dans l'ensemble des autres colonies australa-siennes. Donc, plus du double en Nouvelle Zélande.

Les dernières statistiques, celles de 1883, empruntées à MM. Fr. Huth et CIE de Londres, accusent sur l'année antérieure, pour les cinq colonies australiennes et la Tasmanie, une augmentation, dans le nombre des moutons de 1,971,000 ou 3,15.—En Nouvelle Zélande, l'augmentation est de 887,555 moutons, ou 7,1%.—C'est un excédant une fois et un quart plus important que dans l'ensemble des six autres colonies australasiennes.

Ces chiffres donnent une idée de la puissance d'exportation du Pays en ce qui concerne les produits du sol et leurs dérivés.

#

Un nouvel et puissant élément de prospérité, c'est l'exportation de la viande fraîche congelée, dont le problème est définitivement résolu. - Grâce à la riche et abondante pâture fournie par les prés néo zélandais, la chair du bétail y est de qualité tout à fait supérieure.

Un premier envoi de 5000 moutons abattus, puis congelés, eut lieu en 1882.—Cet essai ayant parfaitement réussi, il fut suivi d'expéditions plus importantes, et pendant les dix premiers mois de 1883, 62,000 moutons abattus en Nouvelle Zélande ont été vendus sur les marchés anglais.—En Novembre dernier, leur chair y obtenait les mêmes prix que celle des meilleurs moutons produits par la métropole.—Disons fr. 1.70 à fr. 1.80 le kilogr. tandis que, à 6 ½dr. la [*unclear*: lb], ou fr. 1.50 le kilogr., prix moyen obtenu pour les 5,000 moutons du premier chargement, les expéditeurs reconnaissent avoir réalisé un bénéfice très satisfaisant.

Sir Dillon Bell estime que l'accroissement naturel des bestiaux australasiens permet aux sept colonies d'exporter annuellement 700,000 tonnes de viande de boucherie sans diminuer l'importance des troupeaux actuels.

Ce seul chiffre dépasse de 100,000 tonnes l'importation de la viande nécessaire à l'alimentation du Royaume Uni consommant annuellement 600,000 tonnes de plus qu'il n'en produit.

Relativement à l'ensemble des autres colonies australasiennes, le bétail de la Nouvelle Zélande accusait, en 1882, les chiffres suivants:

- le poids moyen du gros bétail à 700 kilog.
- le poids moyen des moutons à 65 kilog.
- le poids moyen des porcs à 130 kilog.

et, en acceptant l'évaluation de Sir D. Bell: 700,000 tonnes pour toute l'Australasie, on trouve que la Nouvelle Zélande pourrait exporter annuellement 16 4/10 % de cette quantité, soit 114,800 tonnes ou 114,800,000 kilog. de viande fraîche, représentant, avant l'abattage dans la Colonie, à raison de 70 centimes le kilog., une valeur de plus de 80 millions de francs et au delà du double sur les marchés d'Europe.

#

Mais si la terre de la Nouvelle Zélande est riche et fertile, le sous sol n'est pas moins digne d'attention.

On y trouve l'or, l'argent, le cuivre, le fer, l'étain, le plomb, le zinc, l'antimoine, le manganèse, le soufre, l'ardoise, le marbre, de nombreuses et excellentes pierres à ouvrir et à bâtir, à chaux et à ciment, de l'huile minérale et, enfin, en quantité inépuisable, la houille, cet agent moteur de toutes les industries.

Comme valeur d'extraction, l'or, jusqu'à présent, occupe la première place parmi les métaux de la Colonie.—Depuis 1857 jusqu'à nos jours, cette extraction s'est élevée à près de 300,000 kilog. représentant une valeur totale d'un milliard environ, soit 39 millions par an.

Les minerais de fer de toutes les catégories sont, en Nouvelle Zélande, aussi remarquables qu'abondants et contiennent de 43 à 70% de métal.

Les minerais de cuivre recèlent jusqu'à 55% de métal pur. Le plomb argentifère 80%—le zinc 70%—l'antimoine 50 à 70%, etc.

La pénurie des bras a jusqu'ici retardé l'exploitation de ces différents métaux.

Quant aux charbons, représentés par toutes les variétés connues, ils sont parfaits, et le port Russell, dans la baie des îles, a été surnommé le New Castle de la Nouvelle Zélande à cause de la richesse de ses houillères.

#

Vous avez maintenant, Messieurs, une idée du Pays.—Voyons comment s'y comporte sa vaillante population. Maoris compris, elle s'élève, avons-nous dit, à environ 550,000 âmes, soit 2 habitants par kilomètre carré contre 190 en Belgique.

A densité égale, la Nouvelle Zélande compterait au delà de 50 millions d'habitants.—Ce chiffre ne sera probablement jamais atteint, notre pays étant à beaucoup près le plus peuplé de l'univers—mais l'avenir réserve sans doute à la Nouvelle Zélande une densité de population égale à celle de l'Allemagne, soit une vingtaine de millions d'habitants.

Ce résultat n'est peut-être pas aussi éloigné qu'on pourrait se l'imaginer, grâce au percement de l'isthme américain; car déjà, le maintien de la progression de 7 4/10 % *par an*, fournie par les 3 derniers recensements, donnera à la Nouvelle Zélande, en 1940, un siècle après le commencement de la colonisation anglaise, une population de plus de 9 millions d'habitants, indépendamment des Maoris.

La population actuelle de la Nouvelle Zélande comprend environ 96% d'habitants de race anglo-saxonne et de citoyens nés dans la Colonie, et 4% d'autres individus d'origine étrangère.

Ce monde néo zélandais est fort actif à en juger par les statistiques.

Ainsi, la poste délivrait, en 1882, au delà de 52 lettres par habitant, contre 11 lettres par habitant en Belgique,—donc, près de 5 fois plus en Nouvelle Zélande.

Le télégraphe transmettait 2 ½ messages contre une fraction de 62/100 message par habitant en Belgique—ou 4 fois davantage en Nouvelle Zélande.

Les deux îles possédaient, en 1882, 2145 kilomètres de chemins de fer en exploitation, soit 43 kilomètres par 10.000 habitants contre 7 ½ kilomètres en Belgique, ou, relativement à la population, *six fois* le réseau déjà si important de la Belgique.

S'ils continuent de la sorte, à mesure de l'accroissement de la population, les néo Zélandais, pendant les 50 années à venir, auront à construire encore 30,000 kilomètres de voies ferrées.—C'est un appoint qui doit donner à réfléchir à nos métallurgistes!

Les lignes télégraphiques de la Nouvelle Zélande ont un développement de 16,352 kilomètres de fils conducteurs;—c'est plus de 7 fois la longueur proportionnelle de la Belgique.

Le commerce de la Colonie, importations et exportations, s'élevait à 384 millions de francs en 1882, soit une quotité par habitant de 754 francs, contre 523 francs en Belgique, ou 44% en faveur de la Nouvelle Zélande.

Grâce au grand nombre de rivières navigables, sur un assez long parcours, et surtout à l'énorme étendue des côtes, mesurant au delà de 4800 kilomètres, la Nouvelle Zélande qui possède de nombreux et excellents ports de mer, accessibles aux plus grands navires, entretient naturellement de nombreuses communications par eau.

La flotte coloniale comporte 572 bâtiments marchands, jaugeant 72.400 tonnes, dont 129 vapeurs faisant en même temps le service régulier des voyageurs d'un point à un autre.

La Nouvelle Zélande est aussi le centre de la pêche des grands cétagés dans les mers australes.

L'industrie, déjà prospère, mais entravée par le taux élevé des salaires, représentait en 1882, en terrains, bâtiments et machines, une valeur de 90 millions de francs.

#

La recherche de débouchés et d'aliments nouveaux pour notre commerce et notre industrie forme depuis quelques années la préoccupation constante de notre industrielle Belgique.

Le chiffre de un demi million d'habitants à alimenter paraît, à première vue, trop minime pour s'y arrêter.—Écoutons à ce propos Sir Dillon Bell s'adressant au public choisi du *Colonial Institute* de Londres.

«La Nouvelle Zélande, disait-il, importe actuellement d'Angleterre une valeur en marchandises de plus de £ 4,450,000 (soit plus de 112 millions de francs), ce qui donne £ 9 par habitant, tandis que les États Unis n'en prennent que pour 12 shillings, la France pour 9 shillings et l'Allemagne pour 8 shillings—de sorte que, au point de vue de l'industrie britannique, un néo Zélandais compte autant que 15 Américains, 20 Français et 23 Allemands.»

Donc, si nous avons avec la Nouvelle Zélande des rapports d'affaires, établis de longue date, nous y écoulerions, aussi bien que les Anglais, les produits de nos usines et nous nous y trouverions dans un centre de population équivalent à 7 ½ millions d'Américains, à 10 millions de Français ou à 11 ½ millions d'Allemands,—car, remarquez le, les principaux articles d'importation en Nouvelle Zélande sont précisément ceux où excelle notre industrie nationale.

Vous en trouverez la preuve dans le document que vous avez sous les yeux.

Voir l'annexe 1, ci-contre.

Près de 110 millions de francs, (tableau A), constituent la part des produits fabriqués introduits dans la Colonie.

Le tableau B renseigne les chiffres des produits similaires belges formant le total de ces articles exportés par nous dans tous les pays réunis.

Les lacunes du tableau B sont la conséquence d'un groupement différent dans les statistiques des deux contrées.—Elles comportent du reste à peine 12% du montant total du tableau A.

Le chiffre de 93 ½ millions de francs est assurément significatif;—il représente 23% de nos exportations totales de ces mêmes produits fabriqués.—Malheureusement, nous ne figurons absolument pour rien dans les importations de la Nouvelle Zélande.

Certes, nos produits y pénètrent par l'entremise et sous l'étiquette étrangère, puisque les statistiques du *board of trade* de Londres attestent que les deux tiers des produits continentaux, importés en Angleterre, sont réexpédiés par les Anglais dans le monde entier.

D'autre part, M. le Ministre des affaires étrangères, l'honorable M. Frère Orban, disait dans son discours à la Chambre, le 20 Janvier 1882, pages 407 et 408 des annales parlementaires, à propos du traité de commerce avec la France, que *la Belgique vend une grande quantité de ses produits à des maisons françaises* qui se

chargent de les réexporter.

Il citait nos fils et nos tissus de coton dont, en 1880, l'importation en France s'était élevée à la somme de 17 millions de francs.—De ce chiffre, 38% seulement étaient demeurés en France et l'excédant (62%) avait été expédié au loin.

Nos tissus de laine accusaient à l'entrée en France une valeur de fr. 5,109,000;—réexpédition 56%.

Les fers, les fontes, les aciers, fournis par nous à ces voisins, s'élevaient à fr. 12,202,000;—ils n'en n'avaient utilisé pour leur consommation que 42 % et, ajoutait l'honorable Ministre: « *On pourrait multiplier ces exemples et constater, pour la plupart des articles et surtout pour les produits manufacturés, que la plus grosse partie de l'importation de Belgique ne demeure pas en France.* »

Il en est de même, mais dans de plus grandes proportions, de nos exportations en Angleterre et en Allemagne, dont le trafic avec les contrées lointaines est sensiblement plus étendu que celui de la France.

Notre commerce *spécial* accuse une valeur de près de 3 milliards, importations et exportations réunies.—Rien que l'attribution de la moitié de ce chiffre passant par les mains de nos voisins, donne, à raison de 5% de bénéfices prélevés, de frais de transport en circuits inutiles, d'entreposage, de détérioration, de casse, d'assurance, etc. une économie annuelle de 75 millions de francs à réaliser par la création de relations directes avec les pays lointains.

La Belgique industrielle possède assez de titres glorieux pour inspirer le respect au monde, mais c'est à développer son commerce et sa marine qu'elle doit consacrer tous ses efforts.

Comme l'a souvent préconisé notre éminent Chef du Cabinet, c'est vers les parages lointains qu'il nous faut résolument porter nos regards. La lutte y est égale pour tous et la forte organisation actuelle de notre industrie nous y assure le succès.

#

Nous avons vu la part que notre industrie nationale pourrait revendiquer à l'exportation vers la Nouvelle Zélande. Nous aurions égal avantage à nous procurer, par voie directe, les denrées de la Colonie. A ne citer que les laines de la Nouvelle Zélande, figurant, d'après mon tableau C, pour 78 millions à l'exportation, elles se vendent toutes sur le marché de Londres. Or, notre industrie lainière et celle des pays limitrophes, c'est à dire, le nord de la France, les provinces Rhénanes, l'Alsace-Lorraine, la Suisse, etc., enlèvent annuellement au marché anglais 60% de ses importations de laines australasiennes.

Si ce contingent, appliqué à la production des laines de la Nouvelle Zélande, arrivait directement à Anvers, la seule différence des frais de transport direct sur les lieux de la consommation continentale, procurerait, au profit de la marchandise, une économie annuelle de fr. 800,000.

Et voilà, Messieurs, ce que nous offre un pays neuf, d'à peine 500,000 habitants, dont la population et le trafic sont appelés à décupler en une ou deux générations.

Que d'argent nous épargnerions, quels bénéfices seraient les nôtres, si, au lieu de nous servir de l'entremise de nos voisins, nous allions à côté d'eux résolument fonder des établissements et des comptoirs en pays lointains, y offrir directement nos produits aux consommateurs et y chercher nous mêmes la matière première à façonner par nos industriels!

Il ne peut entrer dans le cadre de ma conférence d'examiner les causes multiples auxquelles les Anglais doivent leur supériorité mercantile.

A chacun suivant ses oeuvres, dit le code de la morale. Pour être justes, attribuons uniquement cette position dominante des Anglais, dans le monde des affaires, à leur patient labeur et surtout à la sagesse qui les caractérise.

Moins protectionnistes qu'aucun autre peuple, ils ont néanmoins compris que l'absolu n'est pas du domaine de l'humanité; et lorsqu'il s'agit de créer oeuvre nouvelle, aléatoire à son début, ils savent faire exception à la règle et placer à fonds perdus, collectivement ou individuellement, selon les circonstances, des forces et des capitaux qui plus tard se reconstitueront d'eux mêmes et rapporteront de gros intérêts.

Avec quel tact et quelle habileté aussi, ils savent distinguer et s'approprier les individualités capables de rendre des services spéciaux dans toutes les sphères de leur activité nationale!

Mais revenons à la Nouvelle Zélande.

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Les institutions sociales et économiques de ce peuple néo zélandais, si grand producteur et si grand consommateur, offrent les mêmes conditions, prodigieuses à nos yeux, que leur activité mercantile.

Les banques y comptent un encaisse de 428 millions de francs; les travaux publics absorbent, par habitant, 8 fois autant d'argent qu'en Belgique.—Le budget de l'instruction accuse la même proportion.

La dette publique s'élève à fr. 1,484 par habitant, contre fr. 234 dans notre pays.—C'est une charge six fois plus forte; mais telle est la richesse de la contrée, les statistiques officielles l'attestent, que cette dette, dont le fardeau individuel est appelé à s'alléger rapidement par l'accroissement beaucoup plus accentué de la population, pèse, actuellement déjà, moins sur les néo Zélandais que la dette publique supportée par la plupart

des autres peuples du globe.

En effet, lorsqu'on compare le gain individuel des habitants de la Nouvelle Zélande avec leurs charges publiques, on trouve que le néo Zélandais épargne 24% de son revenu, tandis que l'Anglais n'économise que 13%, le Français 19% et l'Américain 22%.

Cette assertion est confirmée par la prospérité des caisses d'épargne. En 1882, les dépôts atteignaient 11 ½ fois le montant des nôtres, tous établissements de prévoyance compris, et le nombre des déposants était 4 fois supérieur en Nouvelle Zélande,—relativement à la population respective des deux pays.

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Il n'y a, en Nouvelle Zélande, ni budget des cultes ni budget de la guerre.—Les frais du culte sont supportés par les fidèles de chaque communion et la force armée régulière est composée d'un millier d'hommes, chargés de maintenir l'ordre public.

Par contre, la Colonie possède de nombreux corps de volontaires de toutes armes de terre et de mer, mais s'équipant à leurs frais.

Leur nombre, en 1882, s'élevait à environ 10,000 hommes.

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La justice est administrée comme dans tous les pays civilisés. Chaque district ou province a ses tribunaux criminels et civils, et Wellington, la capitale, possède en outre une cour suprême et une cour d'appel.

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Le gouvernement est représentatif.—Il se compose d'une chambre haute et d'une chambre basse.—La Couronne est représentée par le Gouverneur général, lequel, en dehors des questions se rattachant exclusivement aux intérêts de l'Empire britannique, ne prend conseil que de ses" ministres nommés par lui, mais responsables devant la Colonie. C'est donc un gouvernement autonome s'administrant à sa guise pour tout ce qui regarde ses intérêts propres.

Est électeur ou éligible à tous les degrés, tout homme âgé de 21 ans ayant une année de résidence dans la Colonie ou quiconque, six mois avant le décret d'une élection, s'est rendu acquéreur d'un immeuble d'au moins £ 25.—

#

Pour vous donner un aperçu complet de la Nouvelle Zélande, il me reste à vous esquisser le mode d'existence qu'on y mène.

La population rurale comprend environ deux tiers des habitants.

En 1881, on comptait, en Nouvelle Zélande, 96 communes constituées, dont 35 villes ayant plus de 1000 habitants.

Les 4 agglomérations les plus considérables sont:

- Dans l'Ile du Nord: Auckland avec 40,000 habitants
- et la capitale de la colonie, Wellington avec 21,000 habitants
- Dans l'Ile du Sud: Dunedin avec 43,000 habitants
- et Christchurch avec 31,000 habitants

La plupart des villes de quelque importance possèdent de beaux monuments, des promenades et des parcs publics, des théâtres, des salles de concert, des clubs, des tramways, etc., etc. Elles sont éclairées au gaz et à l'électricité,—elles sont alimentées d'eau douce par des réservoirs artificiels, comme les grandes villes d'Europe et d'Amérique; — enfin, offrant tout le confort habituel à la race anglo-saxonne, elles sont dotées de tous les agréments et de tous les perfectionnements modernes.

Les grands centres publient des journaux quotidiens et hebdomadaires aussi importants que les volumineux organes de la presse anglaise, ainsi que des revues et des illustrations de tout genre. Même, beaucoup de localités de moins de 1,000 habitants possèdent des imprimeries et des journaux.

A un autre point de vue, la Nouvelle Zélande offre des avantages non moins précieux.—Je veux parler de la liberté de conscience octroyée par les lois et sanctionnée par les moeurs. Un extrait d'une lettre intime adressée par un architecte de la Nouvelle Zélande à un de ses parents en Belgique va vous le dire. Cette lettre est en ma possession.

»La plus grande tolérance règne ici au sujet des idées religieuses. Soyez protestant, catholique, juif, turc, chinois, libre penseur, tout ce que vous voudrez,—personne ne s'occupe de cela. C'est affaire de conscience dont nul ne songe à se mêler. Le plus grand avocat de la Colonie, ci-devant *attorney* général et actuellement membre du Parlement, est le chef avéré de la libre pensée.—L'idée n'est jamais venue de lui en faire un grief.

Je suis un bon catholique, connu comme tel, et j'ai bâti des églises protestantes et catholiques.—Chaque communion ayant à pourvoir ici aux besoins de son culte, les églises et les temples s'érigent à l'aide de souscriptions privées. Or, les protestants s'adressent dans ce but aux catholiques aussi bien qu'à leurs coreligionnaires et nous, de même, nous nous adressons aux protestants.

Le seul sujet de division entre les partis, c'est la sécularisation de l'enseignement que, nous catholiques,

nous réprouvons ici comme ailleurs, mais ce sont là des questions qui se débattent en silence dans les comices électoraux etc. etc.»

Quelques autres extraits compléteront le tableau.—Nous avons d'abord Sir Julius Vogel, ancien ministre et l'un des fondateurs les plus populaires de la Colonie.

Nos compatriotes se feront une idée du Pays en apprenant qu'il est peu peuplé; qu'il possède dans son ensemble un climat bien préférable à celui de la Grande Bretagne avec laquelle, physiquement, il a de nombreuses ressemblances en plusieurs de ses parties.

L'absence de paupérisme et de castes sociales tranchées permet à l'homme privé de protection de s'y créer plus facilement qu'en Angleterre une honnête aisance.

Mais pour être peu peuplée, la Nouvelle Zélande n'est pas dépourvue des avantages dont la science a doté la civilisation. Les lignes télégraphiques la sillonnent dans tous les sens et les chemins de fer se développent rapidement.

L'avenir lui réserve des millions d'habitants et chaque acre de terre représentera alors une valeur proportionnelle. En attendant, et quoique l'on sache que tel sera le cours inévitable des choses, l'insuffisance du capital dans la Colonie permet d'y acquérir des millions d'acres à un taux dont la génération à venir verra peut être le loyer atteindre le prix d'achat actuel.

En somme, la fortune est plus divisée en Nouvelle Zélande et tout homme capable et apte au travail, petit commerçant, artisan ou laboureur, sans se refuser les satisfactions honnêtes de l'aisance, peut avec une certaine entente d'ordre et d'économie, se constituer un capital.

Qu'on n'augure pas de là que la Nouvelle Zélande est pour tous un pays de cocagne.—C'est une terre d'abondance pour le colon capable de se livrer aux travaux appropriés aux besoins de la Colonie ou pour celui dont les moyens permettent de faire travailler pour son compte à des entreprises utiles et fécondes.

Pour les autres, au contraire, c'est un séjour ingrat où savoir lire et écrire ne suffit pas.

Par dessus tout, elle n'est pas hospitalière à la classe des *propre à rien*, cette terre étrangère peuplée d'étrangers, artisans de leur fortune, ayant en horreur tous les déclassés, à quelque rang qu'ils appartiennent.

Au risque de passer pour adulateur de la Nouvelle Zélande, on ne peut, pour être sincère, se dispenser de dire l'attrait exercé par elle sur ceux qui sont venus s'y fixer.

Bien des gens, après fortune faite, n'y étant plus retenus par rien, continuent cependant à y séjourner, préférant leur gîte à toute autre partie du globe et ne comptant pour rien les séductions du vieux monde à côté de la grande liberté dont ils jouissent dans la Colonie.

L'excellence du climat, la beauté du pays et la franche et cordiale intimité de ce milieu colonial produisent cette préférence marquée

Voici maintenant, pour terminer ces citations, un autre auteur très estimé, l'honorable J. Berry, habitant de Napier, dans l'Ile du Nord.

»Si les Anglais savaient bien que, sous un ciel préférable à celui de l'Italie, il existe une terre anglaise régie par les lois, les coutumes et les mœurs de la mère-patrie, chaque année, l'unique attrait du climat amènerait des milliers d'entre eux en Nouvelle Zélande.

Le charme de notre climat se fait surtout sentir en hiver.—Nos étés sont à peine plus chauds que ceux de l'Angleterre et nos hivers sont de neuf degrés centigrades moins froids.

Dans mon propre jardin, mes géraniums, mes fuchsias, mes héliotropes, etc., fleurissent toute l'année et mes figuiers donnent deux récoltes de fruits parfaitement mûrs.

Les cultivateurs anglais ne peuvent concevoir l'économie de main-d'œuvre possible sous notre ciel. Dans les cinq sixièmes de la Colonie, chevaux et bestiaux ne connaissent pas l'étable.—Un seul berger suffit à l'entretien de 2000 moutons.

Nous payons à nos aides des gages quatre ou cinq fois plus élevés qu'en Angleterre, mais le nombre de bras nécessaires étant bien moindre, je doute que la somme des salaires soit plus élevée chez nous.

Avec notre climat et notre sol, un fermier anglais pourrait payer à ses serviteurs un shilling l'heure de travail et faire sa fortune.

Le taux élevé des salaires n'est du reste pas sans compensations économiques.—Il engendre le perfectionnement des machines.

Nous possédons les meilleures races ovines et bovines. La fréquence de nos courses de chevaux atteste les soins apportés à l'amélioration de l'espèce.

Les rivières abondent en poisson, les forêts en gibier et nous sommes exempts d'animaux dangereux ou féroces aussi bien que de reptiles venimeux.

Dans quelques années, lorsque, plus peuplé, le Pays sera tout entier défriché et livré à l'activité humaine, la vie en Nouvelle Zélande offrira des charmes incomparables. Nulle part, déjà, ne se rencontre semblable abondance et un luxe mieux entendu que dans les parties cultivées et habitées depuis dix à vingt ans.

J'engage instamment le capitaliste incrédule à se rendre compte par lui même de mes assertions. S'il s'y

résout, même dans le seul but de satisfaire sa curiosité, il n'aura pas à regretter le voyage. De l'aveu de presque tous les visiteurs, aucun séjour terrestre n'est préférable au nôtre.»

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Quant au coût de la vie matérielle, il n'est guère plus élevé en Nouvelle Zélande que dans l'Europe centrale. La main-d'œuvre y est sensiblement plus chère et les ouvriers y gagnent en moyenne de 12 à 14 francs par jour, les domestiques et les servantes de 60 à 120 francs par mois; mais le bon marché des denrées alimentaires compense l'élévation des salaires.—Un kilogramme de bon bœuf ou de mouton revient à 80 ou 90 centimes.

#

Tel est, Messieurs, ce merveilleux pays, trop longtemps négligé par nous et dont l'avenir, dit Richard Rose, envisagé sous tous ses aspects, apparaît comme un lumineux soleil levant dans un ciel sans nuages.

Et cependant, en s'exprimant de la sorte, en 1879, ni Richard Rose, ni Sir Julius Vogel, ni J. Berry ne songeaient au percement du Panama, appelé, comme nous l'avons vu, à améliorer sensiblement la position géographique de cette admirable contrée.

N'attendons pas, pour agir efficacement, que la situation, escomptée par d'autres, y rende notre intervention trop difficile.

Notre trafic suivrait en Nouvelle Zélande une marche ascendante proportionnelle au développement rapide de la Colonie.—Nos descendants y trouveraient un champ d'exploitation vaste et familier.

L'affluence croissante des populations dans les grands centres y rend la lutte pour l'existence de plus en plus opiniâtre.—Les professions, assaillies en raison de la facilité de leur accès, donnent lieu à une concurrence excessive.—La difficulté de se créer et même de maintenir une position honorable s'accroît sans cesse.

Ailleurs, et notamment en Nouvelle Zélande, le contraire se présente.

#

Maintenant que les monopoles et les droits différentiels ont cessé d'exister dans les colonies, ce n'est plus la suzeraineté onéreuse exercée en pays lointains qui fait la richesse des nations,—mais bien la présence d'un grand nombre de leurs enfants disséminés sous toutes les latitudes du globe. Ils y font connaître et apprécier les produits de la mère-patrie, les imposent à leurs voisins et renvoient, en retour, à la métropole les denrées exotiques.

C'est à ce régime que la Belgique est obligée de recourir sans retard sous peine de ruine nationale.

On a souvent prétendu, et avec raison, que la balance des importations et des exportations ne détermine en rien la richesse des nations;—mais tout dépend ici de l'organisation économique des peuples auxquels s'appliquent ces théories.

J'avais à ce propos, ces derniers jours, une conversation avec un honorable représentant de notre arrondissement

Monsieur E. de Decker.

;—il attira mon attention sur quelques uns des points suivants:

En Belgique, depuis douze années, la moyenne de nos importations l'emporte de plus de 325 millions sur nos exportations et nous n'avons, pour compenser ce déficit, que le revenu de l'épargne publique en valeurs étrangères, bien inférieur à cette différence.

Le bénéfice du transit ne peut entrer que pour une faible part dans la balance, la presque totalité des recettes étant perçues par l'Etat, exploitant des lignes ferrées.

Quant aux profits du commerce sur les importations, on sait ce qu'ils valent depuis que la fièvre de spéculation a transformé en éléments de jeux de bourse la plupart des denrées exotiques constamment cotées plus cher en pays producteurs que sur nos propres marchés.

En ce qui concerne nos placements au dehors, ils se sont, il est vrai, accrus dans ces derniers temps, mais, *relativement*, ils n'en demeurent pas moins insignifiants et ne compensent certainement pas l'actif de l'étranger en Belgique. Pour ne citer que l'importante branche des assurances maritimes et sur la vie, combien minime est le chiffre d'affaires des compagnies belges, n'opérant guère au delà de nos frontières, en comparaison du drainage de nos capitaux par les puissantes compagnies d'assurances étrangères fonctionnant dans notre pays, et dont les actions sont cotées à des milliers de pour cent au dessus du pair. (Voir annexe 2).

Si l'on ne considérait que le chiffre de nos échanges, évidemment élevé en comparaison de celui des autres peuples européens, on serait tenté de conclure à la grande prospérité du Pays.—On se tromperait grossièrement.—L'importance des transactions n'est pas à elle seule le signe déterminatif de la richesse des peuples.—La production, la vente et l'achat enrichissent ou appauvrissent en raison des bénéfices ou des pertes qu'ils occasionnent.—La prospérité publique repose sur de nombreux équilibres; elle dépend surtout de la variété des canaux qui l'alimentent.

Or, nous ne possédons pas, comme les Anglais, une puissante marine marchande dont les frets, perçus dans le monde entier, combleraient une grande partie du gouffre de notre excédant d'importations;

La flotte marchande britannique (navires de mer seulement) comprenait, à la fin de 1883:

- 17,875 voiliers, jaugeant brut 5,271,100 tonnes
  - 4,649 vapeurs jaugeant brut 5 919,819 tonnes
- Total 22,524 navires, jaugeant brut 11,190,979 tonnes, et représentant un capital estimé à 4 milliards de francs.

En 1883, la flotte belge comptait 62 bâtiments jaugeant ensemble 85,366 tonnes; et la flotille de l'établissement John Cockerill exceptée, la plupart de ces bâtiments n'ont de belge que le pavillon.

—nous n'avons pas, comme eux, de nombreux établissements financiers, industriels, commerciaux, agricoles et miniers en lointains pays.

Pour ne parler que de l'Australasie, comptant moins de 3 millions d'habitants, le montant des capitaux anglais, placés dans cette partie du monde, atteint 260 millions sterlings ou 6,500 millions de francs, rapportant en intérêts et dividendes £ 18 millions ou 450 millions de francs, soit 7  $\frac{3}{4}$ % en moyenne.

En limitant au dixième cette proportion et en l'appliquant à l'ensemble des possessions britanniques comptant 205 millions d'habitants, le capital de la nation anglaise dans ses colonies représenterait 44,200 millions rapportant annuellement environ 2,640 millions.

Nous n'avons pas non plus, comme les Anglais, de nombreux colons en pays étrangers qui, fortune faite, rentrent, avec leur avoir, sur le sol natal.

A quelques unités de mille près, nos émigrés à nous, au nombre de 5 à 600,000, sont des ouvriers, flamands pour la plupart, allant se fixer dans les pays frontières.—Ils y font la fortune de nos voisins dont ils consomment les produits.

#

Mais heureusement, depuis ces derniers temps, notre avenir national préoccupe les esprits les plus optimistes.

La nécessité d'un exode systématique commence à être comprise.

En effet, pour une population aussi dense que la nôtre, l'émigration est absolument nécessaire.—Elle seule pourra résoudre pacifiquement la redoutable question sociale et prévenir la révolution violente dont sans cela nous serions menacés.

A certains points de vue et dans les pays moins peuplés que le nôtre, l'utilité d'une forte et constante émigration peut être contestée, mais en Belgique elle s'impose parce que notre sol est sensiblement trop étroit pour le nombre de ses habitants.

Les chiffres suivants en fournissent la preuve éclatante. Je les prends dans une statistique de 1872:

A cette époque, la Belgique comptait 185 habit. par kilom. carré.

- La grande Bretagne 110 habit. par kilom. carré.
- L'Allemagne 75 habit. par kilom. carré.
- La France 68 habit. par kilom. carré.
- La Suisse 64 habit. par kilom. carré.
- L'Autriche-Hongrie 58 habit. par kilom. carré.
- la moyenne de L'Europe 30 habit. par kilom. carré.

ce qui revient à dire que 3,340,000 Belges ou près des deux tiers de notre population pourraient émigrer et que la Belgique aurait encore une densité de population égale à celle de l'Allemagne, sous ce rapport, la seconde en rang après nous.

Or, ne vous paraît-il pas, Messieurs, après ce que nous venons de voir, que nul pays ne saurait offrir autant de chances de succès et de prospérité aux Belges que la Nouvelle Zélande.

Un avenir magnifique, un pays splendide, un sol riche et fertile, un climat délicieux, une salubrité incomparable, des institutions parfaites, une population énergique et active, un niveau intellectuel élevé, absence de plaies sociales redoutables, sécurité politique et individuelle absolue,—tout, enfin, y forme un milieu qui ne saurait être dépassé.

C'est pourquoi, j'en ai l'intime conviction, une intelligente propagande et des moyens convenables mis à la portée des intéressés, attireraient en Nouvelle Zélande de nombreux pionniers belges. J'en trouve un indice significatif dans le grand nombre d'offres, de lettres et de demandes d'informations qui me sont parvenues depuis la publication de mon livre, de la part de gens manquant de travail, ou mal rétribués, ou inquiets de l'avenir et qui espèrent trouver mieux sous un autre ciel.

Et quels sont les moyens à mettre en œuvre pour répondre à ces légitimes aspirations? Ils sont bien simples.—Nous n'avons rien à inventer ici;—bornons-nous à suivre l'exemple des Anglais, ces maîtres dans l'art de coloniser. J'ai sommairement indiqué ces moyens dans les conclusions de mon livre.

La première mesure à prendre est de fonder dans la Colonie des centres sérieux de renseignements présentant toutes les garanties de sécurité. Il faut y installer de bons agents actifs, ayant à cœur l'objet de leur mission et se chargeant avec zèle de procurer aux émigrants belges, peu fortunés mais méritants, la gratuité du voyage, conformément à la loi d'immigration en vigueur dans la Colonie. A en juger par les idées larges du

gouvernement néo zélandais, j'ai tout lieu de croire qu'un plan sérieux d'immigration belge en Nouvelle Zélande y serait bien accueilli par les autorités et nous vaudrait peut-être à bref délai, pour peu que ce plan fût suivi d'un commencement d'exécution, la présence, à Bruxelles, d'un agent néo zélandais de recrutement continental, en sous-ordre de l'agent général de la Colonie à Londres.

#

Je viens de dire, Messieurs, que l'émigration s'impose aux Belges et cette nécessité me semble surtout commandée par la situation précaire de l'agriculture.

La production exotique des céréales, favorisée par la facilité croissante des transports, cause, depuis quelques années, une dépréciation constante des blés indigènes et conséquemment des terres arables.

Au moment où nos fermiers commencent à donner plus d'extension aux cultures industrielles et à l'élevage du bétail, cette dernière ressource va disparaître à son tour en présence de la concurrence des viandes fraîches importées des mêmes pays transocéaniques.

Nous assistons, cela est évident, au début d'une crise économique sérieuse.

Déjà, des propriétaires fonciers voyant décroître leurs rentes par l'absence ou l'amointrissement des fermages, cherchent une compensation dans l'abattage exagéré des bois et forêts,—mais ils ne tarderont pas, j'imagine, à comprendre l'inanité d'un palliatif détruisant à la fois le fonds et "le revenu.

Le déboisement trop considérable de notre territoire, résultat de la prospérité agricole antérieure, est la cause principale des inondations qui désolent trop souvent le Pays.

Dans un proche avenir, au contraire, la dépréciation graduelle des terres arables ramènera forcément les propriétaires terriens à rechercher un intérêt, modique mais sûr, dans le reboisement des campagnes,—et les champs restants, les meilleurs et les plus productifs, assainis et protégés par le voisinage des bois reconstitués, trouveront un emploi régulier par la culture industrielle et maraîchère.

Devant la réalité, rien ne sert d'user des procédés de l'autruche.—Il n'y a pas à se le dissimuler, les terres agricoles en Europe continueront à subir une dépréciation parallèle à la plus-value indubitablement réservée aux terres vierges des nouveaux mondes.

#

Ici se pose une grave question. Que deviendront tous les petits cultivateurs désormais dans l'impuissance de prolonger sur le sol natal la lutte à outrance pour l'existence?—Le remède, Messieurs, est toujours à côté du mal. L'émigration sera leur salut et celui de la patrie.

S'associer pour produire et se diviser pour vivre.—L'équilibre social repose tout entier sur ce double axiome économique.

C'est pour l'avoir appliqué de longue date que l'Angleterre a conquis son immense pouvoir.

Que les Belges donc, songent à encourager sérieusement l'émigration de leurs nationaux vers des contrées où leur présence profitera largement à la mère-patrie. Et ces contrées sont celles qui, comme la Nouvelle Zélande, commencent à révéler leurs grandes destinées. Pendant de longues années, nous pouvons avec avantage écouler, en grandes quantités, nos produits nationaux en semblables pays.—Dans la période d'enfantement, la pénurie des bras met une entrave à la naissance des industries locales.—Les États Unis, par exemple, jadis tributaires des industries européennes, actuellement viennent nous faire chez nous une redoutable concurrence.

Ne nous obstinons pas contre l'impossible.—Etendons pacifiquement notre domaine ailleurs.

La suppression des intermédiaires est une des caractéristiques de notre époque.—De là, l'amointrissement constant des marchés de denrées exotiques en Europe et la prospérité croissante des pays producteurs transocéaniques. C'est en participant à cette prospérité du dehors par l'emploi de nos forces actives, de nos capitaux surtout, que nous rétablirons l'équilibre budgétaire de la patrie.

Pourquoi ne créerions-nous pas, comme nos voisins, des sociétés d'émigration acquérant des domaines en certains pays lointains? Nous y dirigerions nos émigrants.

Petits et grands, Messieurs, nous Belges, aussi bien que nos frères étrangers, si nombreux parmi nous,—tous, nous sommes intéressés à la solution pacifique du grand problème social qui se dresse menaçant devant nous.

#

Lorsqu'on sent vivement et qu'on s'éprend d'une idée généreuse, on ne connaît plus d'obstacles.

Je me trouve dans ce cas et c'est ce qui m'a déterminé, après mûre réflexion et sur les conseils de quelques amis, à me proposer au gouvernement comme titulaire éventuel au poste de consul général à créer en Nouvelle Zélande.

Personne, assurément, ne me soupçonnera de poursuivre un but intéressé.—Ceux qui me connaissent savent suffisamment que la carrière consulaire ne me procurera pas, à beaucoup près, les bénéfices que je puise dans l'exercice de ma profession; mais je vois, dans le rôle que je sollicite, une belle et noble mission à remplir, de grands services à rendre à mon pays et j'éprouve l'ambition de réaliser cette tâche patriotique.

Ma requête a été fortement appuyée auprès de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères par les pétitions d'Anvers, de Liège, de Gand et de Verviers;

Une semblable pétition a été adressée le 4 Février à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères par la Chambre do commerce de Charleroi.

l'honorable M. Frère-Orban, retenu par l'exiguité des ressources du Trésor, hésite, m'assure-t-on, à satisfaire, *en ce moment*, à ce vœu du commerce et de l'industrie.

La somme est pourtant bien insignifiante,—les émoluments les plus élevés d'un consul général ne dépassant pas fr. 25,000, mais, comme me l'écrivait un honorable député: *le vent est aux économies et les intérêts en conflit ne distinguent pas toujours celles qu'il convient de repousser.*

Si je devais échouer auprès du Gouvernement, je ne m'en chagrinerai pas outre mesure.—Ne pouvant pas attendre indéfiniment la solution du Pouvoir, je songerais à aller en Nouvelle Zélande rendre à mes compatriotes des services moins étendus, moins généraux, mais plus lucratifs pour moi. J'irais, appuyé par ceux qui seraient tentés de me confier leurs capitaux, fonder une entreprise privée offrant toutes les perspectives de réussite.

Les terrains affectés aux pâturages rapportent au bas mot, en Nouvelle Zélande, 10 à 12% et l'acquéreur, surtout en présence du futur percement du Panama, peut s'attendre à une rapide et considérable plus-value du fonds,—notamment dans l'Ile du Nord, où le sol est au moins aussi fertile que dans le Sud et où les terres vierges occupent encore d'immenses espaces obtenables à des prix relativement fort bas.

Pour donner un exemple des bénéfices à réaliser par l'achat des terres en Nouvelle Zélande, je citerai le domaine de Cherwood, dans l'Ile du Sud. Acquis en 1869 et revenant, constructions et défrichement compris, à fr. 308 l'hectare, le propriétaire y fit rapidement sa fortune.—Lorsqu'il revendit, en 1878, ses 2730 hectares, il les réalisa à raison de fr. 837, soit, en dix années de temps, une plus-value de 162%.

Les opérations de ce genre, souvent répétées, sont l'une des causes de la richesse de la nation anglaise. Elles expliquent aussi les gros dividendes des grandes sociétés coloniales fondées avec les capitaux anglais.

#

Quelques mots encore, Messieurs, et j'ai fini: J'étais préoccupé de savoir comment les néo Zélandais, presque en totalité d'origine anglo-saxonne, envisageraient l'arrivée parmi eux de nombreux colons étrangers. J'ai questionné à ce sujet des fondateurs de la Nouvelle Zélande et d'autres Anglais ayant séjourné longtemps dans la Colonie. Les diverses réponses obtenues peuvent se résumer dans la déclaration et dans les conseils suivants que vous retrouverez dans mon livre:

»Rien de pareil n'est à craindre. En dépit de leur origine, ces habitants sont, avant tout et patriotiquement, néo Zélandais. Ils sont si fiers de leur pays, appelé volontiers par eux l'Angleterre du Sud, que, sans renier leur berceau, ils se considèrent comme ennoblis par leur nouvelle patrie. Ses progrès sont leur oeuvre et la prospérité individuelle liée à celle de la Colonie l'emporte sur toutes les autres considérations. Quiconque, en se rendant en Nouvelle Zélande, contribuera au développement de la richesse publique par l'apport de capitaux, d'intelligences et de bras, est sûr de la sympathie enthousiaste de ce peuple, bon enfant parce qu'il est heureux et prospère.

Les seuls procédés à y mettre en oeuvre sont ceux dont se servent les Anglais. La condition initiale c'est l'argent. Fondez des établissements au capital d'au moins 100 à 200 mille livres sterlings; établissez vous sur tels points répondant le mieux aux entreprises que vous avez en vue: achetez des terres, cultivez-les ou exploitez en les ressources par vous mêmes ou à l'aide de ceux auxquels vous en fournirez les moyens pécuniaires; faites la banque et le commerce; importez vos produits, constituez en des dépôts judicieusement appropriés aux goûts et aux besoins des consommateurs; créez y des usines et des manufactures; amenez y des artisans habiles, des agronomes expérimentés, des ingénieurs intelligents, en un mot, des travailleurs honnêtes de toutes classes et de tout rang; établissez des relations maritimes entre la Belgique et la Nouvelle Zélande, et vous rencontrerez là-bas le meilleur et plus satisfaisant accueil aussi bien que richesse et contentement.»

Vous le voyez, Messieurs, nul obstacle sérieux n'est à redouter pour nous dans cette contrée aux vastes et brillants horizons et si je consens, à l'apogée de la vie, à briser les liens toujours chers qui rattachent l'homme au sol natal,—je vous l'ai dit déjà, ce n'est pas une pensée de lucre qui me guide.

Je suis mû par des aspirations plus élevées, et j'ai la conviction qu'en faisant souche en Nouvelle Zélande, non seulement j'y trouverai l'occasion de me rendre utile à mon pays, mais que j'emporterai dans la tombe la reconnaissance de mes enfants pour leur avoir assuré, ainsi qu'à leur descendance, un avenir calme et serein sous un climat infiniment préférable au nôtre.

En terminant, je dirai avec M. de Tocqueville: "Le monde appartient à l'énergie." Sachons donc, désormais, déployer la nôtre en pays lointains. C'est le seul moyen par lequel nous maintiendrons notre prospérité nationale, ébranlée par des causes dont les effets tourneront à notre avantage, si nous savons agir énergiquement.

Dans cet ordre d'idées surtout:

## (ANNEXE I.)

# Importations en Nouvelle Zélande en 1881.

## Liste alphabétique des principaux produits importés dans la Colonie.

### (Tableau A).

Valeur Articles Enlivres Sterling Francs Droits D'Entrée Allumettes . . . . .	38,874 975,737 25%
Ameublements et garnitures . 41,929 1,052,418 0 à 15% Amidon . . . . .	9,837 246,909 3 sh. par quintal
Appareils pour gaz . . . . 17,107 429,386 0 à 15% Armes à feu et munitions . .	28,289 710,054 0 à 15%
Articles de fantaisie. . . . . 95,087 2,386,684 15% Bijouterie . . . . .	48,764 1,223,976 15%
Bonneterie . . . . . 29,049 729,130 15% Brosserie . . . . .	8,743 219,449 15%
Cartes à jouer . . . . . 915 22,987 6 d. par paquet.	
Chandelles et Bougies . . . 74,110 1,860,910 1 ½d. par lb	Chapellerie confectionnée . 15,123 379,587 15%
(fournitures pour). 36,032 904,403 0 à 15% Chariots . . . . .	2,201 55,245 15%
Chaussures . . . . . 133,562 3,352,406 2 à 12 sh. p. douzne de paires	Chocolat et Cacao préparé . . 25,464 639,146 3 d. par lb
Ciment . . . . . 99,689 2,502,194 0 à 1 sh. par baril (137,197 barils)	Confiserie . . . . . 20,521 515,077 2d. par lb à 15%
Cordages . . . . . 16,216 407,022 0 à 5 su. par quintal	Cordes, Ficelles et Fils. . . 13,342 334,884 0 à 15%
Cotonnades . . . . . 152,718 3,833,222 libre	Couleurs . . . . . 42,801 1,074,305 0 à 2 sh. par quintal
Coutellerie . . . . . 13,405 336,466 15%	Cuir brut . . . . . 95,902 2,307,140 0 à 1 ½ d. par lb ouvré . . . . .
9,713 243,796 15%	Cuivre, saumons, clous, barres, fouilles, écrous, etc. 5,576 139,958 libre ouvré . . . . .
1,377 34,563 15%	Draperie . . . . . 103,587 2,600,034 15%
Drogueries . . . . . 52,601 1,320,285 0 à 15%	Ecorces pour teinture . . . 35,381 888,063 libre
Faïence et Porcelaine . . . 7,701 193,295 15%	Fer, saumons, barres, feuilles. 62,810 1,576,531 libre
cercles . . . . . 5,749 144,300 "	galvanisé . . . . . 145,046 3,640,655 0 à 2 sh. par quintal
clous . . . . . 38,752 972,675 2 à 3 sh. "	fonte brute . . . . . 10,574 265,407 libre
tuyaux . . . . . 50,645 1,271,190 "	A reporter. 1,589,222 39,489,489
Report. 1,539,222 39,489,489	Fer, tôle . . . . . 9,934 249,343 libre
rails et écrous. )pr chns 44,611 1,119,736 "	roues, essieux, etc.) de fer 25,341 636,059 "
réservoirs . . . . . 7,600 190,760 2 sh. 6 d. à 5 sh. par pièce	fils de fer pour clôtures . 81,697 2,050,595 1 sh. par quintal
" " " télégraphe. 1,145 28,740 libre " " "	autres usages 15,701 394,095 "
Fournitures pour tailleurs. . 9,275 232,803 "	Horloges . . . . . 7,929 199,018 15%
Huile de Ricin . . . . . 18,558 465,806 6 d. par gallon	" Colza . . . . . 5,337 133,959 "
minérale. . . . . 44,996 1,129,400 "	de lin. . . . . 33,385 837,964 "
à manger autre que celle d'olives. . . . . 4,992 125,339 15%	diverses. . . . . 23,200 582,320 0 à 6 d. par gallon
Instruments aratoires . . . . 19,898 499,440 libre	de musique . . . . 47,712 1,197,571 0 à 15%
Lampes et Lanternes . . . . 7,010 175,951 15%	Machines agricoles . . . 63,742 1,599,924 libre
pour meunerie . . 3,971 99,672 " "	travaux marits. 18,404 461,940 "
diverses . . . . 54,608 1,370,661 "	à vapeur . . . . 20,659 518,541 "
locomotives pour chemins do fer . . . . . 17,996 451,700 "	Matériel de sellier. . . . 8,740 219,374 "
d'imprimeur . . . . 9,988 250,700 "	pour télégraphes . . 2,830 71,033 "
Mercerie . . . . . 55,391 1,390,314 "	Fournitures de bureau. . . . 71,448 1,793,345 0 à 15%
Papier (sachets en) . . . . 15,104 379,111 5 sh. par quintal	do tenture . . . . 24,518 614,402 15%
d'emballage . . . . 11,722 294,222 2 sh. à 2 sh. 6 d. pr quintal	à écrire . . . . . 5,846 146,735 15%
d'imprimerie . . . . 57,208 1,435,921 libre	divers . . . . . 1,242 31,174 "
Parapluies et parasols . . . . 5,870 147,337 15%	Poterie . . . . . 35,330 886,783 0 à 15%
Produits chimiques. . . . 8,377 210,263 libre	Quincaillerie. . . . . 190,814 4,789,431 0 à 15%
Récipients pour huileries . . 39,648 995,165 0 à 15%	Sacs d'emballage. . . . 141,244 3,545,224 0 à 15%
Savon commun . . . . . 1,674 42,017 3 sh. 6 d. par quintal.	de toilette . . . . . 5,429 136,268 15 à 25%
A reporter. 2,868,346 71,819,645	Report. 2,868,346 71,819,645
Sellerie . . . . . 27,713 695,596 15%	Soufre . . . . . 4,668 117,167 1 sh. par quintal
Spiritueux Eau-de-vie. . . 126,313 3,170,456 14 sh. par gallon	cordiaux et amers. 1,002 25,150 "

genièvre . . . 29,153 731,740 " esprit de vin. . . . 1,086 27,259 " " " parfumé 4,096 102,810 21 sh. par gallon  
 esprits divers . . 112,694 2,828,619 14 " Sucre brut . . . . . 10,948 274,795 ½ d. par lb raffiné . . . . . 550,023  
 13,931,077 " mélasse . . . . . 7,118 178,662 " glucose . . . . . 3,555 89,231 " Tabac à fumer . . . . . 67,270  
 1,688,487 3 sh. 6 d. par lb cigares . . . . . 23,656 593,766 6 sh. par lb cigarettes . . . . . 3,775 94,753 " à  
 priser . . . . . 386 9,689 " (côtes de) . . . . . 1,048 26,305 3 sh. par lb Tableaux et Gravures . . . 6,943  
 174,269 15% Tapis . . . . . 26,596 667,560 15% Toile . . . . . 9,496 238,350 0 à 15% d'emballage. . . .  
 19,112 479,711 libre cirée . . . . . 16,365 410,762 15% Tissus de laine . . . . . 80,851 2,029,360 15%  
 couvertures . . 16,203 406,695 15% Tissus de laine et coton mélangés . . . . . 36,600 918,060 15% Vernis . . .  
 . . . . . 10,845 272,210 0 à 6 d. par gallon Verrerie bouteilles . . . . 8,214 206,171 libre glaces sans tain . .  
 5,575 139,913 15% vitres . . . . . 11,955 300,071 2 sh. par 100 pieds car. verre ouvré . . . 19,998 501,950 15%  
 Vêtements confectionnés . . 238,125 5,976,938 15% Vinaigre . . . . . 10,789 270,804 6 d. par gallon Voitures  
 de luxe . . . . 4,718 118,422 15% chemin de fer . . . 2,057 51,631 libre (matériel pour) . . 10,250 257,275 "  
 Total. 4,373,535 109,884,627

## ***Exportations totales de produits belges et importations d'articles similaires en Nouvelle Zélande.***

### **(Tableau B). (Annexe I).**

Articles Exportations totales de la Belgique. 1882 Importations en Nouvelle Zélande. 1881 Rapport  
 centésimal. Francs Francs Pour Cent Armes et munitions . . . . . 15,373,000 710,054 4,6 Bijouterie, Objets  
 d'Or et d'Argent . . 113,000 1,223,976 1083,— Chandelles et Bougies . . . . . 13,934,000 1,860,910 13,4  
 Cordages, cordes et ficelles . . . 1,267,000 741,906 58,5 Couleurs . . . . . 5,195,000 1,074,305 20,7  
 Cuir brut, cuir ouvré, sellerie et chaussures . . . . . 11,158,000 6,598,948 59,1 Drogueries . . . . .  
 . . . . 8,604,000 1,320,285 15,3 Fer (tous produits en général) . . . 46,032,000 12,540,086 27,2 Huiles diverses  
 (d'olives excepté) . . 13,178,000 3,274,788 24,8 Instruments de musique . . . . . 129,000 1,197,571 928,—  
 Machines mécaniques en général . . 77,386,000 3,502,438 4,5 Merceries et Quincaillerie . . . 4,040,000  
 7,973,090 195,— Papiers . . . . . 20,808,000 2,901,565 13,9 Poteries faiences et porcelaines . . .  
 5,531,000 1,080,078 19,5 Produits chimiques . . . . . 9,101,000 210,263 2,3 Savon . . . . . 571,000  
 178,285 31,2 Soufre . . . . . 962,000 117,167 12,2 Spiritueux . . . . . 3,643,000 6,886,034  
 189,— Sucres et Mélasses . . . . . 47,627,000 14,473,765 30,4 Tabacs . . . . . 2,042,000 2,413,000  
 118,— Tissus de Laine, Coton, Soie, Chanvre, Jute, Tulle, Dentelle, Toile et sacs d'emballage, Toiles-cirées,  
 Tapis, etc. 52,992,000 16,029,281 30,3 Verreries . . . . . 54,440,000 1,148,105 2,1 Vêtements  
 confectionnés . . . . . 7,040,000 5,976,938 84,8 Total. 401,166,000 93,431,838 23,3

## ***Exportations des principaux articles de la Nouvelle Zélande intéressant le commerce et l'industrie belges. (1881).***

### **(Tableau C). (Annexe I).**

Laine . . . . . 78,275,705 Céréales et farines. . . . . 25,571,629 Gomme (Kaurigum) . .  
 . . . . . 6,535,262 Suif . . . . . 4,165,044 Peaux et Cuirs . . . . . 4,162,835 Bois  
 scié . . . . . 2,348,507 Chanvre (Phornium tenax) . . . . . 1,653,071 Viandes en conserves . . . .  
 . . . . . 1,365,365 " congelées. . . . . 480,429 Total. . . 124,557,847

## (ANNEXE II).

*Nous devons à l'obligeance de Monsieur Ch. Lejeune, courtier d'assurances à Anvers, les renseignements suivants:*

Les primes payées par la Belgique pour risques maritimes, pendant 1882, s'élèvent de 5 ½ à 6 millions de francs, dont 5 millions constituent la part des sociétés étrangères.

Les primes d'assurance contre incendie ont fourni, la même année, 1 ½ million de francs aux compagnies étrangères.

Quant aux assurances sur la vie, les compagnies belges perçoivent certainement moins du quart de la totalité des primes payées de ce chef par les habitants de notre pays.

## CAPITAL ET TABLEAU DES COURS DE QUELQUES COMPAGNIES ÉTRANGÈRES D'ASSURANCES.

Branche Noms Capital Social Versé en numéraire par action. Derniers Nationalité. D'Assurances. Des Compagnies. Nominal. Cours. Observations. Fr. Fr. Fr. Angleterre. Vie. The Standard. 12,500,000 300.—1.200.— Vie et incendie. Guardian. 50,000,000 1,250.—1.625.— Vie et incendie. Northern. 75,000,000 250.—1,050.— Vie et incendie. Royal. 50,000,000 75.—725.— Vie, incendie Commercial Union 62,500,000 125.—450.— et marine. Vie et incendie. Alliance. 125,000,000 275—975.— Maritime. id. 25,000,000 625.—600.— " British & Foreign. 25,000,000 100.—550.— " Marine. 25,000,000 450.—700.— " Thames & Mersey. 50,000,000 50.—250.— " Universal. 25,000,000 75.—175.— France. Vie. Comp, d'assurances 3,000,000 1,500.—29,500.— générales. " L'Union. 10,000,000 rien (') 5,100.—(\*) Dépôt, en garantie par action, de fr. 50 de rente sur l'Etat. " La Nationale. 15,000,000 rien (\*) 13,000.— " Le Phénix. 4,000,000 1,000.—15,000.— Incendie. Comp, d'assurances 2,000,000 1,000.—21,000.— générales. " Phénix. 4,000,000 1,000—4,575.— " La Nationale. 10,000,000 rien (') 15,200.—O Idem. " L Union. 10,000,000 1,250.—7,200.— Maritime. Comp, d'assurances 5,000,000 5,000.—6,000.— générales. " Mélusine. 2,000,000 1,250.—2,500.—